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History of the Ward

in

and

about

Italy -

B2875

from AD 1492 to 1532

by

32215

AC

Guicciardini

translated

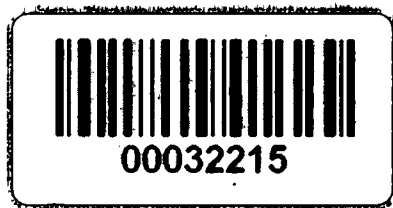
into English

by

Geffray Fenton

1578.

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TO THE QUEENES MOST EXCEL-
LENT MAIESTIE, OVR MOST REDOVTE, MOST
HAPPIE, AND TRVE SOVERAIGNE LADIE ELIZABETH, BY THE
grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, principall defender of the
faith, and next vnder God, the onely, absolute, and full supreme head ouer all cau-
ses Ecclesiasticall and temporall through her Maiesties dominions :

*Geffray Fenton prayeth a perpetuall increasing of the spirite of Gods holy feare, and
a continuall going on and confirmation of that godly course, wherein
with so long peace and happinesse, her Maiestie hath gouer-
ned the subiects and peoples of her Realmes
and seuerall iurisdictions.*

IT is not without reason nor contrary to example,
that I presume to offer vp to the peculiar & graue
view of your Maiesty, these my compositions and
labours : for that the generall argument being hi-
storically, a doctrine wherein your Maiestie farre
aboue all other Princes hath a most singular in-
sight and iudgement, and the particular partes
containing discourse of state and gouernement, in which God hath ex-
pressed in the person of your Maiestie a most rare and diuine example
to all other Kings of the earth, for matter of pollicie and sound admini-
stration : All law of reason, of equitie, and of other impression whatsoe-
uer, do challenge to appropriate the addresse and iustification of this
worke to your Maiestie onely, in whom, for your inspired science and
spirit to iudge of Monuments and euent of times, and for the felicitie
of your gouernement in seasons so perillous and conspiring, all Kings,
and kingdomes, and nations round about you, rise vp to reuerence in
your forme of gouerning, that propertie of wisdom and vertue, which
it seemes God hath restrained to your Maiestie onely, without partici-
pation to anie of them. And in that regard they hold you that sacred
and fixed Starre, whose light God will not haue put out, though the de-
uises of men on all sides are busie to draw cloudes and darke vailles to
obscure it.

THE EPISTLE

I am also encouraged to make this oblation to your Maiestie, by the example of many notable writers, both of the primitiue times and in all ages and posterities succeeding, such as for the grauitie and fidelitie of their pen and style, were cherished with the greatest Princes of those dayes, and vnder the authoritie and countenance of their names, their workes were with reputation and credit insinuated into many peoples, nations, and regiments: the same being an effect due to the vertue and pietie of great Princes, for that as it is God that giueth wisdom and science to men, so it is authoritie that chiefly sheweth it to the world, euen as the earth nourisheth the roote of a tree, but the comfortable Sunne doth much to bring forth the blossomes. So many are the testimonies and examples of this, and so familiar with your Maiestie is the doctrine of histories and information of times, that by so much lesse need I to stand vpon authorities of antiquitie, or declarations relative, by how much more is knowne to be happily laied vp in your Maiesties breast, and effectually expressed in the forme of your gouernment and reigne, all that which learning and bookes can set downe by rule and precept, your Maiestie being the onely consecrated lampe from whom all other dominions about you do draw their light, or rather that terrestriall Sunne, vpon whose influence God hath appointed to depend the motions of all the Regions and Climats of the whole common weale of Christendome: A calling and authoritie which all other Potentates do honor in you, with so much the more merite and reuerence, by how much amid so many occasions and oportunities to ambitio, they proue your equitie, pietie, and moderation of mind, to exceede all examples of former Princes and times, and farre surmount all humane expectation: for that hauing as it were a soueraigne power ouer them & theirs, you do notwithstanding dispose of things according to the law of measure and right. In regard of which diuine properties, accompanied with your Maiesties other vertues which God hath made infinite in you, and your felicitie which is the reward & effect of the same, I may with good comelineffe resemble the gracious reigne of your Maiestie touching these regions of Christendome, to the happie time and dayes of Cæsar Augustus Emperour of Rome: who, after a long and generall combustion and harrying of the whole world with bloud and warres, did so reforme and reduce the regions confining his Empire, that with the Scepter and seate of peace he much more preuailed, then euer he could haue done with the sword: by his clemencie he brought to submission
his

DEDICATORIE. 2

his neighbour that stood out against him; and by his constancie held them assured being once reconciled: his wisdom seemed an Oracle to the Nations about him to dispose of their counsels and sway their enterprises. And touching quarrels and controuersies of state, either for his grauity and iustice, the only arbitration and resolution was referred to him, or at least for the awe that was had of him, the factions durst not burst out to further limits then he liked of. Lastly, it was an approued Monarchie of God, for that Christ the sonne of God amid such an vniuersall malice of man and mankinde, was contented to shew himselfe in flesh in the dayes of his reigne. Euen so though the singular persons be chaunged, yet the effects and blessings of this time do nothing vary vnder the happie rule of your Maiestie, whom God hath raised & established a soueraigne Empreffe ouer seuerall nations and languages, and with the frutes of a firme and continued peace, hath plentifully enriched the peoples of your Dominiõs, restored Religion and the Church of Christ to dwell anew amongst vs, made your authoritie awfull to all your neighbours and borderers: and lastly hath erected your seat vpon a high hill or ~~sanctuarie~~, and put into your hands the ballance of power and iustice, to poise and counterpoise at your wil the actions and counsels of all the Christian kingdoms of your time: wherein sure according to the course your Maiestie holdeth, much lesse that either for the present or in posterities to come, can be iustly objected anie matter of imputation against you, seeing of the contrarie, most of them that be wise and true obseruers of your dealings, do daily confesse and publiſh, that in your Maiestie hath bene orderly fulfilled all lawes and offices of a deuout Neutralitie. For that like as amid their heauie afflictions wherein successiuelly hath bene offered you no small causes to ambition, your Maiestie hath neuer stopped or cut from them the refuge of your amity and mercie: So neuertheless your compassion hath principally respected the equitie of the complaints of such as implored it, esteeming it not agreable to the law of vertue and account of your conscience, to make your profit vpon the diuisions of your neighbours, though there haue not wanted reasons and titles to induce your desire.

I forbear to make declaration to your Maiestie of the life and learning of the first Author of this booke; a matter testified with sufficient credit and reputation in the high negotiations and emploiments which he managed long time vnder great Princes, Popes, & common weales: and I am bold (contrarie to the custome of some writers) to leaue to

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

particulate in my Epistle and part of the argument which with so great grauitie he hath digested at large in so great a volume: Onely the man for his integritie and roundnesse was such a one, as whose vertues were farre from all suspicion of partialitie, fauour, hatred, loue, reward, or any other propertie of humane affection, which might haue force to corrupt or turne from the truth the mind of a writer. And for the generall matter of his worke, it doth not onely containe the warres and diuerse accidents hapned in Italie and other parts for almost fortie yeares, but also he doth so distinctly set downe the causes, the counsels, and the fortunes of euerie principall partie introduced into those actions, that by his studie and iudgement, is traced and made easie to the reader, the way to all those sweete and plentifull frutes which with painfullnesse are sought for in Histories of this nature.

And for mine owne part, where in all my dedications heretofore, not my will which was alwayes warranted by the gracious demonstrations of your Maiestie, but my maner of life instituted vpon priuate customs and exercises, hath holden me from approaching the authoritie of this place, afore which nothing ought to be presented which hath not a full perfection of spirit and studie: yet now, taking my reason of the worthinesse of the worke, and obseruing the examples and inducements of others in like oblations, I am bold vnder feare and humilitie to prostrate these my last paines afore that diuine moderation of mind which alwaies hath holden for acceptable all things respecting learning or vertuous labours: humbly beseeching your right excellent Maiesty, that where the worke is now to appeare in the open view of the world, and stand before the vncertaine iudgements of so manie sundrie and straunge humours of men, you will vouchsafe to let it passe vnder the happie name of your Maiestie, and vnder your gracious authoritie to giue it defence & fauor against the emulation of such as either through malice or ignorance may rise vp to interpret me and my labours sinisterly. The Lord blesse your Maiestie with a long and a peaceable life, and confirme in you to the comfort of your people, that course of well tempered gouernement, by the benefite whereof they haue so

long time liued vnder the felicitie of your name. At my

lodging neare the Towre of London,

vij. Ianuarij. 1578.

Your Maiesties humble and true subiect,

GEFFRAY FENTON.

THE GENERAL CONTENTS OF cuerie booke through the whole Historie.

Lodowike Sforce uncle and tutor to Iohn Galeas Duke of Millan, fearing least Ferdinand would make warre upon him, breaketh off from the League that had bene renewed betwene the sayd Ferdinand, Iohn Galeas, and the common weale of Florence, against the Venetians: he procureth the French king Charles the eight passe into Italy to conquer the kingdome of Naples. Pope Alexander the sixt alleieth himselfe with the king of Naples. The French king hauing ordered the affaires of his kingdome descendeth into Italy, where he taketh many townes. Diuerse motions happen in the kingdome of Naples. The Pope is in great perplexiue and trauell. Pisa rebelleth against the Florentines. The French king entreth into Florence and Rome, and from thence passeth to Naples. Lib. 1.

The Pisans continue their rebellion against the Florentines. The French king taketh the Castles of Naples. The Pope, Venetians and other Princes make league against the King, who returning into France, is fought withall neare the riuer of Taro. Ferdinand winneth againe Naples. Nonaro is besieged by the Confederates. The French king maketh peace with the Duke of Millan, and returneth into Fraunce. Lib. 2.

Lodowike Sforce keepeth not the treatie of peace. The Venetians take the town of Pisa into their protection. The French king determineth to returne into Italy. The king of Romaines besiegeth Liguorna. The Pope makes warre upon the Vrsins. The French king dieth at Amboise, Fear Zerommo Sauanarola is hanged at Florence. Lib. 3.

Louis Duke of Orleance succeedeth to the Crowne of Fraunce: He determineth to recouer his Duchy of Millan. Pisa and Florence make warre. Lodowike Sforce flieth from Millan. The Florentines giue battery to Pisa, and agree with the French king. Pope Alexander aspireth for his son to the iurisdiction of Romagna. Lodowike Sforce reconereth Millan, but being betrayed by the Swislers, he is taken and led into Fraunce. Lib. 4.

The warre of Pisa continueth. The Duke Valentino pursueth his enterprise upon Romagna. The kings of Spaine and Fraunce inuade ioynly the kingdome of Naples: they occupy it, and deuide it betwene them, and afterwards make warre one upon another. The Duke Valentinos putteth to death the Vrsins. The Swislers descend into the Duchie of Millan. The Spaniards remaine victors ouer the French at Corignolo, and take Naples. Lib. 5.

The French king maketh his preparation to passe into Italy. Pope Alexander the sixt is poisoned, his successor Pope Pius the third dyeth within xxvi. dayes. Iulius the second is created Pope. The Duke Valentino is apprehended and made prisoner. The Frenchmen are ouerthrowne at Garillan. The Florentines faile to take the Citie of Pisa. Peace is establisshed betwene the French king and the king of Spaniards. Lib. 6.

Many treaties are made. Pope Iulio the second taketh the gouernement of Bologna. The Genowayes rebell against the French king. The king of Aragon meeteth with the French king, and communicateth with him. The Dyot of Constance. The king of Romaines demaundeth passage of the Venetians to take the Crowne at Rome. He inuadeth their lands, & afterwards maketh truce with them. Lib. 7.

Most of the Princes of Christendome draw into league at Cambray against the Venetians, who being ouerthrowne by the French king, render the townes of the Church, and make submission to the king of Romaines. Pisa returneth to the obedience of Florence. The Venetians reconer the towne of Padoa, which is soone after besieged by Cesar. Afterwards they make warre upon the Duke of Ferrara. The Pope giueth them absolution of the Church censures. Lib. 8.

Pope Iulio the second turneth against the French. The French king and king of Romaines enter league against the Venetians, who besiege Verona. The Pope taketh Miranda, and maketh warre upon the Duke of Ferrara. The family of Bentiuoley returnes to Bologna. A Councell is published at Pisa against the Pope. Lib. 9.

After the taking of Bologna, the French army returneth to the Duchy of Millan. The Councel that was to be holden at Pisa against the Pope, is transferred to Millan, where many stirres happen. The Popes army besiegeth Bologna. The Frenchmen take Bressia. The battel is giuen at Rauenna. The Pope publisheth the Councel at Rome. Afterwards the affaires of the french begin to decline. Lib. 10.

The Duke of Ferrara is in great trouble. The Medices returne to Florence. The king of Romaines makes alliance with the Pope. Maximilian Sforce is put in possession of the Duchy of Millan. The French king maketh his preparation to reconer Millan. Pope Iulio dieth. Leo the tenth is created Pope. The French men are overthrowne neare to Nouaro, and the Venetians neare to Vincenza. Lib. 11.

The king of England makes warre vpon the French king. The Venetians recouer Fryull. The Pope as Arbitrator pronounceth peace betweene them and the king of Romaines. King Louis the xij. dieth. Francis the first commeth to the Crowne, and descendeth into Italy to reconquer Millan. Lib. 12.

The Duke of Vrbino makes an enterprize to reconer his estate out of the hands of Pope Leo. The French king makes a league with the Pope. The conspiracie of Cardinall Petrucci against the Pope is disconered. Charles king of Spaine is chosen Emperour. Martin Luther writeth against the Pope. The Pope putteth to death Iohn Paule Bailon. Lib. 13.

Pope Leo is the cause that the peace continueth not in Italy. He ioyneth in league with the Emperour against the French king. The French king looseth the Duchy of Millan. Pope Leo dyeth. Adrian the sixth is created Pope. Francis Sforce reentreteth vpon the Duchy of Millan. Warre is made in Tuscane by Ransé de Cere. Lib. 14.

Pope Adrian comes to Rome. The Venetians make league with the Emperour. The Frenchmen besiege Millan, and are constrained to diuert from it. Cardinall Medicis is created Pope. King Francis descendeth into Italy, he taketh Millan and besiegeth Pania. The Emperour sendeth out an army to succour Pania, where a battell is fought and the French king taken prisoner. Lib. 15.

The Pope is accorded with the Emperour. Many practises are made for the kings deliuey. Ierome Moron conspireth against the Emperour. The king is deliuered out of prison, and returneth into Fraunce. Lib. 16.

The Pope and the French king, the Venetians, & the Duke of Millan, draw into league against the Emperour. The Duke of Burbon comes to Millan. The army of the League breakes vp from before Millan. The Castle of Millan rendred to the Imperials. Many enterprises are dressed against the Pope. The Confederates send their armies by sea to Genes. Rome is surprised by the Colonnous. The Pope makes truce with the Imperials, which hurteth the deuises of Lumbardy. The Duke of Ferrara confederates with the Emperour. Lib. 17.

The Duke of Burbon issueth out of Millan. The Viceroy and Colonniois make warre against the Pope in the estate of the Church. The Marquis of Salussa entreteth within Bologna. The Pope maketh warre in the kingdome of Naples. The Duke of Burbon leadeth his army to Rome, taketh the towne, sacketh it, and is slaine in the action. The Pope being abandoned of all hope, accordeth with the Imperials. A mutine in Florence. The king of England is declared against the Emperour. The Confederates do many enterprises. Lib. 18.

Lawtrech besiegeth Naples. In the meane while Anthony de Leua taketh Pania and besiegeth Loda. Andrew Dore leaueth the pay of the French, Monsieur Lawtrech dieth. The French breake vp from before Naples. Monsieur de Saint Pol reconquereth Pania. Andrew Dore taketh Genes. The Genowayes take Sanona, and put themselves in liberty. Monsieur de Saint Pol is taken by Anthony de Leua. The Emperour filleth to accord with the Pope. Peace is made at Cambray between the Emperour and the French king. The Emperour passeth into Italy, where the warre is made against the Florentines, and peace is solicited with all others. Lib. 19.

The Emperour taketh the Imperiall crowne at Bologna, and from thence passeth into Almanie. The family of Medicis by the ayde of the Emperours army returne to Florence. Ferdinand is chosen king of Romaines. The Pope will not hearken to a Conncel. The French king stirreth vp the Turke against the Emperour, and hath conference with the Pope at Marseilles. Lib. 20.

THE



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

Lodowicke Sforce uncle and tutor to Iohn Galeas Duke of Millan, fearing least Ferdinand king of Naples would make warre upon him, breaketh off from the league that had bene renewed betwene the sayd Ferdinand, Iohn Galeas, and the common weale of Florence, against the Venetians: he procureth the French King Charles the viij. to passe into Italy to conquer the Kingdome of Naples: Pope Alexander the sixt allyeth him selfe with the King of Naples: The French King, hauing ordered th'affaires of the kingdome, descendeth into Italy, where he taketh many townes: Diuerse emotions happen in the kingdome of Naples: the Pope is in great perplexitie and tranell: Pisa rebelleth against the Florentines: the French King entrencheth into Florence and Rome, and from thence passeth to Naples.



HAVING in hand to write the affaires and fortunes of Italie, I iudged it conuenient to draw into discourse, those particularities that most nearest resemble our time and memorie, yea euen since the selfe Princes of that country calling in the armies of France, gaue the first beginning to so great innouations. A matter, for the varietie, greatnesse, & nature of such things, verie notable, and well worthie of memorie: and for the heauie accidents, hatefull, bloudie and horrible: for that Italie for manie yeares was trauelled with all those sorts of calamities, with the which, principalities, countreys, and mortall men, are wont to be afflicted, aswell by the iust wrath & hand of God, as through the impietie and wickednesse of other nations. The knowledge of these things so great and diuerse, may minister many wholesome instructions, aswell to all men generally, as to euery one in particular, considering that by the trial, consent and demonstration of so many examples, all Princes, people, and patrimonies may see (as a sea driuen with diuerse winds) to what inconstancie humane things are ordeined, and how harmefull are the ill measured counsels of Princes, many times preiudiciall to themselues, but alwayes hurtfull to their people and subiects, specially when they are vainely caried away, either with their singular errorrs, or priuate couetousnesse, without hauing any impression or remembrance of the ordinarie chaunges of fortune, whereby turning to the domage and displeasure of others, the power which is giuen them for the safetie, protection, and pollicie of the whole, they make themselues, either by want of discreffion, or too much ambition, authors of innouations and new troubles.

But the better to make knowne the state and condition of Italie at that time, together with the occasions of so many afflictions happening, it is to be considered that their calamities begun with so much the more displeasure and astonishment in mens minds, by how much the vniuersall estate and multitude of things stood quiet, pleasant & happie. For, it is true and well assured, that since the Romane Empire (weakened chiefly by the chaunge of auncient manners and customes) began a thousand yeares afore to decline from that greatnesse whereunto it was raised by a wonderful vertue and fortune: the principalities of Italy had not tasted of so great and generall prosperitie, nor reioyced in a condition so happy, plawfible and well gouerned, as was that whereon it was with great suretie reapposed the yeare of grace 1490, and certaine afore and after: for that being on all sides reduced into peace and tranquillitie, the hilles and barren places tilled, & made no lesse fruitful, then the valleys and regions most fertill, and no potentacie or communaltie subiect to other Lords or rulers then their owne: It was not onely plentifully replenished with people, societie, and riches, but also greatly honored with the estates and maiestie of many Princes, goodly aspect of sundrieright stately cities, and with the seate and residencie of the throne of Religion: it flourished

Intention of the author.

The Italians causes of their own calamities

How harmeful be the errorrs of Princes.

The estate wherein Italy was anno 1590

Sudden invasion is most dangerous to states which haue liued most securely.

The good estate of Italy afore the troubles.

The fruite of
peace and na-
tural rulers.

Laurence de
Medicis.

The commodities
which made
Florence rich
and flourishing.

Equalitie a
great maintai-
ner of peace.

Ferdinand king
of Aragon.

A great error
of Ferdinand
king of Naples.

The occasion &
manner of the r-
surpation of
Lod. Sforce.

What iust and
wise coniectures
kept Ferdinand
in quiet.

What reasons
restrained the
ambition of Lo-
dowike Sforce.

in men rare and excellent in administration of common weales, and infinite in good wits, science and studied in all sciences and artes of excellencie and industrie: lastly, bearing also no small praise and glorie for the service in warre, according to the use and discipline of that time, it retained iustly (by these gifts and blessings) a peculiar merit and reputation amongst all other nations. The felicitie being gotten with diuerse occasions, there were many things to entertaine and preserve, and amongst others, common voice and consent gaue no small praise and deserving to the industrie and vertue of *Laurence de Medicis* a citizen of Florence; in whom was expressed such an excellencie of spirit and authoritie about the other citizens of that regiment, that vpon his counsell was reapposed the gouernement of the affaires of that common weale, which was at that time more mightie for the oportunitie of his situation, for the excellent wits and inuentions of men, and for the readie meanes and mines of siluer and metals, then for the greatnesse and circuite of Lordship or dominion: And by reason he was lately ioyned by parentage with Pope *Innocent* the viij. whom he had brought to reappose almost an absolute faith and credit in his counsels, his name was great through all Italie, and his authoritie mightie in the deliberation of common affaires. He knew well that it would be a thing preiudiciall to the common weale of Florence, and no lesse hurtfull to him selfe, if anie of the great Potentates of that nation stretched out further their power, and therefore he employed all his deuises, meanes, and directions, that the things of Italie should be so euently ballanced, that they should not weigh more on the one side then on the other. A thing which he could not make to succeed, without the preferuation of peace, and a perpetuall care, diligence and watching ouer all accidents, yea euen to the least, basest, and most inferior.

In the same inclination to common tranquillitie, was also concurrant *Ferdinand* of Aragon king of Naples, a Prince for his counsels deliberate, in his actions resolute, and touching his affections verie moderate, notwithstanding often times before, he had shewed many ambitious thoughts, and farre off from all counsel to peace. Wherein he was much gouerned in that time by *Alphonso* Duke of Calabria, his eldest sonne, who vnwillingly suffered that *John Galeas Sforce* his sonne in lawe Duke of Millan, more then twentie yeares of age, but of a iudgement verie incapable and vnapt to great affaires, and retaining onely the name of Duke, should be suppressed, and as it were kept smothered by *Lodowike Sforce* his vncle, who, more then ten yeares afore, by the misgouernment and vnchast life of Madame *Bonne*, mother to the said *Galeas*, was seized vpon his minoritie, and by that meanes, had reduced by liue and liue into his power the strong holds, men of warre, tributes and treasures, and all other the grounds and foundations of the state of Millan, persueuing in the gouernement not as tutor and regent, but (except the onely title of Duke) with all demonstrations and actions of an absolute Prince. *Ferdinand*, with whom was more familiar the impression of present vilitie, then his ancient inclination, or the indignation of his sonne (how iust so euer it were) desired that nothing should be innouated in Italie, nor the present policie fall into alteration: perhaps he had regard to the experience of the yeares before, wherein (to his great daunger) he had proued the hate of his Barons and vniuersal subiects: and happily he had not forgotten (by the memorie of things past) what affection a great part of his people bore to the name of the house of Fraunce: which iust and wise coniectures drew him to suspect least the discords of Italie might breed occasion to the French to inuade the kingdome of Naples: or perhaps, to make a counter strength against the might of the Venetians, (at that time redowted throughout all Italie) he iudged it necessarie to ally himselfe with others, and chiefly with the estates of Millan and Florence. Touching *Lodowike Sforce*, notwithstanding he was possessed with a mind traouelling, busie, and ambitious, yet by the necessitie of his condition, he was criuen to embrace the inclination and purpose to peace, as well for that they which commanded at Millan were no lesse threatened then others, with the danger which the residue feared, touching the greatnesse of Venice: as also for that it was more easie for him by the benefit of tranquillitie and peace, to keepe the authoritie he had vsurped, then by the trauels and troubles of warre. And albeit he kept a continuall drede, icalousie and suspicion ouer the thoughts and deuises of *Ferdinand* and *Alphonso*, yet waighing with the disposition of *Laurence de Medicis* to peace, the icalousie he had likewise of their greatnesse, and perswading himselfe also that for the diuersitie of affections and auncient hatreds betweene *Ferdinand* and the Venetians, it was a thing vaine to feare that betweene them should be contracted anie amitie firme and well assured: he held for certaine that they of Aragon could not haue the strength, societie, or assistance of others to enterprise against him that, which alone and of their singular power

power they were not sufficient to obtaine.

Thus *Ferdinand*, *Lodowike*, and *Laurence* hauing one equall will and deuotion to peace, partly for the perswasions aforesaid, and somewhat for other inducements and considerations: the league and confederation contracted in the name of *Ferdinand* King of Naples, *Iohn Galeas* Duke of Myllan, and the common weale of Florence, was easily recontinued: it was begunne manie years before, and afterward broken by many accidents, and now effsoones renewed in the yeare 1486, for xxv. yeares, being competitors and parties therein almost all the meaner Potentates of Italy, in whom was any principall ende and purpose not to suffer the Venetians to become great: The Venetians (for their partes) being in deede more mighty and greater then any particular of the confederates, but farre lesse and inferior to them all together, held their counsels separate from the common counsell of the league, and watching to rayse and encrease their estate by the discord and trauels of others, they had a continuall preparation and readines to take the oportunitie of all occurrants and times, which might open vnto them the way to the Empire and Monarchie of all Italy: whereunto it was clearly seene that they did aspire in diuerse seasons, but chiefly when abusing the occasion of the death of *Philip Maria Viscount* Duke of Myllan, they attempted vnder colour to defend the libertie of the people of Myllan, to make themselues Lordes of that state, conspiring in like sort (but of late memory) to bring the Duchie of Ferrara by the way of open warre, to their seruitude and subiection.

A league for 20. yeares betwene the king of Naples, Duke of Myllan, and the common weale of Florence.

The ambition of the Venetians, & what occasions they sought to defend the Confederates.

This confederation did easily bridle the couctousnesse of the Senate of Venice, but it could not entirely knit the confederats in a true and faithfull amitie, for that being indifferently replenished with enuie and ielousie, they ceased not to keepe a continuall care, obseruation, and eye ouer the thoughts and behauiours of one an other, breaking mutually all their resolutions and plots by the which might come to any one of them enlargement of estate or reputation. A thing which made not the peace lesse stable, but reuiued in them all a generall readines to be careful to quench all such sparkes and brondes as might be the cause of new fires and burnings.

Such was the estate of the affaires, such were the foundations of the tranquillitie of Italy, disposed and counterpoised in such sort, that much lesse that there was any doubt of present mutation, seeing the wisdom of man could not easily make coniecture, by what counsels, by what accidents, or with what innouation or armies, so great a tranquillitie could be troubled, when in the moneth of Aprill 1492. chaunced the death of *Laurence de Medicis*: a death very pitifull for him in respect of his age (hauing not yet fortie foure yeares) but more bitter and intollerable to his countrey, which, for the wisdom and reputation of the man, together with the naturall volubilitie of his wit, rayfed to all things concerning honour and greatnesse, flourished plentifully with riches, loue, and ciuilitie, and with all other benefits and felicities, which in the assayres of the world are wont to accompany a long concord and peace. This death hapned also very ill for the residue of Italy, as well for his generall deuises, cares, and actions for the common sewertie, as also for that he was a meane in particular to moderate and bridle the differences, counsels, and suspicions, which for diuerse occasions, were often kindled betweene *Ferdinand* and *Lodowike Sforce*, Princes equall in ambition, and nothing inferiour in power. Like as when aduersities happen, it is seldome scene that one ill comes alone: So a litle after the death of *Laurence* (the time preparing euery day occasions to the calamities to come) chaunced the death of the Pope, whose life being in other things vnprofitable to the common weale, was at the least conuenient in this, that leauing sodainly warre and armes vnappily rayfed in the entry and beginning of his Popedom against *Ferdinand*, at the incensing of many barons of the realme of Naples, hee turned soone after all his facultie, affections and spirite, to pleasures, vaine, dissolute, and idle, not acquainting his thoughts (neither for himselfe nor frinds) with any enterprise which might trouble the rest, felicitie, and good accord of Italy. To *Innocent* succeeded *Roderyk Borgia* borne at *Valence*, one of the chiefe cities of *Spayne*: he was an auncient Cardinall, and one of the greatest in all the court of *Rome*: one meane that raised him to the seate of the Pope, was the difference betweene the Cardinals *Africanus Sforce*, and *Julian S. Petri ad vincla*: but the chiefest thing that accomplished his election, was, that with a new example for that time, he bought by the consent and knowledge of euery one, partly for money, and partly with promises of offices and great dignities, many voyces of the Cardinals, who reiecting the instruction of the Gospell, were not ashamed to passe to him by sale, an authoritie and power to make marchandize of the holy treasures,

Laurence de Medicis dyeth 1492.

The death of *Laurence de Medicis* cause of great wars in Italy.

Pope Innocent the viij. dyeth.

Creation of *Pope Alexander* 6.

Corruption of Cardinals in the election of the Pope.

and that with the name of the celestiall authoritie in the most high and eminent part of the temple. To which abominable negotiation many of them were induced by the Cardinall *Ascanius*, but that was not more with perswasions and sutes, then with his example: for that being corrupted with the infinite desire of riches, he made the Pope promise him for his hyer and recompence of so great wickednesse, the office of vicchauncellorshippe, (the principallest place in the Court of *Rome*) together with benefices, castles, and his pallace of *Rome* full of moueables of great valour. But the Pope for all this, could not auoyde neither for the time to come, the iustice and iudgement of God, nor for the present, the infamy & iust hate of men, in whom for this election, was no small impressions of astonishment and horror, not onely for that it was entangled with meanes dishonest, but also because the natures and conditions of the man chosen, were, (for the greatest part) knowen to many: many sentences and coniectures were made of his successe, and amongst others, *Ferdinand* King of Naples, dissembling openly the griefe he had of that election, signified to the Queene his wife with teares (which he was wont to forbear euen in the death of his children) that there was created a Pope, who would be most hurtfull to *Italy*, and the whole common weale of Christendome. A iudgement not vnworthy of the wisdom of such a Prince: for that in *Alexander* the sixt (for so would this new Pope be called) was a subtiltie, sharpenes, and expedition of wit most singular, a counsell excellent, a wonderfull efficacie in perswasion, and in all great affayres a iudgement and care incredible. But these vertues were maruellously defaced by his vices, for, touching his manners and customes, they were very dishonest, in his administrations he expressed little sinceritie, in his countenance no shame, in his wordes small trueth, in his heart little faith, and in his opinion lesse religion. Of the contrary, all his actions were defiled with an insatiable couetousnesse, an immoderate ambition, a barbarous crueltie, and a burning desire to rayse and make great (by what meanes so euer) his children; who were many in number, and amongst others, one, no lesse detestable then the father, to whose cursed counsels he became a wicked instrument. Great was the chaunge in the affayres of the Church by the death of *Innocent* the eight, but no lesse resolution happened in the common weale of *Florence*, by the taking away of *Laurence de Medicis*, to whose greatnesse (without contradiction) succeeded *Peter* the eldest of his three sonnes, who as well for his age being yet young, as also for his other qualities was not fit for the gouernement of so heauie a charge, and lesse capable to manage the affayres with that moderation which his father was wont to vse in businesse both forraigne and domestically, and knowing discretely howe to temporise betweene Princes confederate, he had whilest he liued augmented greatly the conditions and faculties both publike and priuate, and at his death, left vnto euery one a firme opinion that the peace of *Italy* was principally preserved by his meanes.

In abodement
of Pope Alex.

Pope Alexan-
der the sixt
stayned with
many vices.

Peter de Me-
dicis heire to
Laurence.

Lod. Sforce is
iellous ouer the
amities between
P. de Medicis
and the Ara-
gons.

The first pre-
paratiue of all
the calamities
of Italy.

The conceit of
Lod. Sforce.

Peter was no sooner succeeded to the administration of the common weale, then with a course directly contrary to the counsels of his father, and not communicating with those auncient citizens which were wont to be called to the deliberation of businesse of importance, he ioy-
ned himselfe so straitly with *Ferdinand* and *Alphonso*, perhaps by the perswasion of *Virginio* *Fra-*
sin his parent depending wholly vpon them, that *Lodowyke Sforce* had iust occasion to feare, that
as often as the *Aragons* would annoy him, they should be ayded (by the authority of *Peter de*
Medicis) with the forces of the common weale of *Florence*. This intelligence, seminary, and origi-
nall of all the troubles, albeit at the beginning was debated with no lesse iudgement & wisdom;
then the resolution secret and priuate: yet by certayne obscure coniectures, it beganne euen in
the beginning to be suspected by *Lodowyke*, a Prince very watchfull and of right subtle vnderstan-
ding: for, as it hath beene an auncient custome in Christendome to send Embassadours to con-
gratulate with the newe Pope, as Christes Vicar on earth, and to offer him obedience: So *Lo-*
dowyke Sforce, who appropriated to himselfe this peculiar custome to study to shewe him selfe
more wise then the rest, and of inuentions straunge and vnaduised to others, had giuen counsell
that the Embassadors of the confederats, should all enter *Rome* in one day, and presenting them-
selues altogether in the publike consistorie afore the Pope, the Oration should be expressed by
one of them onely in the name of them all: for that by that forme and order of doing, besides the
encrease of their common reputation, it should appeare to all *Italy* that there was amongst them
not onely a good will and confederation, but rather so great a coniunction, that they seemed as
one body, one Prince, and one inuested corporation. To this he adioyned, that as touching the
vilitie

utilitie of this counsell, it was not onely exprest with the discourse of reason, but iustified with a late and familiar example, for that (as was beleueed) the last Pope taking argument of the disunion of the confederates, in that at severall seasons, and with counsels separate, they had done him obsequie, he was the more readie to inuade the kingdom of *Naples*. *Ferdinand* approued easily the aduise of *Lodowyke*: the Florentines allowed it for the authoritie of the one and other: and *Peter de Medicis* was not against it in open counsell, albeit in particular, the deuise was nothing agreeable to him: for that being one of the elect Embassadors for that common weale, and hauing an intention to make his legation glorious with proud and gorgeous demonstrations, he feared that if he should make his entry into the citie and the Popes presence amongst the other Embassadors of the confederates, the magnificencie of his traine would not be scene, no more then a little candle amidst a choyse sort of greater lights. This vanitie of the young man was confirmed by the ambitious counsell of *Genill* Bishoppe of Arze, the other coembassador for Florence: to him belonged the authoritie of the oration in the name of the Florentines, by reason of his dignitie and profession in the studies of humanitie. And seeing by this manner no lesse vnlooked for then alwayes vnaccustomed, he saw himselfe depriued of the occasion to publish his eloquence in an assembly so honorable & solemne, he complayned as if he had suffered wrong in his perpetuall reputation. For this reason, *Peter de Medicis*, pushed on partly by his proper vanitie and lightnesse, and partly by the pompe and ambition of the other, required the King of *Naples* (albeit with this caution, to keepe from *Lodowyke* that he did impugne his counsell) to consider, that that forme of legation could not be executed in common without great confusion, and therefore that he would take vpon him to perswade, that the expedition might be separate, and passe according to the examples passed. The king of *Naples* desiring to gratifie him in his demaund (but yet not without the displeasure of *Lodowyke*) satisfied him in the effect, but not in the manner, plainly declaring to *Lodowyke*, that he did not discondescend from the first plot and resolution for the Embassadors, for other occasion then at the instance and solicitation of *Peter de Medicis*. *Lodowyke* for this suddaine mutation, declared more perplexitie and trouble of mind, then the nature and importance of the thing could deserue, and amid his complaintes, he impropriated to himselfe this degree of iniurie, that to diminish his reputation, they reuoked the first deuise, whereof he was author, and already had communicated it with the Pope and the whole court of Rome. But the point wherein he felt his most trouble and trauell of mind was, for that in this litle and vaine accident, he saw tokens, argument, and coniectures, that *Peter de Medicis* had secret intelligence with *Ferdinand*, which by the euents that followed he discovered daily more apparantly. *Langulare*, *Cernietre*, and other small castles neare to Rome, were in the possession of *Francisquin Cibo*, a Genoway, bastard sonne to Pope *Innocent*, and he after the death of his father being gone to dwell at Florence, perhaps vnder the fauour and societie of *Peter de Medicis*, brother to M. his wife: sold immediatly after his coming thither to *Virginio Vrsin* by the negotiation of *Peter*, those castles for the price of forty thousand duckats. A thing debated chiefly with *Ferdinand*, who lent him most part of the money, perswading himselfe that it could not but turne to his profite, if the greatnesse of *Virginio*, who was his parent and in his pay, should enlarge and stretch farre about the confines of Rome. The king considered that the power of the Popes was an apt instrument to trouble the Realme of *Naples* (an auncient freeholder & chiefe of the Church of Rome) both for that it had large borders vpon the ecclesiasticall territories, and he had not yet forgotten what differences he & his father had with them: and also he wisely foresaw that there is alwayes some occasion of new contentions about the iurisdiction of Confines, both for tributes & collation of benefices, and for regard of entercourse of barons, with many other quarrels hapning many times amongst estates borderers, and no lesse often betweene the vassall and the Lord Peramount: for which reasons, he held alwaies for one of the firme foundations of his securitie, that all or the greater part of the mightiest barons of the territory of Rome, should depend vpon him. A thing which in that time he wrought with so much the more care and diligence, by how much the world iudged that the authoritie of *Lodowyke Sforce* was like to be great with the Pope by the meane of Cardinall *Acanin* his brother: And as many beleueed, he was perhaps not the least pushed forward with feare, least in *Alexander* were concurrant the conuictiounes & hatred of his vnckle Pope *Calixtus* the third, who, (sauiug that death gaue impedimēt to his counsels) had immediatly after the decess of *Alphonso* father to *Ferdinand*, taken armes

The vanitie of
Pet. Med. in
trifles cause of
great miselnes.

The first occasi-
on of disunion
amongst the
Confederates.

Ferdinand a
dissembled
friend.

The second oc-
casion of disu-
nion among the
confederates.

Many reasons
which moued
Ferdinand to
buy the castles
for Virginio
Vrsin.

The king of
Naples incur-
reth great
harmes for a
little benefit,
and why?

Lodo. Sforce
insinuateth
envy into the
Pope against
the Aragonis
and Medicis.

Politick dea-
ling of Lodo. on
both parties,
with a preten-
ced shew of his
innocencie.

to dispoyle him of the kingdome of *Naples*, (reuered as he said to the Church). He did not remember (so little force amongst men hath the memorie of benefits receiued) how by the meane of *Alphonso* (in whose kingdome he was borne, and to whom he had bene a seruant long time) he had obteyned other ecclesiasticall dignities with a liberall fauour and aide to aspire to the pope-
doine. But it hath beene alwaies a thing very true, that wisemen haue not at all times a discretion
or iudgement perfect, seeing it is necessary, that the signes of the weakenesse and fraillie of mans
vnderstanding should many times be discouered. The king of *Naples*, notwithstanding he was
recommended for a Prince watchfull, politike, & forseeing, yet did he ouerse himselfe to consider how
much this deliberation deserued to be reiected, for that conteyning in no accident or fortune any
other hope then of a small vtilitie, it bred on the other side, many degrees and properties of mil-
chiefes and harmes irreparable, for that in the sale of those small castles was no little oportunitie
to innouate to new things, the minds of those to whom it did either appertaine, or had interest of
profite to looke to the preseruacion of the common peace & concord: for the Pope pretending
that by such alienation made without his knowledge, they were diuolued to the sea Apostolike by
the disposing of the lawes, seemed not a litle iniuried: and looking withall into the ends and pur-
poses of *Ferdinand*, filled all *Italy* with complaintes against him, *Peter de Medicis*, and *Virginio*,
whom he assured that so farre as his power would stretch, he would not spare any thing nor let
passe any meane to preserue the dignitie and right of the sea of Rome. *Lodowyke Sforce* was no
lesse moued, to whom were alwayes suspected the actions of *Ferdinand*, and who, for the false
opinion he had that the Pope would be gouerned by the counsels of *Ascanius* & himselfe, esteem-
ed it his proper losse, if any thing should be diminished of the greatnesse of *Alexander*. But that
which vexed him most, was that he could not but doubt, that betweene the *Aragons* and *P. de
Medicis* was contracted a secret and an assured league, drawing his coniecture from this, that in
that action they had proceeded wholly, vniformely, and reciprocally: And therefore to raise im-
pediments to those plots and determinations as most daungerous to his affayres, and to make this
occasion conuenient to winne the Pope, he stirred him vp as much as he could, to protect his pro-
per dignitie: he perswaded with him that there was not so much necessitie to set before his eyes
things that were done presently, as to consider how much it imported him, to suffer in the first
dayes of his pontificacie, to be despised the Maiestie of such a degree, euen by his proper vassals:
he told him, he had not to beleue that the couetousnesse of *Virginio*, or the importance of the ca-
stles, or other reason of that nature, had moued *Ferdinand*: but a certaine languishing desire (which
he could no longer keepe smothered) to assay his patience & courage, with iniuries bearing litle
face and shew at the beginning, but afterwarde (if he would ioyne sufferance to those inferiour
wrongs) he would not be without boldnesse to tempt him euery day with offences of far higher
and greater qualitie: he aduised him to beleue, that the ambition of *Ferdinand* did nothing differ
from his auncestors kings of *Naples*, and perpetuall enemies to the Church of Rome, who had not
forborne to persecute the Popes with warres and armies, and sometimes had occupied Rome:
That the example is fresh and Greene, that the king now reigning, in the person of his sonne, dis-
patched two armies at two seuerall times against two Popes, and made inuasion euen to the waies
of Rome: That he hath bene alwaies exercised in malice, conspiracies, and warres against his
predecessors: And now not only the example of other kings, not onely his naturall couetousnesse
to beare rule, did stirre him vp against him, but rather an olde infected desire of reuenge nowe
burst out by the memorie of iniuries receiued of *Calixtus* his vnckle. Therefore he aduised him
with great diligence to looke into those things, least by giuing sufferance and patience to these
first wrongs, he were not the breeder of his proper dishonour and derogation, making himselfe
to be honoured with ceremonies and vaine titles, and in effect followed with dispite, derision, and
contempt of euery one. He tolde him that in this vnworthy tolleracion was secretly many opor-
tunities of courage & boldnes to the partie to conspire against him many daungerous enterprises:
where, if he would take this to hart, and call things into correction and iustice, he should with
more facilitie preserue the auncient maiestie and greatnesse, with the true reuerence due by all the
world to the Popes of Rome. To these perswasions he ioynd many offices and promises of no
small importance, but farre greater in efficacie and effect, for that he lent him readily forty thou-
sand duckets, and leuyed with him at their common charge three hundred men at armes, vnder
this condition, that they should be employed where it best pleased the Pope. Notwithstanding
all

all this, *Lodowyke*, desirous to shunne the necessitie to enter into newe troubles, communicated with *Ferdinand*, and councelled him to dispose *Virginio* to appease the Pope by some honest meanes, least vpon so slender beginnings, there arose not displeasures and troubles heauy and • flaunderous. But with greater libertie and efficacy, he admonished often times *Peter de Medicis*, that considering how conuenient it was for the common peace of *Italy* that his father *Laurence* was alwayes as the mediator and indifferent friend of *Ferdinand* and him) he would rather take the wayes, examples, and directions of his father, specially touching a personage of so great valour, then beleeuing new counsels, to be driuen to giue occasion to another, to make deliberations which in the end would proue hurtfull to euery one: he willed him to remember what great reputacion and sewertie the *Sforces* and *Medicis* had giuen reciprocally to their houses: and with what wrongs and iniuries the familie of *Aragon* had obtruded vpon his father, his auncestors, and common weale of *Florence*: and lastly by how many meanes and times *Ferdinand* and *Alphonso* his father had conspired some times by armes and open force, and often by traines and subtelties, to make them selues Lordes of *Tuskane*.

These counsells or aduertisements brought forth litle fruite according to the expectation of the author, for that *Ferdinand*, esteeming it much to his indignitie to giue place to *Lodowyke* and *Ascanius*, by whose workings he supposed the Pope was setled into those discontentments and indignations which he shewed: gaue secret counsell to *Virginio* by the incitation of his sonne *Alphonso*, not to delay to take by vertue of his purchase, the possession of the castles, promising to defende him against all displeasures that might happen. And on the other side, gouerning him selfe with his naturall indutrie, he communicated with the Pope diuerse meanes of composition, secretly incensing *Virginio* notwithstanding not to consent to any but such, as might keepe the castles in his possession, satisfying the Pope with some portion of money: which comfortes set *Virginio* into such a courage and resolution of mind, that many times afterwards he refused certaine of the conditions, euen such as *Ferdinand* (not to incense the Pope too much) solicited him instantly to be accepted. By these actions it was plainly perceiued that *Peter de Medicis* persevered to follow the authoritie of the king, and that all that was done to draw him away, was in vaine and without fruite: therefore *Lodowyke Sforce* deeply reuoluing how much it imported that the citie of *Florence* should be at the deuotion of his enemies, whose temperature and good gouernement was wont to be the principall foundation of his securitie, and seeming to see in his secret cogitation many impressions of daungers threatening him on all sides, determined to provide for his proper safety, and to those new perils to appropriate newe remedies, specially his conscience interpreting vnto him with what vehement desire the *Aragons* thirsted to take from him the gouernement of his Nephew: which iust ambition, albeit *Ferdinand* (to whom nothing was more familiar then to dissemble his intentions) had sought to couer in all his actions, yet in *Alphonso*, of nature more open and liberall, was not so great continencie and moderation, but that he complained publicly of the oppression of his sonne in law, pronouncing with more great libertie of wordes, then temperance of discretion, many iniurious speeches tending to manifest threatening. To these coniectures, *Lodowyke* added this argument of suspicion: He knew well that *Isabell* wife to *Iohn Galeas*, a young Ladie of high stomacke, would vse a perpetuall diligence to incense her father and grandfather, that if thindignitie which was done to her husband and her, would not moue them, at least the consideration of the perils whereunto their own liues were exposed, together with the lamentable ruine of their children, might draw them to compassion. But that which chiefly occupied his mind with perplexitie & torment, was, that by the suggestion of his proper conscience, he knew how hateful his name was to the subiects of the Duchie of *Myllan*, as well for the grieuous and vnaccustomed money tributes which he had imposed vpon them, as also for the compassion that euery one had of *Iohn Galeas* their rightfull Lord. And although he trauelled by all his best wayes to make them of *Aragon* suspected of a desire to impatronise themselves of that estate, as though they did assume a title by the auncient rights of the testament of *Philip Maria Viscount*, who had instituted his heire *Alphonso* father to *Ferdinand*, and vnder that pretence ment to wrest from him the gouernment of his Nephew: yet, he found him selfe vnable by all these meanes to remooue the hatreds that were conceiued against him, and much lesse so to satisfie the world, but that all men might consider to howe many miseries and wickednesses the ambition and wretched desire to beare rule, leades mortall men. Therefore

*Virginio first
hardened by
Fer. after-
wardes against
his will is ob-
stinata.*

*Causes mouing
Sforza to alter
the league or
penly.*

*Lod. seeketh
him new Con-
federates.*

after he had made discourse and conference with a small studie and trauell of minde of the state of things present, and the daungers likely to happen, casting aside all other thoughts, his deuiles at last brought forth this resolution, to search new confederates and new friends. Touching this resolution he found a great oportunitie in the Popes disdain against *Ferdinand*, and in the desire which he beleueed the state of *Venice* had, that this confederation should chaunge & alter, which of long time had giuen no small impedimentes to their purposes: he made solicitation to both these to contract in common a new confederacie for the publike benefite.

*The impuden-
cie of the Pope
to iustifie his
children.*

*The plaine sub-
tlety of popes to
call their sons
nephews.*

But the Pope reiecting all passions of anger, and all other affection, had his mind onely possesed with an vnbrideled couetousnesse to rayse and make mightie his sonnes, in whom hauing sedled a blind fancie, he was not ashamed, contrarie to the custome of former Popes (who to cast some cloke ouer their infamy were wont to call them their Nephewes) to call them his children, and expessed them to the world for such. And not finding as yet other fit occasion to giue beginning to his ambitious intention: he made instance to marry one of his two sons to the bastard daughter of *Alphonso*, demaunding a dowrie of some rich estate in the kingdome of *Naples*: from which hope so long as he was not excluded, he harkened rather with his eare then his heart to the confederation offered by *Lodowyke*. And if in this desire he had beene satisfied, the peace of *Italy* had not perhaps falne into so sodaine alteration and trouble.

*Causes why the
Pope embraceth
the coun-
cels of Sforza.*

Ferdinand happily had not his minde much estranged from that motion: but *Alphonso* to whom was hatefull the ambition and pride of the Pope, denyed constantly his consent, and yet keeping his intentions dissembled, they made no open chalenge or dislike to the marriage, but laying all the difficulty vpon the qualitie of the dowrie that was demaunded, they satisfied not *Alexander*, who rising for this cause into discontentment, resolved to embrace the counsels of *Lodowyke*, his humors being turned all into disdain and ambition, and his minde trauelled with feare, for that not onely *Virginio Vrsin* was mercenarie to *Ferdinand*, and for the many fauours he had receiued of him and them of *Florence*, and being withall of the faction of the *Guelffes*, was at that time very mightie throughout the whole dominions of the Church: but that which more was, *Prosper* and *Fabricius* principall heads of the family of the *Collonnos*, and the Cardinall of *S. P. ad uincula*, a Cardinall of great reputation (then rettyred to the Castle of *Ostie*, which he held as Bishop of the place, least the Pope should dresse some ambush against his life:) was now become a great friend to *Ferdinand*, to whom before he was a professed enemy, and had many times stirred the Popes *Sixtus* and *Innocent* against him. But the Senate of *Venice* contrary to the opinion and expectation of the world, made no great shew of readines to this confederation: for, albeit they tooke it to happen to their commoditie, and held withall very agreeable the disunion of others, yet they tooke occasion in the infidelitie of the Pope, being euery day more suspected to euery one, to be slow to harken to the league, the remembrance of the alliances made by them with *Sixtus* and *Innocent* the Popes latest predecessors, seruing much to their present distrust. This was when the warre was most hoat against the Duke of *Ferrara*, whereunto after he had prouoked them, and intangled them with the quarrell, receiuing of the one great displeasures without any profit, and for *Sixtus*, he did not onely chaunge purpose, but also recompensed them with his spirituall curses, and (together with the residue of all *Italy*) he proceeded against them with his temporall corrections: But notwithstanding all these, the industrie and diligence of *Lodowyke* continually soliciting the Senate, and priuately working with many in particular, all these difficulties were vanquished, and at last was contracted in the moneth of Aprill 1493. betweene the Pope, the Senate of *Venice*, and *Iohn Galeas* Duke of *Myllan* (for all expeditions were dispatched in his name) a new confederation, for their common defence, and particular preservation of the gouernement of *Lodowyke*: one of the conditions was, that the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan*, and euery of them should send immediatly to *Rome* for the seruicie of the Pope and state ecclesiastike, an hundred men at armes, as well with those, as with greater forces (if neede required) they should ioyne with him for the recouerie of the castles deteyned by *Virginio*.

*The moderate
and wise proce-
ding of the Ve-
netians.*

*Confederation
betweene the
Pope, the Ve-
netians & the
Duke of Myl-
lan.*

These new counsels moued not a little the mindes of all *Italy*, for that the Duke of *Myllan* remayned now deuided from that league, by the which for more then a dozen yeares, their common securitie was mainteyned, being in it expressly defended that none of the confederates should enter any new alliance without consent of the residue. And therefore seeing that vnitie was broken with vnequall diuision, wherein consisted the equalitie of their generall and cōmon busines,

and :

and the mindes of the Princes replenished with suspitions and displeasures, there could be no expectation of other successe, then that to a generall and common hurt, there would resort fruites equall and conformable to such seedes. Now, the Duke of *Calabria* and *P. de medicis*, iudging it more for the sewertie of their estates to preuent, then to be preuented, inclyned easly to *Prosper* and *Fabricius Colonne*, who being also secretly incensed by the Cardinall *S. P. aduincla*, offered to surpriue the towne of *Rome* with their companies of men at armes and the aide of the faction of the *Gebelyns*, so that the *Vrsins* would follow them, and the Duke of *Calabria* march so neare, that he might reskeue them within three dayes after their entry into *Rome*.

A practise to
the surprise of
Rome.

But *Ferdinand*, who nowe desired no more to vexe but to appease the courage of the Pope, and to correct that which heretofore had beene done by a rash counsell and without discreffion, reiected altogether those counsels wherein he iudged was infection of commotion, and carried not intention and matter to breede securitie, but to raise and nourish greater troubles and daungers: he determined now, not fainedly, but with all his hart, to do all he could to compound and accord the controuersie of the castels, perswading himselfe, that that occasion of so great emotion and change being taken away, *Italy* would speedily returne with little or no trauell, to her first estate. But it hapneth not alwayes, that in taking away the occasions, the effects doe cease, hauing had of them their first beginning: for, as it often times hapneth that resolutions made by feare, seeme to him that feareth, lesse then the perill: so *Lodowyke* had no great confidence in that he had found a remedie sufficient for his securitie: But doubting, by reason the Pope and the Venetians had intentions and ends other then his, that his foundation could not long last, which he had layd vpon the confederation lately made with them, and that therefore his affaires by diuers accidents should be in daunger to be reduced into hard termes and many difficulties: he applyed all his thoughts, more to cure euen to the roote the originall ill that he set before his eyes, then to provide a salue for such accidents as might happen by it, neither remembring how daungerous it is to vse a medicine stronger then the nature of the disease or complexion of the patient will suffer, nor that to enter into greater perills can be the onely remedie for daungers present. And to the end to build his sewertie vpon forreine strength, seeing he had no confidence in his owne forces, and lesse expectation of trust in the Italian amities, he determined to doe all that he could to stirre vp the French King *Charles* the viij. to assaile the kingdome of *Naples*, which he pretended to appertaine to him by the auncient rights and discentes of the house of *Aniow*.

Ferdinand
repenteth all
too late.

Lodowyke first
calleth in fo-
rain armes
into Italy.

The kingdome of *Naples*, which, in the inuestitures and bulls of the Church of *Rome*, whereof it is an auncient freehold, is absurdly called the Realme of *Sicile* on this side the riuier of *Far*, and being vniuersally vsurped by *Manfroy* bastard sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke* the second, was giuen in chiefe together with the Ile of *Sicile* vnder the title of both *Sicules*, the one on this side, and the other beyond *Far*, by Pope *Vrbyn* the fourth, to *Charles* Earle of *Pronence* and *Aniow*, brother to that *Lewys* king of the french, who, much renowned for his power and strength, but more recommended for the holinesse of his life, deserved (according to the vaine affections of the Frenchmen) to be translated after his death into the number of Saintes. This *Charles* with force of armes, obtained effectually, that, which by title was giuen to him with the authority of the Church: after his death, succeeded to the kingdome, *Charles* his sonne called by the Italians (to distinguish him from his father) *Charles* the second, who left the inheritance of the Realme to *Robert* his sonne. But because *Robert* dyed without issue male, *Iohane* daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Calabria* sonne to *Robert*, who dyed in young age before his father, aspired to the kingdom: but her authoritie beganne immediately to be deiectioned, no lesse for the infamie of her life and conditions, then for the common imbecillitie of that sexe: whereupon, with the increase of time, the Realme being throwne into many discordes and warres, not with straungers, but amongst the selfe successors of *Charles* the first, descending of diuerse children of *Charles* the second: *Iohane* despayring not to be able to defend her selfe, adopted for her sonne, *Lewys* Duke of *Aniow*, brother to the french King *Charles* the fift: he to whom the frenchmen gaue the surname of wise, for that he had obtained many victories without feeling the power of *Fortune*. This *Lewys*, after he had passed into *Italy* with a mighty armie (*Iohane* being aforehand decessed by violent means, and the kingdome transferred to *Charles* called *Durazzo*, descending likewise of *Charles* the first) died of a feuer in *Apulia* euen when he was almost in possession of the victorie: so that there came no other thing to them of *Aniow* by his adoption, then the earledome of *Pronence*, which

The title of the
house of An-
iow, to the
kingdome of
Naples.
1264.

The name of
Iohane, a name
vnhappy for
the kingdome
of Naples.

had bene alwayes possessed by the issues of *Charles* the first. But yet of that rose the originall of the colour vnder the which afterwards, both *Lewys* of *Aniow*, sonne to the first *Lewys*, and at another time a sonnes sonne of the same name both stirred vp by the Popes, being then in variance with the same kings, to make many inuasions vpon the kingdome of *Naples*, but with great misfortune and preiudice. Touching *Charles Duraazo*, *Ladislaue* his sonne succeeded him, who dying without issue in the yeare 1414. the crowne diuolued to his sister *Iohane* the second, A name much accursed for the kingdome of *Naples*, and no lesse vnhappy to both the one and other of the women, resembling one an other in dissolute gouernement and wanton customes of life: for this *Iohane* putting the pollicie and direction of the Realme into the hands of those persons with whom she communicated vnchastly her bodie, was immediatly brought into such straites and difficulties, that being tormented with *Lewys* the third, with the aide of Pope *Martyn* the fifth, she was at last constrained for the last refuge, to make her sonne by adoption, *Alphonso* king of *Aragon* and *Sicile*. But entring soone after into contention with him, she brake that adoption vnder colour of ingratitude, and made a new adoption, calling to her succours, the selfe *Lewys*, who persecuting her with warre, compelled her by necessities of warre, to make the first adoption. In so much as hauing with force chased *Alphonso* wholly out of the kingdome, she enioyed it in peace, all the residue of her life: And dying without issue, she instituted for her heire (as the brute went) *Rene* Duke of *Aniow* and Earle of *Prouence*, brother to *Lewys* her sonne adoptyfe, who perhaps died the same yeare. But the succession of *Rene* displeasing much the Barons of the realme (besides a brute running that the testament was forged by them of *Naples*) *Alphonso* was reuoked by a part of the Barons and people: and from thence kindled the fire of the warres betwene *Alphonso* and *Rene*, which by many yeares brought many afflictions to that noble realme, and yet the accidents and actions of the warre, were more by the proper forces of the realme, then by the strength of the parties. In this sort (the wils of men being different and contrary) were kindled the factions not altogether in that time quenched betwene the *Aragons* and them of *Aniow*, their titles and colours of rights chaunging with the time, for that the Popes following more their customes of couetousnes, or the propertie of times, then iustice or equitie, consented diuersely to the inuestitures of them. But touching the warres betwene *Alphonso* and *Rene*, the victory remained to *Alphonso*, a Prince for his valure, more renowned, for his power, more mighty, and for his fortune, better fauoured: who dying soone after without lawfull heires, and without making any mention of *Iohn* his brother and successor to the realme of *Sicile* & *Aragon*, bequeathed by testament the kingdome of *Naples* to *Ferdinand* his bastard sonne, as a iust reward and testimonie of his proper getting and conquest, and therefore he iudged it could not appertaine to the crowne of *Aragon*. This bastard, notwithstanding he was immediatly after the death of his father, inuaded by *Iohn* the sonne of *Rene*, and that by the supportation of the principall barons of the realme: yet with his fortune & vertue he maintained not only good defence, but also so chased his aduersaries, that neuer after during the life of *Rene* (suruiuing many yeares his sonne) he neither had to debate with those of *Aniow*, nor yet stode in feare of their inuasions. In the end *Rene* dyed, and hauing no issue male, he established as heire ouer his whole estates, *Charles* the sonne of his brother, who dying soone after without children, left by his wil his inheritance to the french king *Lewys* the xj. to whom did not only returne as to his Lord soueraigne the Duchie of *Aniow* (which suffreth no capacity of succession in the women, for that it is a member of the crowne) but also he put himselfe in the possession of *Prouence*, notwithstanding the Duke of *Lorraine* descending of one of the daughters of *Rene*, iustified the inheritance of his estates to appertaine vnto him. And the said *Lewys* by iust vertue & prerogatiue of the same testament, had good power to pretend that the rights which those of *Aniow* had to the kingdome of *Naples*, should be appropriated to him. All which inheritances being passed and continued after his death to the person of *Charles* the viij. his sonne, *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* began to haue a mighty enemy, besides the oportunitie generally offering to who soeuer desired to annoy him. For, at that time, this was the state of the realme of *Fraunce*: it was very populous in multitudes of men, for wealth & riches euery particular region most fertill and plentifull, for glory in armes most flourishing and renowned: a pollicy well directed, discipline administred, an authoritie dreadfull, and in opinion and hope most mightie, lastly their generall conditions and faculties so well furnished, as perhaps it was not more happy in these mortall felicities since the daies of *Charlemaine*. It was newly amplified

The state of
the Realme of
France vnder
Charles the
viij.

amplified in euery one of the three parts, wherein all *Gauls* stood deuided by the annuities: for, xl. yeares before vnder *Charles* the vij. (a Prince for his victories obtained with great daungers called happie) *Normandie* and the Duchie of *Guyen* holden by the English, were reduced to the obedience of the french crowne. And in the last dayes of *Lewys* the xj. the Earledome of *Provence*, the dukedome of *Burgondy*, almost all *Picardie*, together with the Duchie of *Britaine*, were by a new mariage inuested in the power of *Charles* the viij. There was no want of inclination in this king to aspire to conquere by warre and armes the kingdom of *Naples*, as iustly appertaining to him: which continuing from his infancie by a certaine naturall instinct, was entertayned and nourished by such as were about him, and for the conformitie of humours, very agreeable with him: they raised his thoughts into vaine regions, and made him glorious about the triumphes of *Cesar* and *Alexander*: they told him that with his heroicall minde, vertues, and disposition, did concur a present occasion to make him surmount the renowme of his predecessors, for that in the conquest of *Naples* was a readie way for him to bring vnder his subiection the Empire of the *Turkes*.

A right description of Parasites.

These things being knowne to many, brought many hopes to *Lodowyke Sforce*, to perswade easily the thing he desired, who also reapposed much in the friendship and familiarity which the name of *Sforce* had in the french Court: for, both in him and in his brother *Galeas* afore him, was continued by many demonstrations and good offices, the amitie begunne by *Francis Sforce* their father, who xxx. yeares before hauing receiued in fee of *Lewys* the xj. (whose mind abhorred alwaies the things of *Italy*) the citie of *Sauone*, with the right which he pretended to haue to *Genes* possessed aforetime by his father, neuer failed him in his daungers, neither with counsell, succors, nor affection.

But *Lodowyke* to sollicite in *France* with more credite and authoritie, and iudging himselfe vnable alone, both for the importance and daunger of the thing, to handle so great an enterprize: sought to communicate and perswade all things with the Pope, in whom he knew had most dominion to stirring humors, ambition and disdain: he told him that not by the fauors of the Princes of *Italy*, and much lesse by the meane of their armies and helpes, he should be reuenged of *Ferdinand*, nor haue hope to compasse estates worthy and honorable for the aduancement of his honours. He found the Pope to beare a vehement and ready will to the matter, perhaps for a desire to innouate and alter things, but more likely to constraîne the *Aragons* by feare to come to that, which by consent and will they would not accord to him. After they had communicated their counsels, they dispatched secretly into *France*, personages of trust, to sound the will of the king and such as gouerned him: who shewing them selues not farre from their intention, *Lodowyke* turning his whole wits to the deuise of this enterprize: sent in the sight of all the world (but shadowing it with other occasions) one *Charles Balbian* Earle of *Beloyense*, who soliciting the king certaine dayes in priuate audience, and working particularly with sundry of his principall fauorites, was at last introduced into open counsell, the king present, where in a publike hearing of the Prince, his Lords and Prelates of the Court, he deliuered this forme of discourse.

Lodo. Sforce seeketh to draw the Pope to his purpose.

Most Christian King, The experience of the disposition of hearts diuersly inclined, makes me doubtfull, whether vnder a direct and absolute forme, I should begin my discourse, or vsing the custome of Orators, bring into question such obiections as may be opposed against the present matter: for, in causes of perswasion, the one with the other must orderly concur, least for want of due office in the speaker, the matter seeming to suffer imperfection and error, do not bring forth resolution and effect according to the expectation of the parties for whom he sollicitates. And albeit the vniuersall coniecture and opinion of your Maiesties maiesties vertues, and the graue aspect and face of your right wise counsell here assembled, promise no lesse ready consent and liking, then the matter is iust and innocent: yet for your Maiesties better inducement, and generall satisfaction of your Lords and Prelates assisting, I will ioine my selfe to the refutation of that generall doubt which in negotiations of this nature, are commonly objected, more by custome, then iust cause arising. If therefore (right Christian king) any man for what occasion so euer, will hold for suspected the integritie of mind and faith, with the which *Lodowyke Sforce* comes to counsell you to beare armes to conquere the kingdome of *Naples*: he may easily deliuer his mind of that ill grounded suspition, if he either looke into the offers, offices, and conditions wherewith he doth accompany his perswasion & counsell, offering you the commoditie of his treasures, men,

The Embassage of Myllan perswades the french king to the voyage of Naples.

" and all other oportunities : or at least will call to his memorie with what deuotion both he , *Gast*
 " *leas* his brother, and originally *Francis* his father, did honour the late king *Lewys* your father, con-
 " tinued with no lesse constancie, faith, and pietie to the glorious name of your Maiestie. Let him
 " consider also that by this enterprise, *Lodowyke* stands possible to many great daungers, with a ve-
 " ry naked hope of any profite : yea in this is conteyned the only benefite he shall haue, to see a iust
 " reuenge of the ambushes and wrongs done by them of *Aragon* : where your maiestie by meane
 " of the victorie, shal happily aspire to a most flourishing kingdome, bringing with it a greater glo-
 " rie and oportunitie of farre more high and honorable merite, an action whereunto the thoughts of
 " mighty Princes ought to be fashioned. And on the other part, if it happen that you come not to
 " the end of this enterprise : yet your maiestie looseth no reputation, nor your greatnesse the more
 " diminished : for that onely the fortunes of Princes are subiect to opinions, but not their estate and
 " maiestie impaired. But for *Lodowyke*, he is of nothing more sure then to suffer generall ill will and
 " contempt, and of nothing more vnure then to find remedie in his perils : for that in him would
 " concurre all the displeasures and slaunders which may concerne his estate, life, or reputation. And
 " therefore I see not how should be suspected the counceils of him, whose conditions and fortunes
 " are so vnequall and inferior to yours. But there be reasons stirring you to this honorable expedi-
 " tion, which for the simplicitie, roundnesse, and innocencie they conteine, will admit no doubt :
 " for that in them are liberally concurrant all the ground, and foundations which in consulting of
 " enterprises, merit chiefe consideration : that is to say, the iustice of the cause, the facilitie of the
 " conquest, and the great fruite of the victorie : it is manifest to all the world, how resolute and ap-
 " parant be the rights which the house of *Aniow*, to whom you are lawfull inheritour, hath to the
 " realme of *Naples*, and how iust is the succession which this crowne pretends to it by the issues of
 " *Charles*, who first of the blood royall of *France*, obteyned the same kingdome, both with the au-
 " thoritie of the Pope, and by his proper valour. And it is no lesse easie to conquere it, then the acti-
 " on is iust : for, who knowes not, how much the King of *Naples* is inferiour in force, authoritie, and
 " fortune, to the most mightie King of all Christendome. And no nation doubteth, with what ter-
 " rour and renowne the name of the french thundereth throughout the regions of the world, nei-
 " ther with what astonishment the brute of your armies, keepeth other countreys in dread. At no
 " time did the inferiour Dukes of *Aniow* assaile the kingdome of *Naples* : that they put it not in
 " great hazard : And it is too late to be forgotten, how *Iohn* sonne of *Re*ne had in his hand the vi-
 " ctorie against *Ferdinand* now reigning, if Pope *Pius* had not taken it from him : but much more
 " *Francis Sforce*, who forbare (as is well knowen) to obey *Lewys* the xj. your father. If those small
 " forces trained with them so great fortunes, what may be hoped for of the armies and authoritie
 " of so mightie a king, all oportunities being increased, and the difficulties objected against *Re*ne
 " and *Iohn*, diminished, seeing the Princes of those estates which gaue impediments to their victo-
 " ries, haue now vnite and confederation with you : and in them be no small meanes to offend the
 " kingdome of *Naples* : for, the Pope by land, by reason the territories of the Church are frontiers
 " to *Naples*, and the Duke of *Mylan* by sea, applying to you the commoditie and seruice of *Genes* :
 " will be furtherers of your victorie, with many helpes, fauours, and commodities : besides these,
 " there is no potentacie or iurisdiction in *Italy* will oppose against you : for, it cannot be iudged of
 " the *Venetians*, that they will throwe themselves into expenses and daungers, and much lesse de-
 " priue their estate of the amitie wherein so long time they haue bene intertaind with the kings of
 " *France* : to preserue or protect *Ferdinand* an auncient enemy to their name and greatnesse : for
 " that amongst estates and kingdomes, the remembrance of iniuries past keepes mens mindes from
 " reconcilment. And there is no reason to beleue, that the Florentines will depart from the natu-
 " rall deuotion which they haue borne to the crowne of *France*, seeing it is but iust, to owe faith,
 " seruice and affection, to those who gaue them their first creation, dignitie, and greatnesse. But be-
 " it, that, following the common ingratitude of mortall men, they would obiect themselves against
 " you : what are they against so great a power, compounded vpon so warlike a nation, which ma-
 " ny times, against the wils of all *Italy* hath passed the *Alpes*, and with a wonderfull glory and hap-
 " pinesse, haue brought home many victories and triumphes : And in what time hath the realme of
 " *France* bene euer more happie, more glorious, or more mightie, then at this hower ? neither had
 " this crowne at any time heretofore so conuenient and readie meanes to establish a firme peace
 " with all his neighbours. All which oportunities if they had so generally met together in the daies
 " of

of your father, he would perhaps haue bin more ready to this selfe same expedition: And touching them of *Aragon* your enemies, the difficulties be no lesse augmented against them, then to you the oportunities be fauouring, because in the same realme both the faction of *Anow* is yet mighty, and no lesse the intelligences of many Princes and gentlemen chased out vniustly within these few yeares, besides, the iniuries done at all times by *Ferdinand* to the Barons & people, yea euen to them of the party of *Aragon*, haue beene of so bitter taste and toleration, together with his disloyalty so great, his couetousnesse so insatiable, & the examples of cruelty in him and his eldest sonne *Alphonso* so notorious and horrible: that it is certaine that all the realme pushed forward with a iust hate against them, will rise into willing commotion at the brute of your coming (so great authoritie hath as yet the remembrance of the liberalitie, sinceritie, humanitie, and iustice which the French kings haue vsed:) the onely deliberation to make the enterprise is sufficient to make you victorious: for, your men at armes shall no sooner passe ouer the mountaines, nor the armie at sea no sooner be prepared in the haven of *Genes*, then *Ferdinand* and his sonne stricken with the conscience of their wickednesse, will take more counsell to flie then to fight: so shall you with great happinesse, recouer for the posteritie of your bloud, a kingdome, which albeit can hold no comparison with the large realme of *France*, yet, besides his riches, amplitude and fertillity, it well merits account and reckoning for the helpes and infinite commodities which by it may be increased to this your imperiall crown, matters which I would particulate, were it not that the noble minds of the french reach vnto greater ends, and that the high and excellent thoughts of so valiant and glorious a king, regard not so much profits priuate, or particular, as they behold the vniuersall greatnesse of the whole common weale of Christendome: wherein touching this, what oportunitie more greater, what more ample occasions, what feat of countrey more proper or conuenient to manage warre against the enemies of our religion? The sea that deuides the kingdome of *Naples* and *Greece*, contains not in some part aboue lxx. miles in largenesse: a prouince so oppressed and torne in peeces with the tyrannies of the *Turkes*, that they desire nothing with more generall gladnesse, then to see the banners of Christians and men of warre marching for their deliuerie. There is nothing more easie then to runne euen into the intrals of that Nation, and to batter *Constantinople*, the soueraigne residencie of that Empire. This enterprise, for the maiestie and nature of it, doth most worthily become your person and greatnesse, with whose high & aspiring thoughts it seemes to haue a certaine liuely affinitie: And for the reason and necessitie of it, it can not so iustly appertaine to any as to you bearing the surname of *Most Christian*, a title wherein your predecessors haue flourished with no small examples of triumph & glory, they issuing in armed maner out of this realme, sometimes to deliuer the Church of God from the oppression of tyrants, sometimes to inuade the infidels, & recouer the holy sepulcher, haue raised euen to the third heauen their names and maiestie of the french kings: with these counells, with these meanes, with these actions, with these ends, became great and Emperour of *Rome*, that mighty and triumphant *Charles*, of whom as you beare the name, so now the time offereth you occasion to communicate with his glory and titles. But it is a time vainely spent to stand long vpon the recapitulation of these reasons, as though it were not more conuenient and more agreeing with the order of nature, to consider how to keepe, then how to get: for, considering the oportunitie of so many and great occasions calling you, it could not but intangle your greatnesse with apparant infamy & dishonour, to suffer any longer *Ferdinand* to vsurpe vpon you such a kingdome, which for almost two hundreth yeares hath had continuall possession in the kings of your bloud. And seeing by cleare iustice and all iudiciall course of lawes, it appertaines vnto you, who doubts how iustly it agreeth with your dignitie to recouer it: but specially how much it concerns your pietie to deliue from the cruell tyranny of those *Catolyns*, those people which beare deuotion to your name, and do craue by right to beare you the dutie and office of subiects? Thus most high and glorious king, is the enterprise proued iust, easie, and necessary, and withall no lesse glorious and holy, as well for it selfe in particular, as for that it openeth the way to other enterprises worthy of a right Christian king of *France*: whereunto not only the reasons of men, but euen the selfe voice of God, doth call you with great and manifest occasions, assuring you afore the beginning of a most great happinesse and fortune, since no greater worldly happinesse can happen to no Prince, then to see his deliberations and counells, (bringing glorie and greatnesse) to be accompanied with such circumstances and consequences, that they concerne not onely the benefite and vni-

“uerfall safetic; but much more do confider the exaltation of the whole communitie of Chriften-
dome.

*The Nobilitie
of France mis-
like the iourney
into Italy.*

*A true faying
of King Lewys
“vi.*

*Iust reasons
by the Nobili-
ty alleaged.*

This propofition had no willing paffage into the eares or harts of the great Lords of *France*, but fpecially of fuch, who for their nobilitie and opinion of wifedome held greateft authoritie: They iudged that fuch a warre whereof he had opened the way and entry, could not but containe many difficulties and daungers, both for the conduct of armies into a countrey ftraunge, and farre remoued from the realme of *France*, and alfo againft enemies bearing reputation of valour, pollicie, and difcipline: for, for wifedome, forecaft, and ftained difcretion, *Ferdinand* bare a high recommendation: and for valour, conduct and direction in warre, his fonne *Alphonfo* was no leffe renoumed. Befides, they made this coniecture, that *Ferdinand* hauing raigned xxx. yeares, and sacked and confifked at fundry times many of the Barons, had heaped together no fmall treafure: on the behalfe of the king, they confidered that his capacitie was too greene to fuftaine alone fo heauy a burden, and for the direction of warres and eftates, the counsell weake, and the experience leffe affured of fuch as he beleueed moft in. To thefe they added the want of money, whereof they efteemed to heede a great quantitie. They wifhed that the deceits and fubtilties of the Italians might be deeply looked into, affuring themfelues that it could not be pleafing, neither to others nor to *Lodowyke Sforce* himfelfe: (a man confefled by all the Italians to be of little faith) that the kingdome of *Naples* fhould paffe into the power of a king of *France*: they iudged it hard to winne, and leffe eafie to keepe thofe things that fhould be wonne. For that reafon (faid they) *Lewys* father to *Charles*, (a Prince in all his actions following more the truth, then the appareance of things) would neuer accept the hopes which were offered him of the matters of *Italy*, and much leffe make reckoning of the rights faue to him in the Realme of *Naples*: no, he faue in his iudgement, that to fend armies beyond the mountaines, was no other thing then to fearch enemies and daungers with the waft of infinite treafure, and bloud of the Realme of *France*: they held it neceffarie afore all things (if this expedition fhould proceede) to reunite controuerfies with the kings borderers, for that with *Ferdinand* king of *Spaine*, was no want of occasions of quarrels and fufpitions, and with *Maximilian* king of *Romaines*, and *Philip* Archduke of *Auftrich* his fonne, not onely many hart burnings and iealoufies, but alfo difpleafures & iniuries: whole minds albeit they could not be recõciled without cõdefcending to fome things hurtfull to the crowne of *France*, yet neuertheleffe fuch reconcilements would be more by demonftrations then effectes: for, fay they, if any ill accident happen to the kings army in *Italy*, what accord can be fo well affured, which will hold them from inuading the Realme of *France*, feeing this is familiar with Princes, to hold for fufpected the greatneffe and fortunes of their neighbours, and are ouer nothing fo watchfull as ouer oportunities and occasions. And touching the king of *England*, *Henry* the vij. it was not to be doubted that the naturall hate of the Englifh toward the french had not more force then the peace made with him two moneths before, for that it is manifelt, that no one thing brought him more to the compofition, then that the preparations of the king of *Romaines* answered not the promifes wherewith he had induced him to lay fiege to *Bollogne*. Of this nature were the reafons alleaged by the great Lords, partly debated amongeft themfelues, and partly difputed in the prefence of the king. The chiefteft of thofe that iuftified thefe arguments afore the king, was one *Iames Granille* Admirall of *France*, whose greatneffe albeit was fomewhat diminished, yet his authoritie fuffered no alteration, for the auncient name and credit of his wifedome rousing liberally thorough all the Realme of *France*. But the kings mind with a wonderfull greedineffe, was wholly inclined to the contrary aduife: what with the greeneneffe of his yeares afpiring now to xxij. and by his unfayned nature, not yet experienced in the affaires of the world, he was caried into a wonderfull ambition to enlarge his Empire, following an appetite of glory, founded rather vpon a light will and furie of youth, then vpon maturitie of counsell, feeing that either by his proper nature, or rather the examples and admonifhments of his parents, he reappofed little faith in his Lords and Nobles of his realme. And fince he came forth of the tutorfhip and iurifdiction of *Anne* Ducheffe of *Burbon* his fifter, he bare no more care to the counfels of the Admirall, nor to others that had beene great in the gouernement: but gaue himfelfe ouer to the directions of certaine men of bafe condition, trained vp almoft alwayes in the feruice of his perfon: of thefe, fuch as had moft fauour and place with him, perfwaded him greatly to embrace the enterprife, being partly corrupted, (for the counfels of Princes are often times mercenarie)

with

with the promises and presents of *Lodowyke* Embassador, by whom was not forgotten any diligence or art to draw the fauours of such as might do most in this action. They were partly pushed on by certaine hopes, either to be raysed to estates in the kingdome of *Naples*, or to obtaine of the Pope, dignities and pensions in the Church. The principall of all these, was one *Stephen de Vers*, borne in *Languedocke*, of base place, but bred yp of long time with the king, in whose chamber he vsed to lie, and by the kings creation made *Seneschall* of *Beucaire*: with this man did communicate one *William Bricconet*, who of a marchant created first generall of *France*, and after made Bishop of *S. Malo*, had not only the charge & administration of the kings reueneue, (which the french call superintendent of the finances,) but also hauing confederacie with *Stephen*, had by his meanes a great entry into all the affaires of importance, albeit he had no great insight in the policie and gouernment of matters of estate. To the helpe of this enterprise, were adioyned the perswasions of *Autouell* of *S. Seuerin*, Prince of *Salerne*, and of *Vernaedin* of the same family, Prince of *Bysignan*, together with many other Barons banished the Realme of *Naples*, who being withdrawn many yeares before into *France*, had continually solicited the king to that enterprise, laying before his eyes the great calamitie, or rather generall despaire of the whole kingdome, and the factions, and many followers, which they promised themselves to haue in the same.

King Charles led by base men, and such as by money were corrupted.

The counsels of exiles are alwayes desperate.

In this diuersitie of perswasions, the deliberation remained suspended for certaine daies, others being not only in doubt what to determine, but also the kings will wauering and vncertaine, for that some times inclining to his ambition and glory, and sometimes restrained with feares & dangers, he would often be irresolute, and elssoones turne to the contrary, of that which he had afore determined. But in the end, his first inclination, together with the cursed destiny of *Italy*, being of more force then any thing that could be said to the contrary, the well gouerned & peaisible counsels of his Nobles were altogether reiected, and communicating only with the bishop of *S. Malo*, and the *Seneschall* of *Beucaire*, and partaking nothing with the assent & priuie of all others, there was a conuention made with *Lodowyke* Embassador, whose conditions albeit were holden secret for many moneths, yet this is the capitulation and summe of them.

The king *Charles* either going in person into *Italy*, or sending thither any army for the conquest of *Naples*, the Duke of *Myllan* was bound to giue him passage thorow his iurisdiccions. To send thither with his men, five hundreth men at armes paid: To suffer him to arme at *Genes* so many vessels as he will: And to lend him before he departed out of *France*, two hundreth thousand duckets.

Confederation betweene the king of France, & Lod. Sforce.

Touching the king, he was bound to the defence and protection of the Duchie of *Myllan* against all men, with particular mention to preferue the authoritie of *Lodowyke*: to entertaine during the warre within the citie of *Ast* belonging to the Duke of *Orleance*, two hundreth launces to giue succours to the necessities of that Duchie. Lastly, he promised either at that time or soone after, by a writing subsigned with his owne hand, that hauing once conquered the realme of *Naples*, he should giue to *Lodowyke* the principallitie of *Tarente*.

Great promises slenderly performed.

But lets looke somewhat into the variation of times and things of the world: Albeit *Francis Sforce*, rather to *Lodowyke*, a Prince of rare wisedome and valour, was a professed enemy to those of *Aragan*, for the many displeasures he had receiued of *Alphonso*, *Ferdinands* father: and an ancient friend to the house of *Aniow*: yet this was his moderation in the actions concerning those two families, that in the yeare 1457. when *Iohn sonne* of *Rene*, invaded the kingdome of *Naples*, he ministred succours to *Ferdinand*, with such a wonderfull diligence and readinesse, that the victorie was acknowledged to happen wholly by his helpe: he was stirred to this for no other reason, then that he saw it was too perillous for his Duchie of *Myllan*, that the french his neare neighbours, should make themselves Lords ouer so mighty an estate. The same reason induced *Philip Maria Viscount* (abandoning them of *Aniow*, to whom he had alwaies before borne fauor) to deliuer *Alphonso* his enemy, who taken of the *Geneuoy*s in a battell at sea neare to *Caiette*, was brought to him prisoner to *Myllan*, with all the Nobilitie of his realmes: on the other side, *Lewys* the xj. father to *Charles*, being often times perswaded by many, and not with light occasions, to harken to the things of *Naples*, and being withall with great instance, called by the *Geneuoy*s to be Lord ouer their countries, as *Charles* his father had bene afore him: did alwayes refuse to intangle himselfe with the doings of *Italy*, as matters full of expenses & difficulties, and in the end hurtfull to the Realme of *France*. But now the opinions of men being chaunged, but perhaps not

Wise considerations of Francis Sforce not followed.

*Mens mindes
often change,
but the reason
of things alters
not.*

changed the reason of things, we see how *Lodowyke* calls the french ouer the mountaines, not fearing by so mightie a king (if *Naples* should fall into his hands) that daunger which his father no lesse valiant in armes then he, would haue feared, if but a little Earle of *Prouence* had conquered it. And on the other side, we see *Charles* now raigning inflamed with a desire to make warre in *Italy*, preferring the rashnesse of men of buie place and vnexperienced, afore the counsell of his father: A Prince of singular wisdom, temperance, and forecast. It hapneth too often, that new Princes haue new counsels, and of new counsels commonly resort new effects, euen such as in a ship, when a raw man is put to the helme, the course must needs alter.

*A reuenge ta-
ken vnder the
colour of great
fauour.*

It is not vnlike that *Lodowyke* was drawen to so great a deliberation by *Hercules de Este* Duke of *Ferrara*, his father in law, who, nourishing a vehement appetite to recouer *Polesina de Regnigne*, a countrey confining and importing much the sewertie of *Ferrara*, which the *Venetians* had taken from him in the warres ten yeares past, foresaw that the only meane to recouer it, was to set all *Italy* in trouble, and innouate the states with most great emotions. Besides this, many beleueed, that albeit in *Hercules* appeared a disguised apparance & will to wish well to his sonne in law, yet in secret he followed him with an extreme hatred, for that in the same warre all the residue of *Italy*, which had taken armes for him, being farre more mightie then the *Venetians*, *Lodowyke* gouerning then the state of *Myllan*, and regarding his proper respects & particular interests, constrayned the others to make peace, with condition that *Polesina* should remaine to the *Venetians*: And therefore *Hercules* hauing no meanes to reuenge so great an iniurie by armes & warre, sought to execute his long smothered malice, by giuing him a daungerous counsell: such are the operations of malice, working in minds mighty, who seeldome hold it any breach of iustice to be reuenged of him that offereth the first iniurie.

*The thoughts
of Ferdinand
King of Na-
ples.*

But now *Italy* being possessed with a brute of those things which were in practise on the other side the mountaines, and whose first authors at the beginning were vncertaine, many thoughts & discourses appeared in the vnderstandings of men: to many, waighing with the power & strength of the french king, and the readines of that Nation to new broyles & innouations, the present diuisions and factions of the Italians, it seemed a businesse of great quality & importance: others, interpreting the age & greenesse of the king, & iudging much of the negligence naturall to that nation, and lastly, looking into the impediments which great enterprises haue, construed all not to a counsell well grounded, but to a hot and vnbridled affection of youth, which after it had a litle throwne out his fume and fire, would easily vanish & dissolue. *Ferdinand* himselfe (against whom all this busines was conspired) shewed little appearance of feare, saying, it was an enterprife intrangled with many difficulties, for that if they made their inuasion by sea, they should finde him furnished with a plentifull nauie, armed able to giue him battell in the plaine sea, his ports being furnished, and his forts well manned & victualed: neither was there any baron in the realme able to receiue them, as had bene done afore to *John of Anjou*, by the Prince of *Bossane*, & other great ones of the land. And touching their expedition by land, it was full of incommodities, suspicious to many, and a painefull march farre off, for that their way lying all along the length of *Italy*, the residue of the Princes could not be without their particular feares, and perhaps *Lodowyke Sforce* more then the others, notwithstanding he made shew of the contrary, seeming as though a common perill brought interest to euery particular: for that the proximitie and neighbourhood of *Myllan* with *France*, gaue vnto the king a greater oportunitie, (but in truelikelihood) a greater desire to possesse & occupie that Duchie. And seeing the yong & true Duke of *Myllan*, was of neere kinned to the king, *Lodowyke* could not other waies assure himself, but that the king caried an intention to deliuer him from his oppression, hauing not many yeares before protested openly, that he would not endure that *John Galeas* his cosin should be so vnworthily restrained & kept vnder: That the state of them of *Aragon*, stood not vpon such termes & conditions, as the hope of their weaknesse might induce the courage of the french to make inuasions vpon the, for that they were plentifully furnished with many nùbers of valiant men at armes, great troups of horses of seruice, many stores of munitions & artilleries, & all other necessary things for the warre, together with so rich a mynt of money, that it sufficed against all wants, prouisions & fortunes: that besides many honorable Captaines trained and experienced, he had for the conduct of his armies, his eldest sonne, Duke of *Calabria*, a leader of great renowne, & no lesse vertue, growen into a mind resolute, a coucell staied & well aduised, & an assured experience, by following all the wars in *Italy*, for many yeres before.

*Ferdinand
doth flatter
himself.*

To ;

To these forces he added the powers of his parents and allies, of whose readie aide and assistance he nothing doubted, hauing speciall expectation to receiue plentifull succours from the King of *Spaine* his cosin, and brother to his wife, not onely in respect of the double knot of parentage, but also for that in good pollicie it stood him vpon, to hold for suspected the neighbourhood of the French men to *Sicile*.

This was the glorious humor of *Ferdinand*, bringing forth in publicke many brags touching his owne power and greatnesse, and to the contempt and lessening of the forces and meanes of his aduersaries. These be properties oftentimes familiar with Princes, to whom there can not be a more sensible and apparant token of their aduersitie or ruine, then when they esteeme themselves more then they are, and make their enemies lesse then they find them.

But *Ferdinand*, as he was a Prince of singular wisdom and well assured experience, so, in himselfe he found his mind tormented with many very grievous thoughts beholding with a fresh memorie, the troubles he had receiued of the french Nation in the beginning of his raigne: he debated deeply, that he should haue to doe with enemies warlike and mighty, for their troupes of horsemen farre about him: in footmen infinite, in ensignes well appointed, trayned, and disciplined: for prouisions at sea, nothing wanting to an armie royall: for artilleries, plentifull, sundrie, and terrible: for money, his mynes and myntings furnished about all wants that could happen: And of men, infinite in multitudes, resolute in minds, for seruice apt, of faith assured, of wils tractable, for commaundement obedient, and lastly, bearing all one common desire to commit their liues to any daunger for the glory and greatnesse of their naturall king. But of the contrarie, touching himselfe, all things were suspected to him, his Realme being full of hatred against the name of the *Aragons*, or at least of no litle inclination to commotion, and the most part of the residue, of an ordinary desire to haue haue new kings, wherein fortune may be of more power then faith: his strength was mightier in opinion, then in true forces: his treasure laide vp and reserved, not sufficient to carry the necessarie expenses for his defence, since all things by the warre being turned into rebellion and tumults, his reuenues would conuert to nothing in a moment: he saw that in *Italy* he had many enemies, and with none any friendship firme or well assured, hauing at some times bene grievous to all, either by armes, or other violent meanes. And for *Spaine*, according to the examples past, and conditions of the same realme, he had no expectation of other succours for his perils, then large promises, with a great name of operations, but very slender and slow effects. Lastly, his feares were augmented by the vnfortunate predictions that went of his house, come to his knowledge at sundry times, partly by auncient writings found out of new, partly by the interpretations and words of men, for the most part vncertaine of the present, and yet will referre certainly to things to come: those be things that in prosperitie we belecue little, and in aduersitie too much, specially if there arise any apparance.

The king of *Naples* wandring in these considerations, & his feares being greater without comparison then his hopes, he saw there were no better remedies against so great dangers, then either with all speed possible, to remoue by some agreement, such thoughts from the french kings mind, or at least to take from him part of the foundations which stirred him to the warre.

And therefore hauing sent Embassadors into *France*, to treat of a marriage betweene the king of *Scots*, and *Charlot* daughter of *Dom Federicke* his second sonne, the disposition of which marriage, was gouerned by the french king: for that the young Lady was nourished in his Court, and borne of a sifter of the mother of King *Charles*: he dispatched new commissions for the matters present and running: he ioyned with them in deputation and assistance, *Camille Pandon*, hauing bene vsed in negotiation for him there before, the better to labour priuately, such as were chiefeft guiders of the kings counsels, and others bearing inclination to profit, promises, and corrupt offers: and if they could not by other meanes appease or remoue the kings intention to the warre, then to offer him conditions of tribute, and other submissions: and so, if it were possible, to obteine peace. Besides this, he applyed not only all his thoughts, diligence, and authority to compose the difference of the castles bought by *Virgimo*, (to whose intractabilitie and obstinacie, he referred the chiefe occasion of all these disorders) but also he studied to giue a new life to the practices of parentage, commoned vpon before betweene the Pope and him. But about all others, his deepest care and thought was to appease and assure *Lodowyke Sforce* (first author and mouer of all the mischief) perswading himselfe, that feare, more then other occasion, ledde him to so

what Ferdinand feared.

The manner of the Spaniards.

Ferdinand is wise but too late.

daungerous a counsell. And therefore (according to the necessities that followed him) preferring his particular sewertie, afore the naturall respect and interest of his Neece, or the safetie of the sonne borne of her: he offered by many embassages, to referre himselfe wholly to his will touching the things of *Iohn Galeas*, and the Duchie of *Myllan*: In which offers more generall then honorable, he had no regard to the aduise of his sonne *Alphonso*, who to amaze, confuse, and threaten *Lodowyke*, iudged it the readiest meane to make him giue ouer those new counsels: wherein albeith he might take courage of the naturall fearefulnesse of *Lodowyke*, yet we often see, that no lesse easily is the timorous man carried by despaire into deliberations headlong and hurtfull, then the rash man, by credulitie, furie, and want of consideration, runnes into enterprises, that bring forth daunger, dishonour, and shame.

The Pope doth
use his aduan-
tage.

At last were appeased the controuersies of the castles, after many difficulties proceeding more of *Virginio* then of the Pope, to the conclusion of which composition, came *Dom Federike*, sent to *Rome* by his father for that effect. The accord ranne, that they should remaine in the possession and right of *Virginio*, repaying to the Pope equall proportion of money, which he had giuen at first to *Francisquin Cibo*: together with this, was knit vp the mariage of the Ladie *Sances* bastard daughter to *Alphonso*, with *Dom Geffray* youngest sonne to the Pope, (both the one and other, by reason of their greene age vnable to consummate or accomplish the mariage.) These were the conditions: That *Dom Geffray* should go to remaine at *Naples* after a few moneths: that he should receiue in dowrie, and respect of the mariage, the principallitie of *Squillaco*, valued at ten thousand duckets in yearely reuenew, and that *Ferdinand* should giue to him an estate of an hundredth men at armes. This confirmed the opinion of many, that all that the Pope solicited in *France*, bare no other meaning, then by feare to draw them of *Aragon* to these conuentions: this was one argument to approue their coniectures, that *Ferdinand* laboured to make a confederation with him for their common defence: but the Pope objected so many difficulties, that there was no other thing obtained of him, then a very secret promise by writing to defend the kingdome of *Naples*, so that *Ferdinand* would equally promise to protect the estate of the Church.

The subtleties
of Lod. Sforce.

These things dispatched, the companies of men at armes, which the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan* had sent to the Pope for his succours, retýred with licence and fauour out of the Church dominions: *Ferdinand* also beganne now with no lesse hope of happy successe to treat with *Lodowyke Sforce*, who with a wonderfull subletie and art, shewed himselfe some times ill contented with the inclination of the french king to the matters of *Italy*, and sometimes excused and iustified himselfe vpon his necessitie, for that by reason of his chiefe for *Genes*, and the auncient confederation with the house of *France*: he was constrained to tender the desires and requests made to him (as he said) by the same king. But sometimes he promised to *Ferdinand* in publike, and some times to the Pope and *P. de Medicis* apart and seuerally, to do all he could to moderate the kings desire, assaying to lull them a sleepe in this hope, to the end they conspired or dressed nothing against him, before the affayres of *France* were well proceeded and established: wherein they were the more easie to beleue him, by how much they iudged the resolution to bring the french king into *Italy*, so ill for his owne sewertie, that in consideration of his particular perill, and the common interest of *Italy*, they supposed he would vtterly disclaime and shake it off. All this sommer past in this nature of doings, *Lodowyke* working vnder such disguised formes and manners, that without giuing any suspition to the french king, neither *Ferdinand*, the Pope, nor the *Florentins* dispaired of his promises, nor yet altogether trusted him.

Preparations
in France for
the warres of
Italy.

But in this meane while, were layd in *France* with no small studie, the foundations of the warre, and expedition to come, whereunto (contrary to the counsels of most of the greatest) inclined more and more the affection of the king, who, to be more at libertie, accorded the differences he had with *Ferdinand* and *Isabell* King and Queene of *Spaine*, Princes in those times of great reputation and name for gouernement and wisdom, both for that they had drawen their Realmes out of great troubles into a settled tranquillitie; and also, had recouered to Christianitie, with a warre of ten yeares continuance, the kingdome of *Granado*, vsurped by the *Moor*es of *Affrick* for almost viij. hundredth yeares: it was expressed in this capitulation (solemnely iustified by publike oath of both parts in the Church) that in *Ferdinand* nor *Isabell* (for *Spaine* was gouerned vnder their comon name) should be no action of aide to the *Aragons* directly nor indirectly: no contract of any new affinitie or alliance: nor that in no sort they should oppose against King *Charles* for the defence,

defence of the realme of *Naples*. The king, in counterchange and recompence of these, (beginning by a losse certaine, for a hope of gaine vncertaine) restored without any repayment of money, *Parpignan*, with all the Earldome of *Rossellion*, pawned many yeares before to *Lewys* his father, by *Iohn* king of *Aragon*, and father to *Ferdinand*. An exchange altogether against the will and liking of the whole Nation of *France*, for that that Earldome, seated at the foote of the hils *Pyrennei*, and consequently according to the auncient diuision, part of *Gallia*, gaue alwayes necessarily impediments to them of *Aragon* for entring into *France* on that side.

Charles begins with a losse certaine for a gaine vncertaine.

The king, for the same occasion, made peace with *Maximilian* king of *Romaines*, and with his sonne *Phillip* Archduke of *Austrich*, in whom was no want of occasion, either of old or new hatreds against him: but specially for that his father *Lewys* by the death of *Charles*, Duke of *Burgondie* and Earle of *Flaunders*, with many other countries conioyning, did impatronize himselfe vpon the Duchie of *Burgondie*, and Earldome of *Artoys*, with many other places which the said Duke possessed: whereof growing no small warres betwene king *Lewys*, and *Marie* the only daughter of Duke *Charles*, married after the death of her father, to *Maximilian*: there was made at last (*Mary* being dead, and *Phillip* the common sonne of *Maximilian*, & her succeeding to the inheritance of his mother) an accord amongst them, more by the wils of the people of *Flaunders*, then readines of *Maximilian*. The better to confirme this accord, *Margaret* the sister of *Phillip* was married to *Charles* sonne of *Lewys*, & (notwithstanding she was very young) led into *France*: where after she had remained many yeares, *Charles* refused her, & tooke to wife *Anne*, to whom by the death of *Francis* her father leauing no issue male, the Duchie of *Brytaine* was descended. This was a double injury to *Maximilian*, being at one time made frustrate the marriage of his daughter, and his owne, hauing by procuracion afore married the said *Anne*: And yet, for that he was not able of himselfe to sustaine the warre recontinued by occasion of this iniurie, and that the people of *Flaunders* (gouerning themselves by their proper counsell and authoritie, by reason of the minoritie of *Phillip*) would not dwell in warre with the realme of *France*. And seeing lastly that the king of *Spaine* and *England* had dissolved their armies, which they had leuyed against the french: he consented to the peace, by the which king *Charles* restored to *Phillip*, his sister *Margaret* deteyned in *France* till then, together with the townes of the Earldome of *Artoys*, reseruing to himselfe the castles, but vnder bond to render them at foure yeares end, at what time *Phillip* being risen to his maioritie, might in good validitie cofirme the accord past. Those townes when the peace was made by king *Lewys*, were acknowledged by common agreement as the proper right of the said *Margaret*. The generall peace thus established with all the neighbours to the realme of *France*, the resolution of the warre against the kingdome of *Naples*, was confirmed for the yeare following: in which time were prepared all prouisions necessary, continually solicited by *Lodowyke Sforce*: who (the thoughts of men aduancing from degree to degree) occupied his wits now not onely how to assure the gouernement to him, but lifting vp his mind to higher conceits, he had an intention to transferre to himselfe the Duchie of *Myllan*, vnder the occasion of the warre against the *Aragons*, wherein to giue some colour of iustice to so great an iniustice, and with more firme foundations to assure his affaires against all fortunes that might happen: he married *Blanche Mary* sister to *Iohn Galeas*, & his Neece to *Maximilian*, newly aspired to the Empire of *Rome*, by the death of *Federike* his father: to him he promised in dowrie to be paide within a certaine time iiii. hundred thousand duckets of ready money, with iewels & other ornaments to the value of xl. thousand duckets: and of the other part, *Maximilian* thirsting more after money, then affinitie by his marriage, bound him selfe to indue *Lodowyke*, (to the preiudice of *Iohn Galeas* his new brother in law) with the inuestiture of the Duchie of *Myllan*, for him, his children, and offspring, as though that estate had remained without lawfull Dukes, euer since the death of *Phillip Maria Viscount*. At the latter payment of the money, he promised to giue him all the priuiledges and prerogatiues accomplished in most ample forme.

The Duchie of Brytaine inuested in the crowne of France.

Marriage of Blanche Mary Sforce with the Emperour Maximilian.

The *Viscountes*, gentlemen of *Myllan*, during the bloudie factions in *Italy*, betwene the *Gebelins* and *Guelfes*, and after the *Guelfes* were suppressed: of principall men of one part of *Myllan*, became Lords and absolute maisters of the whole citie, (such fruits for the most are bred by ciuill discordes.) And in this greatnesse after they had continued many yeares, they sought (according to the common aduancement of tyrannies, the better to disguise their vsurpation with a shew of right) to strengthen first colours lawfull, and after to set out their fortune, with most ample titles:

therefore after they had first obtained of the Emperours (of whom *Italy* beganne to know rather the name, then their power) the title of Captaines, and then Vicaires of the Empire: In the ende *John Galeas* (who for that his father in law *John* king of *France* had giuen him the Earledome of *Verus*, called himselfe Earle of *Verus*) obteyned of *Vincislao* king of *Romaines* for him and his issues males, the dignitie of Duke of *Myllan*, in which succeeded him the one after the other *John Maria* and *Philip Maria* his sonnes. But the line masculine being determined by the death of *Philip*, albeit, by his testament he had instituted as his heire *Alphonso* king of *Aragon* and *Naples*, partly for the recompence of the amitie he shewed at his deliuey, but more, for that the Duchie of *Myllan* defended by so mighty a Prince, should not fall into the subiection of the *Venicians*, aspiring manifestly to it. Yet *Francis Sforce*, at that time a Captaine valiant & equally scene in affaires of peace and warre, being assisted with many occasions then occurrent, and more esteeming to reigne then to keepe faith: held with armes the said Duchie as appertaining to *Blanche Maria* his wife, the bastard daughter of *Philip*. And albeit it was supposed, that soone after with a small portion of money, he might haue purchased of the Emperour *Federicke* the inuestiture of that state: yet trusting he was able to keepe it by the same meanes wherewith he had wonne it, he made small reckoning of that office in the Emperour. Thus without inuestiture continued *Galeas* his sonne, and *John Galeas* his later sonne: by reason wherof *Lodowyke* bearing himselfe wickedly at one time against his Nephew liuing, and doing wrong to the memorie of his father and brother deceased, maintained that not one of them were lawfull Dukes of *Myllan*, procuring himselfe, as of an estate diuolued to the Empire, to be inuested by *Maximilian*, and by that reason bare the title not of the seuenth, but of the fourth Duke of *Myllan*, which thinges (so long as his Nephew liued) were not suffered to come but to a few mens knowledge. Besides, following the example of *Cyrus* younger brother to *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia*, (which also he confirmed with the authoritie of many lawyers) he aduouched that he was before his brother, not in yeares and age, but for that he was the first borne after their father became Duke of *Myllan*. This reason together with the first was bestowed amongst the imperiall priuiledges, wherein to cloke with a vaine couer the ambition of *Lodowyke*, there was also written in letters separate, that it was not the custome of the holy Empire, to consent or passe any estate to any that afore had holden it vnder the authoritie of another, for which cause *Maximilian* had kept no reckoning of the petitions made by *Lodowyke* to obtaine the inuestiture for *John Galeas*, hauing afore acknowledged the same Duchie of the people of *Myllan*.

Ridiculous
reason confir-
med by force.

In this marriage made by *Lodowyke* of his Neece with *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* tooke encrease of hope, that *Lodowyke* would estrange himselfe from the amitie of the french King: these were the reasons and arguments of his hope: for that he had knit himselfe with *Maximilian* enemie and Corriuall to the French king by many occasions: the departing with so great a summe of money might induce the kings suspition against him: And lastly, this new coniunction ministring occasion of courage and heart, he supposed he would not be fearefull to diuide himselfe from the french doings. This hope *Lodowyke* nourished with great cunning, and with the vaile of the same so blinded all others, that at one time he communicated with *Ferdinand* and the other Potentates in *Italy*, and withall entertayned the king of *Romaines*, and yet kept the french from iealousie. *Ferdinand* also iudged that it could not but be displeasing and intollerable to the Senate of *Venice* (to whom he had sent Embassadors) that a Prince so mighty aboute them should enter the hart of *Italy*, wherein they had the chiefest place, opinion, and authoritie: besides, he fed much of the hopes in the king and Queene of *Spain*, who had promised him great succours, if neither by perswasions, offers, nor authoritie, he could not breake the enterprise. On the other side, the French king hauing taken away all impediments, on that side the mountes beganne to practise to remoue such difficulties as might fall to his hinderance on the other side the hills: In that action he sent *Peron de la bache*, a man not ignorant in the affaires of *Italy*, by the experience he had there vnder *John* of *Aniow*: who after he had made knowen to the Pope, the Senate of *Venice*, and the *Florentines*, the resolution of his king to recouer the kingdome of *Naples*, he made petition to them all to enter societie, fellowship, and comunitie with him: But hee reaped no other frute then frayle hopes and generall aunsweres, for that the warre being not to be executed till the next yeare, euery one refused to discouer so long before, his intention. In like sort, the king required of the Embassadors of *Florence*, (sent to him a litle before by *Ferdinands* consent to excuse them

selues,

scélus of the imputation that they inclined to the partie of the *Aragons*) to haue passage and victuals for his armie in their iurisdiccions at reasonable rate, & that to accompany him to the kingdom of *Naples*, they would furnish him with an hundred men at armes, which he said he required as a signe that the common weale of *Florence* stood with him in amitie: Albeit they answered him with many reasons & declarations, that they could not in that sort protest without great perill vntill his armie were past into *Italy*: And albeit they affirmed, that he might be well assured that in all accidents and fortunes, that citie should not faile to minister to him, all those conuenient effects, of office, obseruance, & deuotion, which of long time they had borne to the crowne of *France*: yet they were constrained according to the french importunities to promise all those things, otherwaies they were threatned to suffer priuation of that great mart and traffike of marchandize which the *Florentine* nation had in that realme: it was knowen after, that these compulsionns were enforced by *Lodowyke*, at that time the principall disposer of all the french practises with the *Italians*.

Peter de Medicis laboured much to perswade *Ferdinand*, that those demaunds imported so little the substance of the warre, that it would be more for his profit if the common weale and he continued amitie with the french king, hauing by that meane good way and oportunitie to make some composition, then in refusing those small demaunds, to declare them selues his enemies, and so suffer no possibilitie to doe good to him: he alleaged with all the generall complaints and hatreds which he should heape vppon himselfe, if the traffike of *Florence* were restrained in *France*; or that the entercourse there, so necessary to the vpholding of the citie, should suspend and perhaps come in time to loose his libertie and practise: he told him it was conuenient in good faith and meaning (the principall ground of confederations) that euery confederate should suffer patiently some incommoditie, to the end the other runne not into more greater harmes: But *Ferdinand*, who considered how much of his reputation and sewertie would diminish, if the *Florentines* were deuided from him: was not satisfied with these reasons, but complained grievously, that the faith and constancie of *Peter* beganne so soone not to aunswere his owne promise and the expectation he had conceiued of him: by reason whereof, *Peter* resolutely disposed about all things to continue in amitie with them of *Aragon*, vsed many meanes to suspend and deferre the aunswere importunately demanded by the french, referring them in the end to vnderstand the full wils and intentions of the common weale by new Embassadors.

Good reasons
alleaged by P.
Medicis, and
by him not excused.

About the end of this yeare, the alliance made betweene the Pope and *Ferdinand*, beganne to wauer and shake, either for that the Pope in obiecing new difficulties, aspired to obtaine of him greater things then he had: or else that he perswaded himselfe to induce him by this meane to bring againe to his obedience the Cardinall *S. P. ad vincula*, whom (offering first for his securitie the faith of the colledge of Cardinals, of *Ferdinand* and of the *Venetians*) he desired much to see returned to *Rome*: he held his absence much suspected, for the importance of the rocke of *Ostia*, holding in his hands about *Rome*, *Roncillon* and *Grotasferare*, by the fauours, opinion and authoritie which he had in the court: But chiefly he was iealous ouer him, for that naturally he was desirous of innouation, and obstinate to hazard rather all daunger, then to be cut off from one point of his counsels and purposes. *Ferdinand* excused himselfe much, that he had no power to apply the Cardinall thereunto, whose suspition was so great, that all sewertie seemed to him lesse then the perill: he complained to the Pope of his hard fortune, that on him alwaies was layd the imputation of things which in truth proceeded from others: he was fory that the Pope had beleued, that by his motion and by his money, *Virginio* had bought the castles, being indeed bought without his iuitie or meddling. In deede he had disposed *Virginio* to the composition, and for that effect had furnished him with the money which was giuen in repayment and recompence of the castles. The Pope receiued not these excuses, but with hard and bitter words complained of *Ferdinand*, and so gaue shew that there could be laid no firme ground of their reconciliation.

The Pope doth
faile *Ferdinand*.

With such a disposition of minds and confusion of things so apparantly drawing to new troubles, beganne the yeare 1494. (I interpret the yeare according to the vse of *Rome*.) A yeare very vnhappy for *Italy*, and in deede the first of the vnfortunate and miserable yeares, for that in it was made open the way to infinite and horrible calamities, whereof we may well say, a great part of the world by many accidents, hath tasted euer since. In the beginning of this yeare, King *Charles* refusing to heare speake of any agreement with *Ferdinand*, enioyned his Embassadors as

Death of Fer-
dinand king
of Aragon.

messengers of a kingemie, to depart with speede out of the realme of *France*: And almost in the same concurrence of time, the said *Ferdinand* dyed suddenly of an appoplexy being more troubled with cares and perplexities of mind, then loaden with yeares, or weakened with old age: he was a Prince of singular wisdom and industrie, with the which (accompanied with happy fortune) he kept himselfe in the kingdom newly obteyned by his father against many difficulties appearing euen in the beginning of his raigne, and brought to it much more amplitude and greatness, then was done vnder any other king perhaps long before: A good king, if he had continued to raigne, in the same manner he beganne: But either with the variation of times, or chaunge of manners, because he knew not (with most Princes now adaies) how to resist the fury of domination and rule, or perhaps according to the iudgement of euery one, his nature and inclination beginning now to disclose, which he had couered afore with great cunning: he was esteemed a man of little faith, and of such violent and cruell moodes, that euen by his owne followers he was iudged worthy of the name of inhumanitie. The opinion was, that the death of *Ferdinand* hapned very inconuenient for the common affaytes, for that, where he would haue proued all remedies to hinder the descending of the french men, it was not now to be doubted, but it would be more hard to make *Lodowyke* assure himselfe of the haughtie and immoderate nature of *Alphonso*, then it was to dispose him to renew amitie with *Ferdinand*, in whom was for the most part expressed a ready inclination (the better to auoide all quarrels with the state of *Myllan*) to yeeld and condescend to his will: And amongst other things, it is manifest that when *Isabell Alphonsoes* daughter was brought to *Iohn Galeas* her husband, *Lodowyke* at the first sight suffred himselfe to slide into so great affection towards her, that he desired her of *Alphonso* for his wife, and to that end (according to the vniuersall opinion of *Italy*) he did so much by magicke and enchauntments, that *Iohn Galeas* for many monethes was made vnable to the action of marriage. *Ferdinand* was not intractable to this mariage, but *Alphonso* so refused and resisted it, that *Lodowyke* making no hope of it, tooke an other wife, by whom hauing children, he turned all his studies and thoughts to transerre to them the Duchie of *Myllan*: some suppose and write, that *Ferdinand* being determined (for the auoyding of the present warre) to suffer all indignities and incommodities: had an intention, as soone as the calmenesse of the time would suffer, to go by sea to *Genes*, and from thence by land to *Myllan*, to satisfie *Lodowyke* in all his desires, and to bring againe to *Naples* his Neece, hoping that not onely with effects, but also with this publike confession, by the which he acknowledged to hold all his estate and well doing vpon him, he should remoue his mind from the warre, or at least somewhat moderate his conspiring intentions, the rather for that it was seene to all men of obseruation, with what wonderfull ambition and desire, he aspired to be noted the only arbitrator & oracle of all *Italy*. *Alphonso* immediatly after the death of his father, dispatched foure Embassadors to the Pope, who albeit shewed manifest signes that he was returned to the first inclination of amitie with the french, and had at the same time by bull subsigned by the colledge of the Cardinals, promised at the french Kings request, the estate of Cardinall to the Bishop of *S. Malo*, and retayned in common with the Duke of *Myllan* *Prosper Colonne* whom the King afore had taken to his pay, together with other Captaines and leaders of men of warre: yet he made no great difficultie to accord, in regard of the profitable conditions offered by *Alphonso*, who desired much to be assured of him, and to bind him to his protection and defence: they made these open conuentions, that there should be betweene them a confederation for the defence of their estates, with equall leuies of men by both: That the Pope should conferre vnto *Alphonso*, the inuestiture of the kingdom, with diminution of tribute obteyned by *Ferdinand* of other Popes for his life only: that the Pope should send a Legat to crowne him: That he should create Cardinall *Lodowyke* sonne of *Henry*, bastard brother to *Alphonso*, who afterwards was called Cardinall of *Aragon*: That king *Alphonso* should pay immediatly to the Pope thirtie thousand duckets: That he should indue the Duke of *Candia* with estates within the realme of xij. thousand duckets: reuenew yearly, together with the first of the seauen principall offices that should be voyd: That he should entertaine him so long as the Pope liued in his pay with three hundred men at armes, with the which he should be bound to serue the one and the other equally and indifferently: that he should giue to *Dom Geffray*, (who for the pawne of his fathers faith, was now to goe to his father in law) the estate of *Promotory* and one of the seuen offices, ouer and besides the promises of the first contract: That he should bestow the reuenew of benefices in the Realme vpon *Cesar Borgia*

Confederation
betweene the
Pope and Al-
phonso King
of Naples.

Borgia the Popes sonne, who a little before was created Cardinall by his father, wherein, to auoid impediments of being a bastard (to whom it hath not beene accustomed to graunt such dignities) he made prooffe by suborned testimonies, that he was the sonne lawfull of another. Besides all this, *Virginio Vrsin* (who by the kings sending for, came to this capitulation) promised that the King should aide the Pope to recouer the rocke of *Ostia*, if the Cardinall *S. P. ad vincula* refused to come to *Rome*. This promise King *Alphonso* affirmed without his consent or priuie, & well saw that in so dangerous seasons, it would bring no litle prejudice to him to be depriued of the Cardinall, whose authority was not small ouer the towne of *Genes*, which he determined to surpris by the setting on of the Cardinall. And because amid so great troubles and emotions, there might perhaps be treaties of counsels, or other matters preiudiciall to the sea apostolike, he did what he could to vnite him with the Pope, who not satisfied with any condition, if the Cardinall returned not to *Rome*, and the Cardinall being most obstinate to hazard his life vnder the faith of those *Cathus*, as he termed them, the diligence of *Alphonso* was in vaine, and his desire of no effect: for after the Cardinall with many dissembled and flourishing shewes, had giuen almost assured hope to accept the conditions: he stole away by night from *Ostia* in a brigantine well appointed, and at a time when was least reason to doubt any such euasion, leauing the rocke armed with sufficient garrison: And reapposing certaine dayes at *Sauone*, and spending some little time at *Anigmon*, (of which citie he was Legat) he went lastly to *Lyons*, where king *Charles* was come a little before, to prepare with better oportunitie and reputation the prouisions of the warre which he published he would execute in person: he was receiued of the king with great ioy and honour, and immediatly ioyned himselfe to those that studied to trouble *Italy*.

In this meane while *Alphonso*, more by feare then proper inclination, forgot not to continue with *Lodowyke Sforce*, that which had beene begunne by his father, offering him the same satisfactions: But *Lodowyke*, to whom nothing was more familiar, then to dissemble, deuised to entertaine him with diuerse hopes, but with demonstrations that he was constrained to proccede in such exact order and consideration, least the warre, determined against others, tooke not his beginning against him, he left not for all this to sollicite and vrge the preparations in *France*, wherein to expresse the deuotion of his mind with better effect, and to resolute all particularities occurrent in that expedition, and lastly, least the execution of all things determined should suffer suspence or haue slow action: he sent thither (colouring it with a brute of the Kings pleasure) *Galeaz* of *S. Seuerin* husband to one of his bastard daughters, and in whom he reapposed great confidence and fauours. According to the counsels of *Lodowyke*, king *Charles* sends to the Pope foure Embassadors, with charge that in passing by *Florence*, they should make instance for the declaration of that common weale. The Embassadors were *Eberard Daubigny* a Scottish Captaine of Nation, the generall of *France*, the President of the parliament of *Provence*, and the same *Peron la Bache*, that had bene with them the yeare before. They according to their instructions (set downe chiefly at *Myllan*) recounted in both the one and other places, the rights which the french king (as succellor to the house of *Anjou*, and for want of issue in *Charles* the first) pretended to the realme of *Naples*, together with his royall determination to passe that yeare into *Italy* in person, not to intrude into any thing that belonged to another, but to reobtaine that which iustly was his owne: And to giue his voyage a more pawisible passage in the minds of men, they said his minde and meanings were not so much fixed vpon the conquest of *Naples*, as that afterwards he would turne his forces against the *Turkes*, for the seruice of Iesus Christ, and glory of his name. They declared to the *Florentines*, how much their king assured himselfe of that citie, hauing bene reedified by *Charlemaine*, and fauoured alwayes of the kings his predecessors, and lately of king *Leuyr* his father, in the warres vniustly managed against them by Pope *Sixtus*, by *Ferdinand* last dead, and *Alphonso* now raigning. They willed them to looke into the great profits comming to their Nation by traffike and entercourse in the realme of *France*, where they were fauoured with familiaritie and offices, as if they were naturall of the region it selfe. And with that example they might hope to haue in the kingdome of *Naples*, (if he became Lord of it) the selfe same libertie of trade, serwertie and benefite, where, of them of *Aragon* they neuer receiued other things, then damage, daungers, and displeasures. They recommended to their good counsels, the considerations of these things, and to protest by some token, that they would ioyne with him in this enterprize, if they were restrained by some iust impediment, reason or excuse, at least that they would graunt

The french King
sendeth Embassadors to the
Pope, Florentines
& Venice.

libertie of passage to his armie through their territories, and refreshing, and victuals for his money. They debated these things with the common weale and generall state, but they recommended particularly to *P. de Medicis*, the respect of many good-turnes and honors done by *Lewys* the xj. to his father and auncesors: how he in very iealous and daungerous seasons, had made many demonstrations for the preservation of their goodnesse, and in signe of amitie, had honoured them with the Scotchions and armes proper to the house of *France*: where, *Ferdinand* not satisfied to persecute them with open and violent warre, did also with a mind sworne to their ruine, take part with the ciuill conspiracies, wherein *Julian* his vnckle was killed, and *Laurence* his father sore hurt. The Embassadors went out of *Florence* without resolution, and being at *Rome*, they preferred to the Popes remembrance, the auncient merits and perpetuall deuotion of the crowne of *France* to the sea apostolike, whereof were autentike testimonies, all recordes both auncient and present, and of the contrary, they insinuated the ordinary contumacie and disobedience of them of *Aragon*, and referred the prooffe to the view and construction of their actions past. Then they demanded that the realme of *Naples* might be inuested in the person of their king, as iustly appertaining to him. They allured him with many hopes, and made many offers, so that he would be fauourable to the enterprise, which their king had taken vpon him, as much by his perswasions and authority, as for other occasions. To this demand the Pope answered that the inuestiture of that realme, hauing beene graunted by so many his predecessors, to three kings of the house of *Aragon* successiuelly, (for in the inuestiture graunted to *Ferdinand*, *Alphonso* was comprehended by name) it was not conuenient to giue it to king *Charles*, afore it was declared by forme of iustice, that he had good right, whereunto the inuestiture graunted to *Alphonso* was not preiudiciall, for that for such consideration it contained expresse mention, that it was ment without the preiudice of any person: he told them that the realme of *Naples* did directly belong to the sea apostolike, whose authoritie he knew was farre from the kings will to violate, and no lesse contrary to the intentions of his auncesors, who had beene alwaies the principall defenders of the same: But if he should doe any violent action vpon *Naples*, it could not be without manifest intrusion and transgression of the holy sea, and bring dishonor to the reputation and merits of his elders: it would better become his dignitie and vertues, to seeke to iustifie his pretence of right by course of iustice and moderate equitie, wherein as Lord, Patrone, and onely iudge of such a cause, he offered him selfe readie to administer to him: And that a Christian king ought not to demand more of a Pope, whose office was to restraine and forbid, and not to entertaine and nourish wars betweene Princes christened: And though he should so farre incline to the kings will, yet he shewed many difficulties and daungers, both by the neighbourhood of *Alphonso* and the *Florentynes*, whose vnitie all *Tuscanes* followed, and also for the consanguinitie and aliance of so many Barons, holding of the king of *Naples*, whose estates stretched euen to the gates of *Rome*. Notwithstanding all this, he enforced himselfe, not to cut off their hope altogether, albeit he bare priuately this settled resolution, not to depart from the confederation made with *Alphonso*. At *Florence* the inclination was great and generall to the house of *France*, for the liberall mart and traffike which that state had with the french: for an old opinion (but vntrue) that *Charlemaine* was the reedifier of their citie destroyed by *Toursla* king of *Goths*: for the auncient coniunction and amitie, which their auncesors the *Guelfes* haue had long time with *Charles* the first, king of *Naples*, and with many of his line protectors of the faction of *Guelfes* in *Italy*. And lastly, for the memory of the warres, which the old *Alphonso*, and after him *Ferdinand* in the person of his sonne, had areared against that citie. By the reason, recordation, and memorie of these things, the communaltie and multitude, cried to consent to free conduct and passage, desiring no lesse the best authorised and wise citizens in that common weale, to whom it seemed a great partialitie and ouersight to pull vpon the countrey of *Florence*, (for the controuersies of another) so present and daungerous a warre: they held it no pollicie, to oppose themselves against so mighty an army, managed in the person of a king of *France*, descending into *Italy* with the fauour of the state of *Myllan*, and no resistance of the gouernement of *Venice*, though they publish no manifest consent: this counsell they confirmed with the authoritie of *Cosmo de Medicis* (esteemed in his time one of the wisest in *Italy*) who, in the warres betweene *Iohn* of *Aniow* and *Ferdinand*, gaue alwaies this counsell, that the citie of *Florence* should not obiect it selfe against *Iohn*: notwithstanding the Pope and Duke of *Myllan* were ioyned with *Ferdinand*. They remembered withall, the example of *Laurence* father

to *Peter*, who was of the same aduise vpon euery brute of the returne of them of *Aniour*: yea so much was he amazed with the power of the french, since the same king obtayned *Britaine*, that he would often times say, that great troubles were prepared for all *Italians*, if the king of *Fraunce* knew his owne strength. But *Peter de Medicis*, who measured things more by will then by wisdom, abused him selfe too much with his owne opinion, beleeuing that these emotions would rather resolute into brutes, then into effects: wherein being gouerned by some his speciall fauorits, corrupted perhaps with the presents of *Alphonso*, determined resolutely to continue in amitie with the *Aragons*, whereunto in the end, all the residue of the Citizens must condescend by reason of his greatnesse: Ambition is an vnquiet humour in man: it may be that *Peter* not content with the authoritie which his father had got in the common weale (and yet such, by his disposing, that though Magistrates were created, yet they determined no matters of importance without his aduise) aspired to a power more absolute, euen to the title of Prince: he did not debate with discretion the conditions of that citie, who, at that time being populous in multitudes, and mightie in riches, and nourished by many ages with an apparance of a common weale, the principall citizens being accustomed to participate in the gouernment, rather in forme of companions then subiects, would hardly endure so great and suddaine mutation: And therefore, *Peter* knowing that to the holding vp of his ambition must be ioyned foundations extraordinary: and the better to haue a mighty pillar to support his new principallitie, he restrained himselfe immoderately to the *Aragons*, determining in their course to communicate with their fortunes. This perhaps was furthered by this accident: not many dayes before the Embassadors of the french arriued at *Florence*, there came to light certaine practises, which *Laurence* and *Iohn de Medicis*, young men, rich, and neare in blood to *Peter*, and lately become his enemies vpon certaine light occasions of youth, conspired with *Lodowyke Sforce*, and by him with the french king, directly against the greatnesse of *Peter*: But being arrested by the Magistrates, they were with light punishment returned to their houses in the countrey, for that the temperance of the Magistrates, preuailing with *Peter* not without some difficulties, induced him not to suffer the lawes to execute any extreme action vpon his kined and blood: But receiuing warning by this accident, that *Lodowyke Sforce* thirsted after his ruine, he esteemed it so much the more needfull to remaine still in his first purpose. At last the Embassadors were answered, but much to their discontentment, and more contrary to their desire: in place of the conclusion they hoped for, they were told with words reuerent and respectiue, with what naturall deuotion the people of *Florence*, honoured the house of *France*, together with their common desire to satisfie so great a king: on the other side, they made declaration of their impediments, as that there could be nothing more vnworthy of Princes and common weales, then not to keepe faith promised, which vlesse they should apparantly defile and breake, they could not now satisfie his demaunds; and content the time together: They saide, as yet was not ended the confederation, which by the authoritie of king *Lewys* his father was made with *Ferdinand*, with couenant, that after his death it should stretch to *Alphonso*: wherein they were bound by speciall condition, not onely to defend the realme of *Naples*, but also to giue no passage thorough their countries to any that went about to inuade it: Lastly, that it brought no small griefe to them, that there was such difference betweene their desires and wils, and that they had no power to make other resolutions, then such as must either make the king displeased, or bring great preiudice to their whole estate: Onely they hoped that the king being wise and iust, would interpret them according to their good wils, and referre to those reasonable impediments that which they could not promise.

The king made angry with this aunswere, commaunded immediatly the Embassadors of *Florence* to depart out of *France*, and following the counsell of *Lodowyke Sforce*, he banished out of *Lyons*, not the generall marchants, but onely the factors and bankers of *P. de Medicis*, to the end that they might iudge at *Florence*, that he acknowledged this iniurie particularly vpon *Peter*, and not vpon the bodie of the state.

The other Potentates of *Italy* being diuided amongst themselves, some bearing fauour to the french, and some fearing calamities and extreme fortunes, the *Venetians* onely determined to remaine newters, and with an idle eye to behold the issue of all things, perhaps they were not much troubled that *Italy* should fall into garboyle, hoping that the long warres of others, would giue them oportunitie to enlarge their estate: or perhaps the opinion of their greatnesse, would not

The Florentines
aunswere the
french Em-
bassadors.

The french
king angry
with the Flo-
rentines an-
swere.

The french
king prayeth
amitie of the
Venetians.

The answers
of the Venetians.

suffer them to be doubtfull of perils : And therefore not fearing that the victors could have any fortune ouer them, they iudged it a folly to make proper to them, the warres of others, and had no apparant necessitie. And yet *Ferdinand* ceased not to sollicite them continually, and the french king the yeare before, and euen then had sent to them Embassadors, who forgot not to declare that betweene the house of *France*, and that common weale, was alwaies amitie and good will, and as occasion offered, mutuall effects and offices expressed. The which disposition, the king seeking to augment and ratifie, he desired of that wise Senate counsell and fauour in this enterprise; whereunto they answered with this moderation and breuitie : that the king for himselfe was so wise and foreseeing, and enuironed with a counsell so graue and ripe, that it could not be without too much presuming to ioyne to him their opinions and counsels. They would be alwayes glad of his prosperities and good fortunes, for the obseruances which they had alwayes borne to the crowne of *France* : They were not a litle grieued, that they could not accompany the readinesse of their minds, with those effects they desired, for that by the suspicion wherein the *Turke* kept them continually, wanting neither desire nor oportunitie to vex them, necessitie compelled them to keepe alwayes with great charges, many Iles and coast townes fronting vpon him, the same being the cause that they could not make themselues parties to the warre of another. But the preparations which were made on all sides, as well by land as sea, were of farre greater importance, then either the orations of the Embassadors, or the answers made to them : for, king *Charles* had sent *Peter d'Urfe*, his great Esquire, to *Genes* (ouer which citie the Duke of *Myllan* commaunded by the aide of the faction of *Adorne* and *I. L. de fiesco signo*) to rigge vp a mightie armie of ships and gallies, causing also to be armed other vessels in the ports of *Ville Franche* and *Marfelles*. This was the cause of the brute in his court, that he determined to enter the kingdom of *Naples* by sea, as had done afore time *Iohn Sonne* of *Rene* against *Ferdinand*. In *France* albeit many beleeued, that what for the youth of the king, and the base condition and slender conduct of such as stirred him to this expedition, together with the want and necessitie of money, these preparations in them would dissolue and vanish into smoke: yet to satisfie the desire of the king, who by the aduise of his fauorites, had newly taken vpon him the title of king of *Ierusalem* and both *Cypries*, (then the title of the kings of *Naples*;) There was generall and diligent order giuen on all parts for the prouisions of the warre : as making of musters, gathering of money, remouing of men, with other industries due to such expeditions : and no counsell had, but with *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, who held inclosed in his mind, all the secrets and purposes of *Lodowyke Sforce*. On the other side, *Alphonso*, in whom had wanted no pollicie or diligence, to fortifie himselfe by sea and by land, (iudging now there was no more time to suffer him selfe to be mocked with the hopes of *Lodowyke Sforce*, and that it serued better for him to amaze and vex him, then to trouble or assure or appease him) commaunded the Embassador of *Myllan* to retyre out of *Naples*, and reuoked his that was resident at *Myllan* : he sequestred also, and tooke into his possession the reuenues of the Duchie of *Bary*, which *Lodowyke* had enioyed many yeares by the gift of *Ferdinand*. And not content with these things, which were rather demonstrations of open hatred; then wrongs or offences, he disposed all his wits, to turne from the Duke of *Myllan*, the citie of *Genes*, a matter of right great importance for the present affayres, for that by the reuolt and chaunge of that citie, would happen many meanes to trouble *Lodowyke* in his gouernement of *Myllan*, and from the french king should be taken away all oportunities to molest the realme of *Naples* by sea: Therefore hauing made secret pact with Cardinall *Paule Fregose*, afore times Duke of *Genes*, and still followed with many of the same family : and with *Obietto de fiesquo*, two principall men both for the towne and sea, together with some particulars of the *Adorneys*, all banished out of *Genes* for diuerse occasions : he determined to alay with a strong army at sea, to set them all in the towne againe (following that he was wont to say, that warres are ouercome either in preuenting the enemy, or diuerting him : he determined in like sort to go him selfe into *Romagnia*, with a mightie army, and to make suddaine inuasion vpon the lands of *Parma*, where publishing the name of *Iohn Galeas*, and displaying his banners, he hoped that the peoples of the Duchie of *Myllan*, would rise against *Lodowyke* : And be it that in this were found many difficulties, yet he iudged it profitable, that the warre should begin farre from his realme : he esteemed it also to be great importance for the substance of the warre, that the french men should be surprised with the winter in *Lombardy* : wherein hauing great experience in the warres of *Italy*, (whose armies attending

tending the riping of grasse and forrage for the feeding of horses, were not wont to take the field afore the end of Aprill: he iudged that to eschue the sharpenesse of winter, they would be constrained to stay in a countrey of their friends till spring time: In which intermission and respite of time, he hoped that some occasion for his benefite might happen. Besides, he sent Embassadours to *Constantinople*, to demanda succours as in a common daunger of *B. Ottoman* Prince of the Turkes, for that it was resolued in the french kings intencion to passe into *Greece* after he had won *Naples*, which daunger he knew well the Turke would not despise, for that by the memory of the warres made in times past against the Infidels in *Asia* by the french nation, the feare which the Turkes had of their armes was not little.

Whilest these things were thus solicited on all partes, the Pope sent his men to *Ostia*, vnder the gouernment of *Nicholas Vrsin* Counte of *Petillane*, to whom *Alphonso* sent strength and succours both by sea and land: he tooke the towne without difficulty, and then began to batter the castell, which (by the meane of *Fabrice Colonne*, and consent of *Iohn de la Roubre* prefect of *Rome*, and brother to Cardinall *S. P. ad vincula*) was easily rendred to him by the castell keeper, with this condition, that the Pope neither with censures of the Church, nor temporall armes, should pursue the Cardinall nor the prefect, if they gaue him no new occasions: And it was suffered to *Fabrice*, in whose hands the Cardinall had left *Grotta Ferrara*, to continue the possession of the same with the same rights, paying to the Pope ten thousand duckats. But *Lodowyke Sforce* (to whom the Cardinall when he passed by *Sauonne*, had made knowen that which *Alphonso* by his meanes and counceils negociated secretly with the exiles of *Genes*) declared to king *Charles* what a great impediment that would giue to his enterprife, and therefore induced him to send to *Genes* two thousand *Swyzers*, and dispatch into *Italy* with speede three hundreth launces, to be ready vnder the gouernment of *Monsieur D'auygnny*, (who returning from *Rome*, staid by the kings commaundement at *Myllan*) both to assure *Lombardie*, and to passe further according to occasions and necessities. To these should be ioyned five hundreth men at armes, *Italians*, entertained at that time in the Kings pay vnder *Iohn fr. de S. Senerin* Counte of *Gaiazze*, *Galeot Pico* Counte of *Myrandola*, and *Radolphe* of *Gonsague*, together with five hundreth which the Duke of *Myllan* was bound to furnish: who not leauing his old shifts and subtelties, continued to confirme in the Pope and *Peter de Medicis* his inclination to the peace and surety of *Italy*, nourishing them with variety of hopes which were not without their apparant demonstrations.

It can not almost be, but that which men make great surety of, ingendreth some doubt, euen in the mindes of such as haue determinid to beleue the contrary: for albeit there was no great faith giuen to the promises of *Lodowyke*: yet it happened not for all that, that their determined enterprises suffered in any sort slow successe or proceedings: and the Pope and *P. de Medicis* could haue bene well content that the enterprife had bene proued to surprise *Genes*: But because in the action they should directly offend the estate of *Myllan*, the Pope, (*Alphonso* requiring his gallies, and to ioyne his men with him in *Romagnia*), consented to the seruice of his men for the common defence in *Romagnia*, but not to passe further. And touching the gallies, he made difficulty, saying it was not yet time to put *Lodowyke* so much in dispaire. The *Florentyns* being required to receiue *Alphonsoes* army by sea in the port of *Lyuorne*, and to refresh them, remained in suspence vpon the matter, for that making excuses to the demands of the french king, and being acquitted vnder the pretence of the confederacion passed with *Ferdinand*, they were very vnwillingly disposed to doe more without necessity, then they were bound vnto by that confederacion.

Matters being now not able to suffer any longer delay, the army by sea of *Alphonso* departed at last from *Naples* vnder the charge of the Admirall *Dom Federyke*: & *Alphonso* in person assembled his army in *Abruzze* to passe into *Romania*. But afore any further actiō was done, he thought it necessary to communicate with the Pope, who had the same desire, the better to establish all things that were to be done for their common safety.

The Pope and *Alphonso* met together the xij. of Iuly at *Vicouare*, a place appertaining to *Virginio Vrsin*, where after they had spent three daies, they returned well agreed. In this meeting and consultacion, it was determinid by the counsell of the Pope, that the person of the king of *Naples* should passe no further: his army contained little lesse then a hundreth squadrons of men at armes, accounting xx. men to a squadron: and very neare three thousand crosse-bow shot and light horsemen: Of this army it was agreed, that one part should stay with him vpon the

The king of Naples sendeth out his forces.

In the Italian
and French
copies, it is
read, of the
Pope and the
Duke of Milā.

frontyers of *Abruzzo* for his safety and surety of the state ecclesiastike: and that *Virginio* should remaine in the towne of *Rome* to make head against the *Collonoy*s: for dread of whom, also it was agreed that two hundred of the men at armes of the Pope, and a part of the light horsemen of the king, should not stirre out of *Rome*. That the expedition into *Romania* should be performed in the person of *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, (that was the title to the eldest son to the king of *Naples*) a young Prince of great hope, leading with him lxx. squadrons with the residue of the light horsemen, and most part of the Popes companies, such as he erected for defence: There were ioyned with him (as moderators of his youth) *Iohn Iacques Trinusso*, gouernour of the souldiers of the king of *Naples*, and the *Count Perillane*, who from the Popes pay was become mercenary to the king of *Naples*, both Captaines of great experience and reputation: Seeing they ment to leade an army into *Lombardy*, it was thought good that it should passe in the person of *Ferdinand*, for the society of blood and double parentage which he had with *Iohn Galeas* husband to *Isabell* his sister, and sonne of *Iohn Galeas*, brother to *Hippolita* who was mother to *Ferdinand*. But touching the actions of this parliament betweene the Pope and *Alphonso*, that of most importance, was, concerning the *Collonoy*s, for that it was discerned by manifest signes that they aspired to new intelligences: seeing that *Prosper* and *Fabricius* hauing serued in the pay of the late king of *Naples*, and by him recompensed with estates and honourable places: *Prosper* (the king being dead) after many promises made to *Alphonso* to reenter into his pay, was by the working of *Cardinall Ascanius*, entred into the common pay of the french king and the Duke of *Myllan*, refusing afterwards to take the Popes pay being much solicited: and *Fabricius*, who had continued in the seruice of *Alphonso*, hauing regard to the disdain of the Pope and the king of *Naples* against *Prosper*: made difficulty to goe with the Duke of *Calabria* into *Romania*, if first by some conuenient meanes were not reestablished and assured the affaires of *Prosper* and all the family of *Colonne*: This was the colour of their difficulties: but secretly they both were become mercenary to the french king, (partly drawne by the great amity they had with *Cardinall Ascanius*, who forsaking *Rome* a few dayes after for suspicion of the Pope, was retired to their landes) and partly for hope of larger payes, but much more moued with displeasure, that *Virginio Vrsin* chiefe of the contrary faction, bare greatest rule with *Alphonso*, and participated more then they in his prosperities: But to keepe this thing concealed vntill they might with surety declare them selues his souldiers, they treated continually with the Pope and *Alphonso*, by whom was made great instance, that *Prosper* taking pay of them, would leaue the wages of the Duke of *Myllan*, for that otherwise they could not be assured of him. The *Collonoy*s made shew of desire to accord with them, but to the end to determine nothing, they moued one time one difficulty and sometimes another, vpon the conditions that were offered.

In that practise, there was diuersity of willes betweene *Alexander* and *Alphonso*, for that *Alexander* desiring to dispoile them of the places they held about *Rome*, cherished the occasion to assaile them: and *Alphonso* who had no other intencion then to assure them, was not inclined to the warre but for a last remedy: but he durst not oppose against the couetousnesse of the Pope. At last they determined to constrain them by armes, and appointed forces and orders how it should be done, assaying notwithstanding afore, if within few dayes their controuersies might be accorded.

The beginning
of the warre.

The king of
Naples sedeth
out an army
to take the city
of *Genes*.

These things, with many others, were debated on all partes, mens wittes wandering and their mindes vnresolute, their feares generall, but their hopes full of suspicions and incertinties, in their willes no consent or vnity, and all their coniectures and iudgements full of error, no, none that could moderate their expectation, and much lesse iudge what would be the end of those tragicall preparations: but at the last the warre of *Italie* tooke beginning by the going of *Dom Federyke* to the enterpryse of *Genes*, leading an army no doubt of greater proportion and better prouision, then had bene scene of long time before runne ouer the streams and sea of *Tyrrennum*: it contayned xxxv. light or suttle gallies, eightene shippes, with many other lesser vessels, great quantity of artillery, and three thousand footemen to put on land. By reason of which great equipage, and leading with them the exiles, the army departed out of *Naples* with great hope of the victory: but their lingring and slow departing, caused by those difficulties which commonly follow great enterprises, and partly abused by the cunning hopes which *Lodowyke* gaue them, and partly for that they stayed in the portes of *Sienna* to leuy to the number of v. thousand footemen, made hard

hard and dangerous, that, which being assayed one moneth afore, would haue bene easie and without perill: for, the enemies (by their slow proceedings) had leysure to dresse a strong prouision, putting within *Genes* the bayliffe of *Dyon*, with two thousand *Smytters* leuied and paid by the french, and already ordered and rigged a great part of the shippes and gallies which were armed in that port, and one part of the vessels furnished at *Marseilles*, being there arriued also. Besides, *Lodowyke* for his part spared for no expence, but dispatched thither *Gasper de S. Seuerin*, called *Fracasse*, with *Anthonie Maria* his brother, with many footemen: and because he would conipound his strength no lesse vpon the good willes and hearts of *Genes*, then offorraine forces, he confirmed with gifts, pensions, and promises of many recompences, the courage and intention of *Iohn Lays de Fiesquo*, brother to *Obietto*, the *Adornes*, and many other gentlemen and poplars much importing to keepe that city in his deuotion: he had also called to *Myllan* many factions of the banished men, as well of the towne as riuers of *Genes*. To these prouisions mighty enough of them selues, did giue great reputation and surety the person and presence of *Lowyys Duke of Orleance*, who about the same times that the *Aragons* fleete was discouered in the sea of *Genes*, entred that city by commission of the french king, hauing first communicated in *Alexandria* vpon the common affaires with *Lodowyke Sforce*, who (as the doings of mortall men are full of thicke darknesse) had receiued him with great gladnesse and honour, but as a companion, not knowing how soone his whole estate and life would fall into his power.

Lowyys Duke of Orleance entred Genes, and preserues it.

These accidentes were the causes why the *Aragons* (determined before to present their fleete afore the port of *Genes*, vnder hope that the parties and confederates with the exiles would draw into some insurrection) chaunging now counsell with the occasion, resolved to assaile the riuier: and after some diuersity of opinions, whether in the riuier of *Leuant* or the West, were best to beginne: the aduise of *Obietto* preuayled, who promising him selfe much vpon them of the waters of *Leuant*, they addressed them selues to the towne of *Portouenere*, to the which they gaue assault for many houres in vaine, for that it was refurnished from *Genes* with foure hundred footemen, and the courages of the inhabitantes well resolved and confirmed by *Iohn Lowys de Fiesquo* lately come thither: Being out of hope to cary the towne by assault, they retired to the port of *Lynorne*, to reuitell their shippes, and refurnish their companies of footemen: for, when they vnderstood that the townes and peeces vpon the riuier were in good condition of defence and prouision, they iudged that to that action was necessary a greater supply of force. At *Lynorna*, *Federyke* (being aduertised that the French army inferiour to his in gallies, but mightier in shippes, was in preparation to fall out of the port of *Genes*) sent backe againe to *Naples* his shippes; to be able with more readinesse by the swiftnesse of his gallies to keepe aloofe from the enemy, if with their shippes and gallies together they should set on him, hoping notwithstanding to vanquish them, if their gallies were separated from their shippes, either by aduerture, or by will.

In the selfe same seasons, the Duke of *Calabria* marched towards *Romania*, with the army by land, with intention to passe afterwarde into *Lombardie*, according to the first resolutions: But to haue his passage more free and easie, and to leaue no impediments or perils behinde his backe, it was needefull to ioyneto him the state of *Bologne*, and the cities of *Gmola* and *Furly*: for *Cesene* a city immediately subiect to the Pope, and the city of *Faense*, belonging to *Astor de Manfredi*, a young gentleman, pensionary and gouerned vnder the protection of the *Florentynes*, were to giue willingly all commodities to the *Aragons* army. *Ostauian* sonne to *Ieronimo de Riare*, was Lord of *Furly* and *Gmola*, with a title of vicaire of the Church, but in minority and vnder gouernment of *Katherine Sforce* his mother, with whom many moneths before, the Pope and *Alphonso* had practised to entertaine *Ostauian* in their common pay, with condition to defend his estates: but the matter remained vnperfect, partly by the difficulties she alleaged, to the end to get better conditions: and partly for that the *Florentynes* dwelling still in their former purpose not to exceed the bondes they had with *Alphonso* to the preiudice of the french king, could not be resolved to be concurrant in this practise, to the which their consent was necessary, because the Pope and the King would not alone sustayne the charge: but much more for that *Katherine* would not put in daunger that city, vnlesse with the others, the *Florentynes* would be bound to the gard and defence of the estates of her sonne. These difficulties were taken away by the meeting and speaking together, which *Ferdinand*, (drawing his army by the way of

The Duke of Calabria marcheth towards Romania.

Marrechia into *Romania*) had with *Peter de Medicis* in the village of *S. Sepulcher*: where he offered him in the name of his father king *Alphonso*, franke power to dispose of him and his armie in all the seruices which he had intention to execute for the affaires of *Florence*, *Siena*, and *Faenza*: these offers giuing a new life to the auncient courage of *Peter*; as soone as he was returned to *Florence*, he ordeined (notwithstanding the dissuasions of the wisest Citizens) that the accord should be subsigned, for that *Ferdinand* had instantly desired him. This being dispatched at the common charges of the Pope, *Alphonso*, and the *Florentines*, not manie dayes after, they had the Citie of *Bologna* at their deuotion, enterteyning *Iohn Bentiuole* (vnder whose authoritie and direction the Citie was gouerned) in the same manner the Pope promised, hauing withall the faith of king *Alphonso* and *Peter de Medicis*, to create Cardinall *Antonius Galeas* his sonne, then Pronotorie of the sea.

These things gaue to the armie of *Ferdinand* a great reputation, which yet had bene more great, if with those successses he had sooner entred into *Romania*: But by his slow speede to march out of the kingdome, and the diligent care and watching of *Lodowyk Sforce*, *Ferdinand* was no sooner arriued at *Cesena*, then *Monsieur D'aubignie*, and the Count *Caiazzo*, gouernour ouer the companies of *Sforce*, together with a great part of the armie appointed to make head against the *Aragons*, being passed without let by *Bolognia*, entred the countrey of *Imola*: by means wherof, *Ferdinand* hauing lost his first hopes to passe into *Lombardie*, was compelled to settle the warre in *Romania*, where (other cities following the partie of the *Aragons*) *Rauenna* & *Cernia*, cities of the *Venetian* iurisdiction, bare fauour to neither side. This litle countrey stretching along the riuer of *Pau*, & in the possession of the Duke of *Ferrara*, spared no one commoditie to the companies of the french & *Sforce*. Touching *P. de Medicis*, neither the difficulties hapning in the enterprise of *Genes*, nor the impediments occurring in *Romania*, could bridle his rashnesse: for, being bound by a secret conuention without the knowledge of the common weale, made with the Pope & *Alphonso*; to oppose himself openly against the french king: he had not only consented, that the *Neapolitan* army at sea should be receiued & refreshed in the haue of *Lymorne*, with power to leuie footmen through the whole territory of *Floréce*: but also restraining his rashnesse to no limit, he wrought so, that *Anniball Bentiuole*, sonne of *Iohn*, mercenary to the *Florentins*, went with his charge, & the companies of *Astor de Manfredi*, & ioyned with the camp of *Ferdinand*, as soone as he entred into the countrey of *Furly*, and sent besides, to the said *Bentiuole*, a thousand footemen with artilleries. Such a like disposition was alwayes discerned in the Pope, who, besides the provisions of warre, not contented to haue exhorted king *Charles* by writing the yeare before, not to

The Pope commands the French king not to passe into Italie. passe into *Italie*, but to proceede by way of iustice and not armes, reioyned him eftsouones by an other signeture, the selfe same things, vpon paine of the Church censure: and by the Bishop of *Calagorre* his Nuncio at *Venice*, (whither for the same effect were gone the Ambassadors of *Alphonso*, and they of *Florence*, who notwithstanding made not such open demandes) he perswaded much that Senate, that for the comon benefite of *Italie*, they would protest publike resistance against the French purposes, or at least to giue *Lodowyk* roundly to vnderstand, that he was

The Venetians venters. much discontented with this innouation. But the Senate answered by the Duke, that it was farre from the office of a wise Prince, to pull the warre vpon his owne house, and take it from another, nor to consent to do (either by demonstrations or effectes) any thing that may displease either of the parties: And because the king of *Spaine* (solicited instantly by the Pope and *Alphonso*) promised (for the succours of *Naples*) to send into *Sciscie* an armie by sea well furnished, and at last made excuse, that it could not be so soone ready for want of money: the Pope gaue consent (besides a certaine portion which *Alphonso* sent him) and power, that he might conuert into that vse, the moneyes gathered in *Spaine* by the Apostolike authoritie, vnder colour of the *Croisade*, which ought not to be employed against others then the enemies to the faith Christian. *Alphonso* also, besides those he had already sent to the great Turke, dispatched of new *Camilla Pandon*, with who was sent secretly by the Pope *George Buciaro* a *Genoway*, whose seruice Pope *Innocent* had vsed there afore: who being receiued with great honor of *Baiazet*, & dispatched with no lesse expedition, brought home large promises of succours: which albeit was confirmed a litle after by an Ambassadour sent by the Turke to *Naples*, yet either for the distace of places, or for the distrust he had of the Christians, those promises brought no effect. In this time, *Alphonso* & *P. de Medicis*, seeing their armies succeeded not happily by land nor sea, they laboured to beguile *L. Sforce*, vsing his owne crafts

crafts and cunnings, but their industrie brought forth no better issue, then their forces. It was the opinion of many, that *Lodowyke*, for the consideration of his proper daunger, was not content that the french king should conquere *Naples*: but his plot was, that as soone as he was made Duke of *Myllan*, & that the french armie had passed into *Tuscane*, to worke some accord, by the which *Alphonso* should acknowledge himselfe tributarie to the crowne of *France*, with assurance to the king of office and obseruancie, and so the king (the places which the *Florentines* held in *Lunigiane*, reuerting perhaps out of their handes) to returne into *France*: So that the *Florentines* by this meane should remaine battered, the king of *Naples* diminished of force and authoritie, and he become Duke of *Myllan*, should haue got for his sewertie so much as was sufficient, without feare to fall into the daungers which might happen by the victorie of the french: he had hope also that the winter comming on, the king would suffer such difficulties as would let the course of his victorie: Lastly, he iudged that waighing with the impatience of the french, the kings slender prouision of money, and the wils of many of his people estranged from the enterprise, there would not want meanes to worke composition.

Coniectures against the subtilties of Lodowyke Sforce.

He aims hopes of Lod. Sforce.

This was a grosse error in his pollicie, to breede the storme, and leaue the defence to possibilities doubtfull: it is too daungerous to broach a vessell of poyson, and haue the vertue of the anty-dote vncertaine: fire suffered to runne, burnes without lymite, euen to the consuming of such as first kindled it. But whatsoeuer was his secret intention, it is certaine, that albeit at the beginning *Lodowyke* studied to separate *P. de Medicis* from the *Aragons*, yet after he perswaded him secretly to perseuere in his opinion, promising him so to worke that the french king should not march at all, or at least if he did passe, he should with the same speede returne afore he did action on that side the mountes; this he did often reiterate by his Embassadour resident at *Florence*, either for that such was his iust intention, or else hauing determined to ruinate *Peter*, he desired that he might bring him to doe so much against the king, as there might be no meane to reconcile them. But *Peter* determining by the consent of *Alphonso* to make these behaviours knowne to the french king, called one day into his house, the Embassadour of *Myllan*, vnder colour of being ill disposed of his person: afore he came, he caused to hide secretly the french Embassadour resident at *Florence*, in a place where he might easily heare their communication. There *Peter* repeated to the Embassadour plainely, distinctly, and at large, the perswasions and promises of *Lodowyke*, and that for his authoritie he was vnwilling to consent to the demands of the french king: taking occasion to complaine grievously, for that with so diligent instance he solicited the king to passe: he concluded, that seeing the effects answered not his words, he was constrainned to ioyne himselfe to the enterprise, to auoide his proper and present perill: The *Myllanoys* Embassadour answered, that he ought not to doubt of the faith of *Lodowyke*, if for no other reason, at least for this, that in comparison and consideration of things, it was no lesse daungerous to *Lodowyke* then to any other, that the french should enioy *Naples*: And therefore with all the councell, courage, and reasons that he could, he perswaded him to perseuere in his first opinion, least by such hurtfull alteration of mind, he were not the cause to bring himselfe and all *Italy* into perpetuall seruitude. This discourse with all his actions and circumstances, the french Embassadour with present speede communicated with the king his maister, assuring him that he was betrayed by *Lodowyke*, whose deuise tended all to his particular purpose and profite, and all his intensions dissembled and disguised.

This pollicie and priuate manner of *Peter*, bred not the effect which *Peter* and *Alphonso* hoped for, but, on the contrary, the matter and manner being reuealed to *Lodowyke*, euen by the french themselves, the disdain and hate conceiued afore against *Peter*, redoubled and tooke a stronger qualitie, and *Lodowyke* with a new diligence and quicknesse, solicited the french king to consume no more time vnprofitably.

But now, not onely the preparations that were made in so great plenty both by sea and land, but also the consent of the heauens and of men, pronounced to *Italy* their calamities to come: for that such as made profession, to haue iudgement eyther by science or diuine inspiration in the things to come, assured with one voyce that there were in preparing, both more great mutations, and more straunge and horrible accidents, then for many worlds before, had beene discerned in any part or circuit of the earth. There were seene in the night in *Pouille* three sunnes in the midst of the firmament, but many cloudes about them, with right fearefull thunders

Forerunners of the calamities of Italy.

and lightnings : In the territorie of *Aretze*, were visibly scene passing in the ayre, infinite numbers of armed men vpon mightie horses, with a terrible noyse of drums and trumpets : The Images & figures of Saints did manifestly sweate in many parts of *Italy*: In euery place were brought forth many monsters of men and other creatures, with many other things against the order of nature, concurring all at one time, but in diuerse places : by meanes whereof the people were carried into incredible feares, being already amazed with the brute of the french powers and furie of that Nation, with the which according to the testimonie of histories, they had afore time runne ouer all *Italy*, sacked and made desolate with fire and sword the citie of *Rome*, and subdued in *Asia* many Prouinces, and generally no part of the world which had not felt the vertue of their armes: But albeit these iudgements are often times fallible, and rather coniectures vncertaine, then effects hapning, yet the accidents that drew on, brought to them, in the spirits of fraile men, an absolute faith, credite, and religion : for, king *Charles*, holding his first purpose, was now come to *Viena* in *D'auphine*, and would not suffer himself to be staied from his personall expedition into *Italy*, neither by the iust and generall petitions of his whole realme, nor with the consideration of his vniuersall wants of money, which were such, as he had no meane to furnish the necessities present, but by pawning for a great summe of money, certaine iewels lent him by the Duke of *Sauoy*, the Marquesse of *Montferrat*, and other great Lords of the Court : of the summes he had gathered before of the reuenues of *France*, and such as were lent to him by *Lodowike*, he had employed a great quantitie vpon the armies at sea, wherein at the beginning was reapposed a great hope of the victorie : and of the residue, he had made many indiscreete liberalities to diuerse persons before he went from *Lyons*: And his Princes and Noble men, hauing at that time not so readie wayes to exact money vpon their peoples, as their immoderate couetousnesse hath brought them since, without regard to God or men, it was not easie for him to leauy new tributes : so slender were the prouisions and grounds of so great a warre, fury and rashnes guiding the king more then wisdom and counsell.

But as it often hapneth in the execution of things new, great, and difficult, that albeit all things are ordeyned and foreseene : yet the reasons that may be considered in the contrary, come then to appeare in the vnderstanding of men, when the enterprise is toward his action and beginning: So, the king being vpon the point to depart, yea his souldiers marching towards the mounts, there arose a great murmure throughout the Court : some brought into consideration the difficulties ordinary in so great an enterprise, and some disputed of the generall daungers and infidelitie of the *Italians*, but specially there was an vniuersall ielousie of *Lodowike Sforce*, both for the aduertisement lately come from *Florence*, and also certaine money expected from him, remained yet behind : So that not onely such as had alwaies reproved this enterprise, rose vp estioones to resist it with more audacity (as hapneth in those cases when counsell is confirmed by the euent of things) but euen those that had bene the principall workers, as chiefly the Bishop of *S. Mallo*, began so to shake, that the brute comming to the eares of the king and the whole Court, inclining to murmure and confusion of opinions, caused such an inclination in the king to passe no further, that suddenly commaundement was giuen to make stay of all the bands and companies of souldiers: by meane wherof many that were already on their way, returned with willing speed to the court, following a report published, that it was a resolution set downe, that the campe should not passe into *Italy*: it was then beleueed that all had turned into alteration and chaunge, if the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vincula*, (the fatall instrument both at that time, before, and after, of all the miseries of *Italy*) had not with his authoritie and vehemencie, giuen a new life to the expedition, recomforted the heart of the noble men, and brought againe the spirit of the king to his first determination: he laide before him not onely the reasons that had first stirred him vp to so glorious an enterprise, but also with a sharpe and quicke eloquence, willed him to looke into the infamy which might runne throughout all the world, for so light a mutation of so noble a counsell : he asked his Maiestie for what occasion, in restoring the places in the countie of *Artoys*, he had weakened on that side, the frontiers of his realme : why had he with so great displeasing of his Nobilitie and popu-
lars, made open to the king of *Spaine*, one of the ports of *France*, in giuing him the countie of *Rusillon* : other kings his predecessors had not wont to consent to those things, but either to be deliuered from great and imminent perils, or at least, in counterchaunge of profits more importing: he made not those restitutions by any necessitie, his perils were but reasonable, and for frute

The french
king doubtfull
to goe thorow
with the enter-
prise of *Naples*.

Cardinall *S. P.*
ad vincula,
gives a new
life to the ex-
pedition.

or recompence, there was no other expectation, then that with a great price, he had bought a present losse, which would perpetually nourish griefe, dishonour, and infamy: what new accidents haue appeared (saith he) or what strange daungers and difficulties are disclosed since the enterprize hath bene published throughout all the world? No, rather the hope of the victorie is encreased, the foundations being shaken whereupon the enemy had built all the hopes of his defence, for that if both the armie at sea of the *Aragons*, shamefully retyred to the port of *Lisurme*, after they had giuen a vaine assault to *Portomenere*, was able to attempt no further action against *Genes*, so well defended with souldiers and a nauie more mightie then theirs, And also in their armie by land stayed in *Romania*, by the resistance of small numbers of the french, was left no courage to passe further: what would be their feares, when they heard by all the countries in *Italy*, that the king was to passe the mounts with an armie royall: townes would fall into tumults, men would draw into munitie; hauing their minds amazed, how could they be stayed or cōteined? The Pope would not be a litle amazed, when he should see from his proper pallace, the armes of the *Collo- noys* at the gates of *Rome*: No lesse would be the astonishment of *P. de Medicis*, who hath for his enemies his owne bloud, knoweth what affection the towne of *Florence* beareth to the name of the french, & is not ignorant how desirous it is to recouer the libertie which he holdes opprest: That there was no impediment, no difficultie, no daunger to stay the furious descending of the king vpon the confines of *Naples*, which he should no sooner approch, then he should find all things disposed to flight or to rebellion: he told him, the feare was vaine to doubt want of money, for that his artillerie should be no sooner hard thunder, then the *Italians* with a swift liberalitie, would supply him from all patts: And if he should find any resistance or defence, the spoyles, the booties, the riches of the vanquished would suffice to nourish his armie, for that *Italy* for many yeares, hauing bene more accustomed to apparances of warre, then trayned in the true experience of warres, there was no strength, foundation, nor power to sustaine the fury of the french. In a matter debated with so long counsell, and prepared so heare to his action: in an enterprize so possible, and bringing so many profits: in an expedition so hautie and glorious, and giuen ouer, so vile and infamous: he aduised him to be firme and resolute, and for feares, suspitions, and iealousies, he willed him to thinke them as dreames, rising vpon some superfluous humour, or as shadowes to whom can be assigned no bodies: he told him it became iustly his name and greatnesse to march on with the same magnanimitie and courage, wherewith not foure dayes since, he vaunted to be able to vanquish *Italy* being vnited all together: he said, he had to consider, that his counsels were now no more in his owne power, & that things had got to great forwardnes by reason of the alienation he had made of many lands and territories, for the Embassadors he had heard, sent, and banished, for the great charges he had sustayned, for so many and mighty prouisions, and lastly, for the renoune that runne thorough the world, and his person being brought almost to the toppe of the *Alpes*: And finally, saith he, albeit the enterprize were neuer so perillous, yet necessitie constrained him to follow it, seeing betweene glorie and infamy, betweene dishonour and triumph, betweene the opinion to be esteemed a king, and a man vile, priuate, and abiect, there remained no meane. These speeches in substance deliuered by the Cardinall, but according to his nature, in more graue and vehement gesture, kindled such a new life & courage in the king, that without hearing any, then such as perswaded him to the warre, hee departed the same day from *Vyena*, accompanied with all the Barons and Captaines of the Realme, except the Duke of *Burbon*, to whom in his absence, he left the administration of the kingdome, and the Admirall, with certaine others appointed to the gouernement and gard of Prouinces most importing: himselfe with the armie passing into *Italy* by the mount *Genoura*, which yeeldes a farre more easie passage then the mount *Cenis*, and by the which (but with incredible difficulties) *Hanniball* of *Carthage* made his way into *Italy*: entred into the towne of *Ast* the ix. of September, a thousand foure hundredreth ninetie and foure, leading with him into *Italy* the seedes of innumerable calamities, and most horrible accidents, with a chaunge almost and innouation of all things: for, of his passage, did not onely take beginning, mutation of estates, subuersion of realmes, desolation of countreys, destruction of cities, and murders ciuill and most cruell: but also he brought with him new fashions of habites, new customes, new and bloudie manners of making warres, and diseases till those times vnknownen, yea he did so disorder the instruments of peace and concord in *Italy*, that being neuer able since to reōrder and reduce them, orther Nations strange & barbarous,

The french
king in Ast.

*The french
king described.*

haue had good meane to oppresse them miserably : And for the increasing of the infelicities (because their shame and dishonor should not be diminished by the valour and vertues of the victor) he whose coming brought all those calamities, (albeit he lackt nothing of the liberalities and fauours of fortune) was void almost of all the giftes of nature and the mind : for, it is most certain that king *Charles* from his infancie was of complexion very delicate, and of bodie vnfound and diseased, of small stature, and of face (if the aspect and dignitie of his eyes had bene taken away) foule and deformed, his other members bearing such equall proportion, that he seemed more a monster then a man : he was not only without all knowledge of good sciences, but scarcely he knew the distinct characters of letters : his mind desirous to commaund, but more proper to any other thing, for that being enuironed alwayes with his familiars and fauorits, he reteyned with them no maiestie or authoritie : he reiected all affaires and businessse, and yet if he did debate and consider in any, he shewed a weake discretion and iudgement : And if he had any thing in him that caried apparance of merit or praise, yet, being thoroughly waighed and founded, it was found further off from vertue then from vice : he had an inclination to glory, but it was tempered more with rashnesse and furie, then with moderation and counsel : his liberalities were without discretion, measure, or distinction : immouable often times in his purposes, but that was rather an ill grounded obstinacie, then constancie, and that which many call bountie, deserued more reasonably in him the name of coldnesse and slacknesse of spirit.

The same day the king arriued in the towne of *Ast*, the fauours of fortune beganne to appeare to him with a ioyfull token or prediction : for, there came from *Genes* glad newes, that *Dom Federicke* (who after his retyre from *Portouenere* to the hauen of *Lyuorne*, & that he had refreshed his army by sea, and leuyed new companies of landmen, was esloones returned into the same riuer) had put on land *Obietto de Fiesquo*, with three thousand footemen, who without difficultie had made himselfe Lord of the towne of *Rapalle*, which is twentie miles from *Genes*, and then sent companies to espie and spoyle the countrey there about : That such a beginning being of no little importance, for that touching the affaires of the towne of *Genes*, all emotions how little so euer they were, would be dangerous, considering the contagioufnesse and multitude of parties and factions, those within the towne esteemed it not good, that the enemies should haue further aduantage : and therefore, leauing part of their companies to the gard of *Genes*, the two brethren *S. Senerins* and *John Adorne*, brother to *Augustine* gouernour of the towne, with the Italian footmen, put themselues on the way to goe to *Rapalle*, the Duke of *Orleance* with a thousand *Swizzers*, leading thither the army by sea, which contained xviij. galleys, vj. gallions, and ix. great ships. And being all ioyned neere to *Rapalle* : they furiously gaue vpon the enemies that made head against the bridge which was betweene the suburbes of *Rapalle*, and a litle strait plaine that stretched to the sea : That besides, the proper forces of the *Aragons*, the seat of the place fought with aduantage for them, by whose steopenesse and sharpnesse more then other munition or art, the places of that riuer are well fortified : the beginning of the skirmish seemed prosperous to the enemy, the *Swizzers* being in a place very vnproper to bestow their ordenance, beginning almost to retyre : but by the continuall concourse and flocking of the peasants running after the faction of the *Adornes*, for their agilitie and experience in those stonie and mountenous places, men of speciall merit in seruice, & the *Aragons* beaten in flanke with the artilleries of the gallies of *France*, which were brought as neere the bankes as could be : they beganne very hardly to sustaine the charge : And that lastly, as they were beaten from the bridge, *Obietto* was aduertised (in whose fauour his partakers did not yet stirre) that *John Lewys de fiesquo*, was at hand with a great troupe of footemen, and therefore fearing to be charged on the backe, they fled to the mountaines, *Obietto* being the first, according to the custome of rebels : That there was slaine of them in this encounter, partly by fighting, and partly by flying, more then a hundred bodies : a slaughter not little, considering the manner of the warre in *Italy* in those times : with these aduertisements came accompanied the reapport of the prisoners taken, amongst whom was *Iulius Vrsin*, who with xl. men at armes, and certaine crosbow shot on horsebacke, had followed the sea armie of *Alphonso*, in whose pay he was : *Fregosin* sonne to the Cardinall *Fregose* and *Orlandin* of the same familie, remained also prisoners. This victorie assured altogether the affaires of *Genes*, for that *Dom Federicke* (who as soone as he had put his footmen on land, spread himselfe vpon the maine sea, as not to be constrained to fight with the enemy in the gulph of *Rapalle*) despairing to do any profitable seruice

seruice: at that time, retired his army once againe to the port of *Linorne*: where albeit he furnished his numbers with new souldiers, and had many plots to assaile the riuers in some other place: yet (by vnfortunate beginnings of enterprises often times men lose both courage and counsels) he attempted no other action of consequence, leauing a iust occasion to *Lodomyke* to vaunt, that with his industry and his counsels, he had giuen the bay to his aduersaries, seeing there was no other thing that saued the state of *Genes*, but their too slow speede to depart, whereof *Lodomyke* was the cause by his cunning, and vaine hopes breeding their deceitfull security.

At this time went *Lodomyke Sforce* to visit the king at *Ast*, whither he caried with him *Beatrice* his wife, followed with great pompe, and a traine of the most honourable and singular faire Ladies within all the Duchy of *Myllan*: he was also accompanied with *Hercules Duke of Ferrara*. There they debated of their common affaires, and by generall councill it was resolued, that the army should march with as much speede as was possible: wherein for the more diligence and expedition of things, *Lodomyke* who had not a little feare, that the hard season of the yeare happening, they would sojourne all the winter in the territories of his Duchy, lent eftsoons to the king a great quantity of money, whereof he had not a litle necessity and want: Notwithstanding, the king falling into the diseale which we call the small pockes, he remayned about a moneth within the towne of *Ast*, the army being dispersed into quarters and places thereabouts. Touching the numbers of his army, (as may be truly gathered out of so many diuersities) it contained, (besides the two hundreth gentlemen for his guard, and reckoning the *Swyzers* gone before to *Genes*, and the companies intertaining the warre in *Romania*, vnder *Monsieur D'auygnny*) xvj. hundred men at armes, allowing to euery of them according to the custome of *Fraunce*, two Archers, so that vnder euery launce (for so they call their men at armes) are comprehended vj. horses: of the *Swyzers* vj. thousand footemen, and vj. thousand of the realme of *Fraunce*: whereof the one halfe were *Gascome* souldiers, for their furniture gallaunt and well appointed, and for their naturall aptnesse to the warres, a people aboue all others, soonest traynd to seruice. And to ioine to this army, there was carried to *Genes* by sea, a huge proportion of artilleries of sundry natures, both for battery and seruice of the field, but of such sorts as *Italy* neuer saw the like.

Lodo. Sforce
goeth to visite
the french king
in *Ast*.

The number
of the french
kings army.

This hell or torment of artillery being deuised many yeares since in *Germany*, was brought first into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, hauing warre about the yeare 1380. with the *Genowais*: wherein the *Venetians* vanquished by sea, and much afflicted by the losse of *Chioze*, were ready to receiue such conditions as it pleased the victors, if in so good an occasion, there had not bene want of moderate counsell. The greatest sort was called bombardes, which, after the inuention was spreadde through *Italy*, were employed to the battering of townes: some of them were of yron, and some of brasse, but contayning such grosse and huge proportion, that for their waight, and ignorance of men, and instruments vnapt, they were carried slowly, and with great difficulty: and being with intollerable trauels planted afore towns, yet there was so much respite betweene one shot and another, that in comparison of their vse at this day, they gave little fruite or successe to the seruice, but left to the defenders leysure and oportunitie at will, to reenforce their rampiers and fortifications. And yet, by the violence of the saltpeter, with the which their powder had his mixture, the bullets flew into the aire with such horrible noise and fury, that that instrument (yea afore he had his perfection) put to skorne and silence all those engines and deuises, wherewith the auncients were wont to pull downe townes, to the great fame of *Archymedes*, and other notable enginistes. But the french men forging peeces of farre greater facility, and of no worse mettall then brasse, which they called cannons, vsing bullets of yron, in place of those of stone of the first inuention, vsed to draw them vpon wheelles, not with oxen (as was the custome in *Italy*) but with horses, and with such agility of men and instrumentes appointed to that seruice, that they almost kept march with the army: and being brought afore townes or walles, they were braked and planted with an incredible diligence, and with a very smal intermission betweene the shottes: they battered with such violent fury, that, what before was wont to be done in *Italy* in many daies, they dispatched it in few howres. These deuilish instruments they vsed also in the field, making sometimes the cannon seruic eable there, and sometimes peeces of lesser forge, haled according to their proportion, with the selfe same speed and nimblenesse. Those artilleries were the cause, that all *Italy* stood in great feare of the kings army, which was also holden more redoubted and dreadfull, not by the numbers, but for the valour of the souldiers: for, the men at armes, being

How & when
great shot
came first into
Italy.

almost all of the kings subiects, gentlemen and not of the popular sort, were not simply vnder the direction and discipline of Captaines, nor payed by them, but by the kings officers: by which meane, companies and bandes had not onely their compleate numbers, but they were men of choyse, and in good point for horse and armour, being well able to make their owne furnitures) and contented in seruice, as well for the desire of honour, (which naturally is nourished in the hearts of men of noble race) as also that by their actions in armes and fight, they might aspire to recompence, as well out of warre as the warre during, and by degrees, rise worthely to the name and places of Captaines. The same respectes pushed forward the Captaines, Barons, and great Lordes, or at least such as did communicate in honourable discent and blood; for the most part subiects of the crowne of *Fraunce*, who hauing their numbers set and limited, for according to the warres of that realme, there is in no company aboute a hundreth launces) had no other intention, then by seruice to merite well of their king: So that there was not amongst them any humour of inconstancy, either by ambition or couetousnesse to chaunge their Lord, or for enuy to exceede other Captaines in numbers of men at armes: customes meare contrary to the ordering of the men at armes in *Italy*: where many of the men at armes, are either peasantes, or populars, subiectes of an other Prince, and depending wholly of their Captaines, with whom they contract for their pay, and serue vnder their arbitracion: they haue neither by nature nor by accident, any extraordinary spurre or prouocation to serue well. The Captaines are very rarely vassalles of him that entertaines them: they haue for the most part diuerse interestes, purposes, and ends: full of enuy and hatreds: And being bound to no tearme fixed for their payes, and absolute commaunders ouer their companies, they oftentimes beguile the seruice with lesse numbers then they are payed for: and sometimes not contented with honest conditions, they put their patrones vpon euery occasion to raunsome: At their pleasures they will passe from the seruice of one, and enter into the pay of an other, ambition, couetousnesse, or other particular interestes, making them not onely inconstant, but also vnfaithfull. There was also scene no lesse difference between the footemen of *Italie*, and those that serued vnder king *Charles*, for that the *Italians* fought not in squadrons set and ordered, but in troupes, and dispersed in the field, and oftentimes retrying to the aduantages of hilles and ditches: But the *Swyzzers* (a nation warlike, and by the long vse of warre and many victories, had renewed their auncient glory and hardinesse) vsed to fight with bandes ordered, and distinct in numbers certaine: and neuer forsaking their ranckes, they vsed to stand against their enemies as a wall, firme, and almost inuincible, so farre forth as they fought in a plaine or place large to stretch out their battell: euen with the same discipline and orders, but not with the like courage and vertue, did fight the footmen of the french and *Gascoynes*.

The Colonnys
for the french
king. Whilest the king by reason of his sickenesse, sojourned in the city of *Asse*, there happened a new tumult about the borders of *Rome*: for, the *Colonnys* (notwithstanding *Alphonso* had accorded to all their moderate demaunders) as soone as *Monsieur D'aubygn* was entred *Romania*, declared themselves for the french king without more dissembling, and tooke the rocke of *Ostia* by intelligences they had with certaine Spanish footemen left there in garrison. This raised the Pope into passion, and made him bitterly complaine to all Princes in Christendome, of the iniuries done to him by the french: he addressed his complaints chiefly to the king of *Spaine*, and Senate of *Venice*, of whom (but in vaine) he praied aide and succours according to the contract of confederacion made betweene them the last yeare before: And turning altogether his wits, authority and courage, to the prouisions of the warres, after he had cited *Prosper* and *Fabricius*, (whose houses he caused to be rased in *Rome*), and assembled his companies with part of those of *Alphonso*, vnder *Virginio*, at the riuer of *Tyberone*, neare *Tyuly*: he sent them all vpon the landes of the *Colonnys*, whose strength was no greater then two hundreth men at armes, and a thousand footemen: But afterwards the Pope doubting least the french army at sea supposed to come from *Genes* to the succours of *Ostia*, should be receiued into the port of *Neptune*, belonging to the *Colonnys*: *Alphonso* after he had gathered at *Terracina* all the companies that the Pope and he had in those quarters, established his campe there, hoping to haue it easily. Notwithstanding the *Colonnys* defending it with great francknesse of courage, and being also passed into their countreys without impediments, with the companies of *Camilla Vitelli*, of the city of *Castello*, and the bands of their brethren which the french king had newly taken into his pay. The Pope reuoked to *Rome*,

part of his people which were in *Romania* with *Ferdinand*, whose affaires continued not with that felicity and fortune which they seemed to show in the beginning: for, as he was arrived at *Villefranche*, betwene *Furly* and *Faenza*, and from thence was entred into the high way of *Ymola*: the army of the enemy encamped neare to *Villefranche*, seeing their forces inferior, retired betwene the Forrest of *Lugo* and *Columnare*, neare the forde of *Geniola*: a place very strong by nature, and appertayning to *Hercules d'Este*, out of whose countreys they were vittelled: So that *Ferdinand*, seeing that by the strength and situation of the place, he could not charge them, but with manifest and generall perill, issued out of *Ymola*, and went to encampe in *Toskanella*, neare the village of *S. Peter* in the countreys of *Bolonia*: for, being desirous to fight, by the show he made to goe towards *Bolonia*, he sought to put the enemies (to whom he would not leaue liberty to passe further) in necessity to incampe in places not so strong: But they, approching certaine daies after neare *Ymola*, pitched their campe vpon the riuer of *Santerne*, betwene *Lugo* and *S. Agathe*, the place being well fortified, and had for their backe, the riuer of *Paw*. The same day *Ferdinand* encamped sixe miles from them vpon the same riuer neare *Mordane* and *Bubane*, presenting his army the day after in battell ringed within a mile of them: where, after he had looked forthem in vaine for certaine houres, the place ministring all commodities to fight, by reason of his scope, largenesse, and plainnesse, and seeing he could not set vpon them in their trenches without absolute daunger, went to encampe at *Balbiana*, not holding any more the way of the moun- raine as he had done till then, but accoasting the enemy, he marched alwaies with this intention, to constraîne them, if he could, to forsake their trenches so full of aduantage and strength.

It hath seemed till now that the affaires of the Duke of *Calabria*, carried good estate and fortune, and a gouvernement with reputation, seeing the enemies had apparantly refused to fight, defending them selues more with the strength and situation of their trenches, then with actions of armes, and in all encounters of the light horsemen; the *Aragons* caried away alwaies the best: but the campe of the French and *Sforce*, receiuing continuall strength by supplies of companies, which at the beginning remayned behinde, the estate of the warre began to chaunge: for that, the Duke, whose heate and forwardnesse was moderated by the councill of the captaines that followed him, to the end he would not commit all to fortune without aduantage, retired to *S. Agathe*, a towne of the Duke of *Ferrara*, where, finding diminution of his footmen, and of that part of the horsemen of the Church, which the Pope had called backe, and lastly in the middest of the countreys of the Duke of *Ferrara*, began to looke to fortifie him selfe: But after he had remayned there certaine daies, he vnderstood by espiall, that there was expectation in the enemies campe, of two hundred launces, and a thousand *Smytzer* footemen, which the French king had caused to march as soone as he entred into *Ast*: and therefore he retyred to the wast of *Faenza*, a place betwene the walles of the same towne, and a ditch which reculeth about a thousand pases from the towne, and enuironing it round about, makes that situation very strong. And by reason of his retraite, the enemy came to *S. Agathe*, which he had abandoned. Surely both these armyes shewed great tokens of courage, when they saw their enemy inferior: but when things were brought to an equality, the place apt, their forces indifferent, and all other oportunities consenting, each one eschewed to assay the fortune of battell, and in them both was approued that which very rarely happeneth, that one councill was pleasing to two armies, being enemies: For, the French thought they should accomplish their intention, for the which they were come out of *Lombardie*, if they hindered the *Aragons* for passing further: And *Alphonso* iudged it greatly to his benefit, if he could amuse and hold the enemies bridle vntill winter: and therefore gaue expresse charge to his sonne, and *Iohn Iacques Tryuulso*, with the Count de *Petillane*, that without great occasion, they should not put in the power of fortune, the realme of *Naples*, which was vtterly lost, if that army were defeated. But these remedies sufficed not for safety, for that king *Charles*, whose forwardnesse could not bee restrayned, neither by the season of the time, nor any other difficulties, marched into the field with his army as soone as he had recouered his health: And because *Iohn Galeas* Duke of *Myllan*, and his cousin germaine (for the King and he descended of two sisters, daughters to *Lomys* the second, Duke of *Sauoye*) lay fore sicke in the castell of *Pauye*, he went with great humanity to visite him, making his way by the towne, and lodging in the same castell: The speeches he vsed to him were generall for the presence of *Lodowyke*, onely expressing how much grieved he was for his sickenesse, and perswaded him to take hope and

The french
king visits
Iohn Galeas,
duke of Myl-
lan.

courage to recouer his health: But touching the effect of the mind, the king with al those ~~that~~ were with him, had great compassion on him, euery one iudging for certaine, that the yong gentleman, by the wickednesse of his Vncle, had not long to liue. This compassion was much encreased by the presence of *Isabell* his wife, who not onely full of many sorrowes for the infirmity of her husband, and estate of her little sonne borne by him, but also much afflicted for the perill of her father and his adherentes, she ~~was~~ with great humility, in the publicke presence, at the secte of the king, recommending to him with pitifull teares, her father, and his house of *Aragon*: towards whom, albeit the king, for her age, for her beauty, and her present fortune, expressed an apparant inclination to pity, yet, being not able to stay the course of so great a matter, for so light occasion, he answered her with signes of will to doe that he could not, saying, the enterprise being so farre aduanced, he was contrayned to prosecute and continue it.

*The death of
Iohn Galeas.*

*The manifest
aspiring of Lo-
dowmyke Sforce
to the dukedom*

*Lodo. Sforce
Duke of Myl-
lan by usurpa-
tion.*

From *Panya* the king marched to *Plaisance*, and during the abode he made there, newes came of the death of *Iohn Galeas*, by which occasion *Lodowmyke*, that had followed him thither, returned in no small diligence to *Myllan*, where by the principals of the councell, which the Duke had suborned, it was propounded, that in regard of the greatnesse of that estate, and the daungerous times that prepared now for *Italy*, it would be a thing preiudiciall, that the sonne of *Iohn Galeas*, (hauing not fīue yeares in age) should succede his father: and therefore, as well to keepe the liberties of the state in protection, as to be able to meete with the inconueniences which the time threatneth: they thought it iust and necessary (derogating somewhat, for the publicke benefite, and for the necessity present, the disposition of the lawes, as the lawes themselves do suffer) to constraīne *Lodowmyke*, for the better stay of the common weale, to suffer that into him might be transported the title and dignity of Duke, a burden very waighy in so conspiring a season: with the which colour, honestly giuing place to ambition, the morning following (vying some forme of resistance) he tooke vpon him the name and armes of the Duchy of *Myllan*, hauing secretly protested before, that he receiued them as appertayning to him, by the inuestiture of the king of *Romaines*: It was published that the death of *Galeas* happened by immoderate cohabitation, but the vniuersall iudgement of *Italy* was, that he died not of infirmities naturall, nor by incontinency, but by poyson and violent compulsion, whereof *Theodor de Panya*, one of the Physicians, assisting when the king visited him, assured the king to see most apparant and manifest signes: And if he were dispatched by poison, there was none that doubted that his Vncle was innocent either directly or indirectly, as he, who not content with an absolute power to be gouernor of the state, but aspiring according to the common desires of great men, to make them selves glorious with titles and honours, and specially hee iudged that both for his proper surety, and the succession of his children, the death of the lawfull Prince was necessary, and therefore sought to establish in him selfe the power and name of Duke, wherein ambition and couetousnesse preuailed aboue conscience and law of nature, and the ielous desire of dominion, enforced his disposition (otherwaies abhorring bloud) to that vile action. It was beleued of many wise men, that he hath had that intencion euer since he began to sollicite the french kings journey into *Italy*, iudging the occasion and the time would well concurre to aduance the effect, for that the french houreing vpon the borders of that state with a maine army, it would alter mens coniectures and humours, and cary their wits from remembraunce of an act so wicked. But some hauing opinions more particular, supposed both for the suddainnesse of his death, and diligent transferring of the impery to the other, that it happened by a new thought proceeding of feare, least the king (the counells of the french are sodaine) would turne him selfe with a contrary course to deliuer his cosin *Galeas* from so great a subiection, being induced thereunto, either for respect of parentage and compassion of his age, or that he might thinke it was a thing more sure for him selfe, that the Duchy of *Myllan* were in the power of his cosin, rather then commaunded by *Lodowmyke*, whose fidelity many of his great Lords laboured continually to make suspected with him. But because *Lodowmyke* had got the yeare before the inuestiture of the Duchy of *Myllan*, and a litle before the death of his nephew, had dispatched with diligence the imperiall priuiledges, it makes a congruent construction, that it was a deliberation voluntary and foredeuised, and not sodaine, nor in respect of the present daunger. The king stayed certaine dayes at *Plaisance*, not without inclination to returne into *Fraunce*, for that as well the want of money, which being the more generall, was so much more intollerable, as not seeing any new thing in *Italy* discover in his fauour, he

had many doubtres of his successe, hauing withall no litle suspition of the new Duke of *Myllan*, who notwithstanding when he parted, sayd he would returne, yet the iudgement was, that he would not come againe at all: it is not out of all likelihood, that being vnknownen to the nations on the other side the mounts that wicked custome to poyson men, which is a practise very common and familiar in all partes of *Italie*: but that the king and all his Court, beside the suspition they had conceiued against the faith of *Lodowyke*, had his name in honour, yea the king esteemed it an iniurie done to his owne honour and greatnesse, that he had solicited his comming into *Italie*, to be the better able without daunger to execute an act so abhominable: yet in the end, the resolution was to march on, *Lodowyke* continually labouring him thereunto, with promise to returne & so visite the king within few dayes, for that both the kings abroad in *Lombardie*, and his hastie returne into *Fraunce*, were wholly contrary to his intentions.

The same day the king departed from *Plaisance*, *Laurence* and *Iohn de Medicis* came to him, who being secretly fled from their houses in the countrey, made great instance that his Majesty would come neare *Florence*, promising him much of the affections and good will of the people towards the house of *Fraunce*, and no lesse of the hate against *Peter de Medicis*, against whom the king was aggravated by occasions new & greene: for the king sent from *Ast* an Ambassadour to *Florence*, to propound many offers: if they would graunt him passage, and abstaine hereafter from ayding of *Alphonso*: and on the other side to pronounce threatnings to them, if they perseuered in their former counsell: wherein to astonish them the more, he gaue expresse charge to his Ambassadour to returne immediatly, if they would not giue speedy resolution: he was answered with excuses to deferre and expect, for that the chiefest Citizens of the gouernement being withdrawne to their houses of solace in the countrey, according to the custome of the *Florentines* in that season, they could not with such speede giue him an answer certaine, but would with all diligence aduertise the king of their intention by a particular Ambassadour. It is most certaine, that it was agreed in the kings counsell without contradiction, that the armie should rather take the way that leades thorow *Tuskane*, and the territories of *Rome* directly to *Naples*, then that, which, lying along *Romania*, and *la Marque*, passing the riuer of *Troute*, entred into *Abruzzo*, not for that they did distrust to giue the chafe to the bands of the *Aragons*, which with difficultie resisted *Monsieur D'auygnny*: but for that it seemed a thing vnworthy of the greatnesse of such a king, & no lesse infamous to the glory of his armies, (the Pope & *Florentines* being declared against him) to giue occasion to men to thinke that he eschewed the way for distrust, that he was not able to force them: but much more because they esteemed it daungerous to make warre in the realme of *Naples*, and leaue as enemies at their backes, the state Ecclesiastike & *Tuskane*: and therefore the armie turning to the way of *Tuskane*, it was determined to passe rather the *Appennyn*, by the mountaine of *Parme*, then to march the direct way to *Bolonia*. This was *Lodowyke*'s direction, when he was at *Ast*, for that he had a desire to make him selfe Lord of *Pysa*.

So that the yaunggard, ouer whom was gouernour and leader, *Gilbert de Montpensier*, of the house of *Bourbon*, and Prince of the blood: and the king following, with the residue of the armie, passed to *Pontreme*, a towne of the Duchy of *Myllan*, set at the foote of the *Appennyn*, vpon the riuer of *Magre*, which diuides the country of *Genes*, (aunciently called *Liguria*) fro *Tuskane*: fro *Pontreme* *Monsieur Montpensier* entred the country of *Lunigiana*, a part of which obeyed the *Florentins*, certaine castels belonged to the *Genoways*, and the residue were subiect to the Marquis of *Malestine*, who maintained their small estates vnder the protection sometimes of the Duke of *Myllan*, sometimes of the *Florentines*, and sometimes of the *Genoways*. About those quarters ioyned with *Monsieur Montpensier*, the *Swyzzers*, which had bin at the defence of *Genoway*, together with the artillerie which was come by sea to *Spetia*: and being come neare the towne of *Fimizana*, belöging at that time to the *Florentins*, whither they were guided by *Gabriell Malestina*, Marquis of *Fodisnone*, who was recommended to them, they tooke it by force, & sackt it, making slaughter of all the souldiers strögers that were within, & many of the inhabitants: a maner of making war very new, & so much the more terrible to all *Italie*, accustomed for many yeares past to warres rather flourishing in pompes and fine furniture, like to warres shewed by maskers in stage playes, then to skirmishes bloody & daungerous. The *Florentins* were determined to make their principall resistance at *Serezana*, which they had greatly fortified, but not with strength sufficient & necessary to resist so mighty an enemy, because they had not furnished it with any Captaine of

Laurence and Iohn de Medicis with the French king.

The way that the French armie tooke to Naples.

M. Montpensier leader of the yaunggard.

warre, that had authoritie to minister discipline, nor yet souldiers, neither resolute nor seruicable, other then such as lost heart at the first voyce of the approch of the French armie : yet they of *Florence* were of opinion that it could not be easily taken, specially the Castell, and much lesse the rocke *Serezana*, both well furnished, and bearing his situation vpon the hill about the towne: Besides, it was not possible that the armie should remaine long time in those places, the countrey being barreine and straite, and being inclosed betweene the sea and the mountaines, was not sufficient to nourished so great a multitude, and their vituals comming farre of, could not obserue such iust time and oportunitie, as to serue their present necessities: by reason whereof it seemed the kings affaires began to fall into hard termes, & that his armie stood possible to many daungers & distresses: for, albeit he could not with conuenient impediments be let from assailing *Pysa*, leauing behind him the town & castell of *Serezana*, & the rocke, nor kept by the country of *Lucques*, (which Citie, by the working of the Duke of *Myllan*, had secretly determined to receiue them) that he entred not an other part of the territorie of *Florence*: yet he could hardly be brought to that deliberation, and much lesse cōdescend to it, because he had a perswasion in his secret fancie, that if he woult not the first towne that resisted him, it would diminish much his reputation, and leaue a daungerous example to others to vse insolencie against him.

But so it was ordained, that either by the grace and blessing of fortune, or by an ordinance of more high power, (if at the least the indiscreptions and faultes of men deserue such excuses) to such an impediment hapned a suddaine remedie: seeing that neither the courage nor constancie of *Peter de Medicis*, were greater in his aduersities, then had bene his modestie and discreffion in his prosperities: By this must be vnderstood, that the displeasures which the Citie of *Florence* had receiued from the beginning, for the impediments which were giuen to the king, were continually multiplied, both for a new chase and banishment of their marchants out of all parts of the Realme of *France*, and also for feare of the power of the French, which did so much the more grow rising in the hearts of men, by how much they heard that the armie had begun to passe the *Appennyn* mounts: but specially they fell all into dread & feare, by the crueltie shewed at the taking of *Fimzana*: for these causes euery one did publicly detest the rashnesse of *Peter de Medicis*, who, without necessitie, beleeuing more in his owne weening, and the counceils of certaine rash ministers, men arrogant in times of peace, and vnprofitable, and cowardes in times of warre: the following the directions of those Citizens that were friends to his father, and had alwayes instructed him with no lesse graue counceils: had so indiscreetly prouoked the armes of so mightie a king, assisted with the Duke of *Mullan*: seeing withall, he was ignorant in the affaires of warre, leauing the Citie, and other places of their obedience not fortified, but ill furnished with souldiers and munitions necessarie to make defence against so great a force: Besides that, there had as yet appeared none of those *Aragons*, for whom they had exposed them selues to so great daunger: so that their countrey abandoned of euery one, remained in the deepe hatred of so mightie a king, and was ready to fall as a manifest pray to him, who with so great instance, had sought not to fall into occasion and necessitie to hurt it.

This disposition which was almost in all those of the towne, was further kindled by many noble Citizens, much displeased with the present gouernement, and that one onely familie had risen so much in presuming, as to appropriat to him selfe the rule of the whole cōmon weale: in so much as one increasing the feares of an other, and all labouring in one common dread, and ministering stomacke and courage to such as desired new things, they had so stirred the braynes & spirits of the people, that there was generall feare of some tumult in the towne, whereunto the multitude was the rather prouoked by the pride and immoderat behaiours of *Peter*, who, in many things forsaking the ciuill customes and modestie of his auncestours, had bene followed from his infancie with a perpetuall hatred and ill will, by the generalitie of the Citizens: his father seemed to haue a great speculation in his vices and vile conditions, for that he would oftē say to his secret friends, that the indiscreffion & arrogancie of his sonne, would one day be the cause of the ruine of his house. It is a good propertie of wisdom in fathers, to finde out the dispositions of their children, but it is a principall effect of their iudgemēt, to cut off with discipline all course of humours, that feede and minister to their naturall corruptions, which is an office no lesse iust in parents, then it belongeth to the art of the Phisition, first to seeke out the humour that offends, & then to apply the remedie proper to cure, and not to leaue the body to a settled infection.

Peter being now amazed with the perill, which with rashnesse he contemned afore, and seeing he fayled of the succours and aydes which were promised by the Pope and *Alphonso*, who as well for the losse of *Ostia*, & siege of the port *Neptune*, as for feare of the French armie by sea, had euen their hands and heads full: determined with a councell suddaine and particular, to go search of the enimie that safetie, which he hoped no more to finde in his friendes, following therein the example of his father, who, in the year 1479. being brought to desperate termes of daunger, by a warre which Pope *Sixtus* & *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, managed against the *Florentines*, went to seeke *Ferdinand* in the towne of *Naples*, from whom he brought to *Florence* publike peace & priuate suretie. But it is a thing very dangerous for men to gouerne themselves by examples, if there be not a concurrence of the selfe reasons, not onely in generall, but euen in all particularities: & if things be not ruled with the same wisdom: and if lastly, ouer and besides all other foundations, the selfe same fortune haue not her part. Being parted from *Florence* in this deliberation, and not farre on his way, he had aduertisement that the horsemen of *Paule Vrsin*, and three hundred footemen sent by the *Florentines* to enter *Serezana*, were broken by certaine companies of the French, which were come scouring euen on this side the riuer of *Magre*, the most of them either slaine or made prisoners. This made him tarie for the kings safe conduct at *S. Peters*, whither went for his conduct and suretie the Bishop of *S. Malls*, with certaine Lords of the Court, in whose companie he arriued at the campe the same day that the king, with the residue of his strength ioynded him selfe to the vauingtard, which incamping before *Serezanella*, battred that rocke, but not with such successe as there was hope to carie it: After he was presented to the king, who entertained him with good countenance, but more in apparence, then in affection: he appeased immediatly all his displeasures, in consenting to his whole demaunds, which were great and immoderat: namely, that the fortresses, and Castels of *S. Peter*, *Serezana* and *Serezanella*, which were (as it were) the keyes of the dominions of *Florence* on that side, and the fortresses of *Pysa*, and the port of *Lyuorne* (members principall of their estate) should be all put into the hands of the king, who, for his part, should bind him selfe by promise and by his proper signature, to redeliuer them, as soone as he had conquered the kingdome of *Naples*: That *Peter* should do so much, that the *Florentines* should lend to the king two hundred thousand duckats, and that then he would receiue them into his alliance & protection. Touching the ratification of which promises, made with simple wordes, it was sayd there should be letters dispatched to *Florence*, by the which the king meant to passe: but the consignation of the castels and fortresses was not deferred: for, *Peter* ioyning meaning to his words, caused to be deliuered (without tarying) to the king those peeces, *Serezana*, *S. Peter*, and *Serezanella*, and not many dayes after, according to the agreement, the like was done of the peeces of *Pysa*, and port of *Lyuorne*.

The French men wondred, that *Peter* with so great facilitie accorded to things of so great importance, for that there was no doubt but the king would haue bene contented with farre meaner conditions. I will not let passe in this place without reapport, that which was suttelly answered to *Peter de Medicis*, by *Lodowyke Sforce*, arriuing the day following at the camp: As *Peter* in going to meete him to do him honour, excused him selfe that he had miscaried, for that *Lodowyke* was somewhat gone out of the way: he answered very properly: That the one of them two went out of the way, but perhaps (sayth he) it lights vpon your selfe, as reproching vnto him that he was false into so great difficulties and daungers, for not giuing faith to his counsels: But the euents of things falling out afterwarde, did well declare, that they both had gone out of the right way, but it was with a greater infamie and calamitie to him, who raysted into greater degree, made profession with his wisdom, to be the guide of all others.

This resolution and accord of *Peter de Medicis*, did not onely assure the king of the things of *Tuskane*, but it tooke out of his way all blockes and obstacles in *Romagnia*, where the *Aragons* began now much to decline: for, as it is a thing very hard to him that scarcely defendes him selfe from daungers imminent, to prouide in one season for the perils of another: So, whilest *Ferdinand* remained in suretie within the strong fort of *Faenza*, the enimie returned to the country of *Imola*, where, after they had with a part of the armie assailed the borough of *Bukane*, but in vaine, because by his litle circuite, small strength sufficed to defend it, and for his base situation, the country ranne ouer with waters: They tooke by force the towne of *Mordane*, notwithstanding it was very strong, and plentifully furnished with souldiers to defend it: but such was the fury of the artil-

lerie, and such the desperat hardinesse of the French in the assault, (many being drowned as they passed ouer the waterie ditches) that there was no abilitie of resistance by those that were within, against who the victours accompanied their fortune with such bloudy crueltie, without regard to age or sex, that they filled all *Romania* with generall feares & astonishments. By reason of this accident, *Katherine Sforce* despairing of succours, accorded with the Frenchmen, to auoyde the perill present, and promised to their armie all commodities of the estates subiect to her sonne: the same being the cause that *Ferdinand* (now doubting of the wils of the of *Faenza*, yea & held it so much the more dangerous, to remaine in the midst of *Imola* and *Furly*, by how much he was well aduertised of the going of *P. de Medicis* to *Serezana*) retired neare to the wals of *Cesena*, shewing so great a feare, that because he would not passe neare to *Furly*, he led his armie by the hills, (a way more long and combersom) neare to *Castrocara*, a borough of the *Florentines*. And within few dayes after, hearing of the conuention which *Peter* had made with the French, for which cause the bandes of the *Florentines* forooke him, he tooke the way to *Rome*: Like as also *Dona Federike* being parted from the port of *Lyuorne*, retired with his armie towardes the kingdome of *Naples*, where begun to be necessarie for *Alphonso*, those armie which he had sent abroad with so great hopes to inuade the estates of others: for, his affaires were full of many aduersities. on his side, seeing that the siege of the port of *Neptune* not succeeding, he had led backe his armie to *Terracina*. And the armie by sea for the French, whereof were leaders the Prince of *Salerno*, and *M. de Serenon*, were discouered aboute *Ostia*, but yet giuing it out that they would not offend the states of the Church, they put no men on land, nor shewed any token of displeasure to the Pope, notwithstanding their king many dayes before had refused to heare *Frauncis Percolthomini*, Cardinall of *Siena*, Legat, sent by the Pope to his Maiestie.

The Florentines discontented with Peter de Medicis.

But to returne to *Peter de Medicis*, after the *Florentines* were aduertised of the conuentions he had made, so greatly to the diminution of their territories, and with so slaunderous and dangerous a wound and gall to the common weale, there was no litle displeasure and discontentment throughout all the Citie: besides their great losses, their harts were moued against him, for that with a new forme and order of dealing, and contrarie to the examples of his predecessours, he had alienated without the counsell of his Citie, and solemne decree of the Magistrates, so great a part of the state of *Florence*: in so much, that to the bitter complaintes made against him, were ioyned the murmures and secret grudgings of the people, incensing one an other to rise and recouer their libertie, without that any of those that in their hearts bare fauours to the doings of *Peter*, durst either with force, or perswasion, set them selues against so great an inclination: Albeit the *Florentines* hauing no strength to defend *Pysa* and *Lyuorne*, had also no hope to turne the kings will from hauing them: yet because they would separate the counsels of the common weale, from the counsels of *Peter*, or at the least that that should not be attributed to one in particular, which appertained to them all in publike, they addressed to him many Ambassadors of those families, which were ill contented with the *Medicis*. But *Peter* knowing that that was a beginning of a mutation of estate, to the ende to prouide for his affaires afore greater disorders hapned, applied his deliberations to the time, and tooke leaue of the king, vnder colour to giue perfection to that he had promised. At this time also the king parted fro *Serezana*, to go to *Pysa*, & *Lodowyke Sforce* returned to *Myllan*, hauing obtained for money, that the inuestiture of *Genes*, graunted by the king a few yeares before to *Iohn Galeas*, for him and his issue, should be transferred to him and his posteritie: he went away very much discontented, for that the king would not leaue in his keeping (as he sayd he had promised) *S. Peter* and *Serezana*, which places seruing him as a ladder to rayse him to the Citie of *Pysa*, he demaunded as vniustly taken fro the *Genoways*, a few yeares before by the *Florentines*. But, when *Peter* was returned to *Florence*, he found the Citie estranged from him, and the mindes of his chiefe friendes in suspence, for that against their coucell, & against the oportunitie of the time, he had vndiscreetly gouerned all things: The communaltie also was drawne into such an vprore and mutunie, that as the next day after his returne, he would haue entred into the pallace, wherein rested the authoritie & great magistracie of the common weale, it was forbidden him by certaine Magistrats which kept the gate armed, of whom the chiefe was *Iacques de Nerly*, a young man of equall nobilitie and riches. This being spread abroad thorow the Citie, the people ranne with swift tumult to armes, being the more moued to this vproare, for that *Paule Vrsin*, who *Peter* had sent for, was at hand with his band of armed

A tumult in Florence.

armed men. The aspect and consideration of these daungers, caused *Peter* (eftsoones returned to his house) and hauing lost both courage and counsell, and whilest the state declared him rebell, to flee in great hast out of *Florence*, following him *Iohn* Cardinall of the Church of Rome, & *Julian* his brethren, vpon whom in like sort were imposed the paynes ordeined against Rebels: he went directly to *Bologna*, where *Iohn Bentiuole*, desiring in an other that constancie and resolution of courage, which he could not show since in his owne aduersities, reprocued him bitterly at the beginning, for that not onely to his owne preiudice, but also to the ill example of all that oppressed the libertie of their countreys, he had so cowardly without the death of one man, abandoned such a greatnesse. In this sort, by the rashnesse of one young man, did at that time fall the house of *Medicis* from that rule and power, which vnder the name & apparance almost of a ciuill administration, it had obtained in *Florence* three score yeares: it began in *Cosmo* his great grandfather, a Citizen of singular wisdome, and infinite wealth, and for those regards very notable through all the partes of *Europe*: But much more was he recommended, for that with a wonderfull magnificence and hart truly royall, regarding more the eternitie of his name, then the profit of his posteritie: he employed more then foure hundred thousand duckats, in building of Churches, erecting of Monasteries, with other buildings of sumptuous costes, not onely in his owne countrey, but also in many places of the world: And his sonnes sonne *Lawrence*, a man for vnderstanding and iudgement, excellent, in counsell graue and singular, in liberalitie equall with his grandfather, and for greatnesse of hart, nothing inferiour, for ministration in the common weale, of authoritie more absolute, but for wealth, of lesse abilitie, and of life farre more short: gate generall reputation through out *Italie*, and with many straunge Princes, which after his death, was turned into a cleare monument and memorie, for that it hath seemed euer since, that the concord and felicitie of *Italie* ended with his life.

The same day the state of *Florence* fell into chaunge, the French king being in the Citie of *Pysa*, the townesmen in popular troupes with cries and showtings, ranne to him, and demanded libertie, complayning grievously of the oppressions and wrongs which they sayd they had receiued vnder the gouernement of the *Florentines*: certaine of the kings counsell assisting, assured him that their demand was iust, for that the *Florentines* held them in to hard seruitude. The king not seeing into the importance of their request, nor how farre it was contrarie to the contract of *Serezane*, told them, they should haue libertie: with the which aunswere the *Pysans* ranne to armes, throwing downe to the earth all the enseignes and armories of the *Florentines*, they put themselves into an absolute libertie so long desired: Notwithstanding, the king, contrarie to him selfe, and no lesse ignorant in the things he had accorded, would that the *Florentin* officers should still administer their accustomed iurisdictions, and on the other part, left the old citadell in the hands of the *Pisans*, and kept to him selfe the new, of farre more importance. In these accidents of *Pysa* and *Florence*, may be well discerned a true experience of the old saying, or common prouerbe as we call it: That men when their aduersities approach, lose chiefly that wisdome, with the which they might haue hindred or auoyded the ills that happen: And this is common to men and kingdomes, that draw towards their destinies, that when their ill fortune comes, it blindes their eyes that they can not discerne it, and byndes their hands, that they can not helpe it, making them instruments against them selues in the execution of their mishaps: for, both the *Florentines*, who in all times haue held the fidelitie of the *Pysans* suspected, seeing so daungerous a war at their gates, forgot to reuoke to *Florence* the principall Citizens of *Pysa*, as for their better suretie they had wont to call home a great number of them, vpon neuer so light occasions, or litle accidents: and *P. de Medicis*, seeing a concurrence of so many great difficulties together, was too much ouerseene, that he did not arme the place & publike pallace with such strength of straungers, as he had oftentimes done before in farre lesser suspition: That foresight had kept him still in his estate and rule, and such prouisions had much hindred those great mutations: But touching the affaires of *Pysa*, it is manifest, that that which gaue them greatest encouragement to make this commotion (naturally hating the name of the *Florentines*) was the authoritie of *Lodomyke Sforce*, who to that ende had intertained certaine intelligences and practises with some Citizens of the place banished for priuate offences: and the day present of the reuolt, *Galeas de S. Senerin*, who he had left to be alwayes about the king, incited the people to the tumult, by which meane *Lodomyk* perswaded himselfe, that the dominiõ of *Pysa* would fall speedily into his hands,

not knowing that a litle after in such matter, was wrought the cause of all his miseries: But it is also manifest, that certaine of the Citizens communicating the night before with the Cardinall *J. P. ad vincula*, what they had desire and refution to doe: the Cardinall, who, perhaps till that day had neuer bene author of peaisible counsels, admonished them with wordes graue and well instructing, that they should not consider onely the superficiall and beginning of things, but see deeply that which with time, & in time may happen: he told them libertie was a thing precious, & of very vehement desire, well meriting that men should oppose them selues to all daungers, hauing a true and sensible hope to be able to defend it on all sides: But as touching their Citie, naked of peoples, and mearely drayned of wealth and substaunce, he saw verie weake possibilities to iustifie it against the power of the *Florentines*: and to promise to them selues that the authoritie of the French king should be turned to their protection, were hopes deceitfull, and an expectation too full of incertainties and doubts: for that albeit the moneyes and treasures of *Florence* should do litle with him, (as it is like they may preuaile a great deale, specially looking into the contract of *Serazana*) yet his armies would be alwayes in *Italie*, according to the experience and iudgement of examples past. Besides, it were too great an indiscretion to binde them selues to a perpetuall perill, vpon foundations frayle, and not perpetuall: and for most vncertain hopes, to leuie against enemies farre more mightie then they, a warre certaine and absolute, wherein they could promise them selues no succours, seeing they depended vpon the will of another, and that which more is, of verie diuerse accidents: yea, be it they should obtaine succours, much lesse were that to auoyde or shake of, but rather to redouble and make greater, the calamities of the warre, being vexed at one time by the inuasions of souldiers of the enemy, and tormented with the oppressions and infolencies of the men of warre that come to their succours. Which miseries (he sayd) would be so much the more grieuous to them to beare, by how much in the end they would come to see and know, that it was not for their proper libertie, they tooke armes, but for the imperie of a straunger, chaunging one seruitude for another: for that this is proper to all Princes, not to enter into the trauels and expenses of a warre, but to raigne ouer those for whom they fight: And yet your warre (sayth he) seeing the great wealth & neighbourhood of the *Florentines*, (by whom you shall find many and perpetuall vexations) you can not be able to sustaine, but with verie great difficulties.

The French
king drawes
toward Flo-
rence,

In this generall confusion of things, the king departeth from *Pysa* towards *Florence*, and is not resolued what forme he would giue to the affaires of the *Pysans*, he stayed in a place called *Signa*, seuen myles from *Florence*, to be aduertised, afore he entred the Citie: whether the tumult of the people were in any sort reappaised, who had not discontinued their vproares, since the day that *Peter de Medicis* was chased out of the Citie: he had withall this intention, to giue time to *Monsieur D'aubignie*, whom he had sent for, (to the ende his entry might so much the more astonish the *Florentines*) with direction to leaue the artillerie at *Castrocare*, and giue leaue to the five hundred men at armes *Italians*, which were with him in *Romagnia*, together with the men at armes of the Duke of *Myllan*, except the Count *Ciaazze*, which followed *Monsieur D'aubignie* with three hundred light horsemen: it was supposed by many tokens and coniectures, that the intention of the king was, to draw the *Florentines* by feare of his power, to yeeld vnto him the dominion absolute of the Citie: A thing which him selfe could not dissemble with their Ambassadors, hauing often recourse to *Signa*, to make perfect the accord that was contracted: it was without doubt, that the king bare a minde inflamed against them, and nourished many ill disposed meanings against their Citie, for that they sought to hinder him in his enterprise: And albeit it was manifest, that that resistance proceeded not of the will of the common weale, which in reasonable sort had iustified them selues: yet he could not easily forget and dissolue the impression of the offence, being (as it was supposed) much induced to their disfauours, by many of his counsell and Lordes: who, iudging it not meete to let passe the oportunitie to make him selfe Lord ouer the Citie, or perhaps pushed forward with their proper ambition and couetousnesse, were loth to lose the occasion to sacke a Citie, abounding in such treasures and wealth: in so much as there ranne a brute thorow the camp, that the Citie had deserued to be punished, to serue as an example to others; being the towne in *Italie* that had presumed to oppose against the power and armie of *Fraunce*. There were also of the chiefe of his counsell, that solicited him to restore *Peter de Medicis* to his former degree: for whom with a peculiar diligence about the residue, did labour

labour *Philip* Lord of *Bresse*, brother to the Duke of *Sauoye*, being induced to that office by the priuate friendships and promises that had passed betweene them: in so much, that either by the perswasions of them that could do most, (notwithstanding the Bishop of *S. Mallo* councelled the contrarie) or by a hope to make the *Florentines* more inclined to his will by this feare, or lastly to haue occasion to take vpon the suddeine what part or way he would: the king wrote to *Peter*, causing also the Lord *Philip* to do the like, and aduised him to come neare to *Florence*, for that for the auncient friendship that had bene betweene their houses, and for his owne particular readinesse and good will shewed in the conſignation of the fortresses, he was determined to readresse him, & restore him to his first authoritie: But these letters found him not at *Bolonia*, according to the kings weening, for that what by the rough words of *Iohn Bérinole*, & doubt he should be pursued by the Duke of *Myllan*, and happily also by the French king, he was for his misfortunes retired to *Venice*, whither they were sent to him by his brother, the Cardinall remaining then at *Bolonia*. At *Florence* they doubted much of the kings will: and yet, not seeing with what force, or with what hopes they might resist him, they agreed as a counsell least daungerous, to receiue him into their Citie, hoping there would some meane arise to appease him. And yet making no account of their perils, and because they would be provided for all fortunes, they ordained that the houses of most of the Citizens should be secretly replenished with men naturall of the dominion of *Florence*, and that the Captaines which were in the pay of the common weale, (dissembling notwithstanding the occasion) should enter the Citie with many of their bandes and souldiers, and that euery one within the towne and places about it, should stand vpon ready garde to take armes at the alarme of the great bell of the publike pallace. After this the king marched to *Florence* with his armie, wherein was expresse no litle pompe, as well by the glorie and magnificence of those of his Court, as by them of the towne: he entred in signe of victorie, armed him selfe and his horse, with his launce vpon his thigh, & immediatly began to speake of composition, but that was not without many difficulties: for, besides the immoderate fauours which some of the French Court bare to *Peter de Medicis*, and the demaundes of money intollerable made by the king, he demaunded openly the imperie of *Florence*, alledging that according to the orders of warre in the Realme of *Fraunce*, he had lawfully wonne it, seeing his entry was armed, according to the customes of Conquerours: from which demaund, albeit he went in the end, yet sought he to leaue at *Florence* certaine men of the long coate, (so are called in *Fraunce* Lawyers, Doctors, & men of Iustice) as his Ambassadors, with such authoritie, that according to the institutions of *France*, he might pretende to be giuen to him for euer no litle iurisdiction: But on the contrary, the *Florentines* were obstinate to preserue their full libertie, hapning what perils so euer, in so much that communicating together with such a contrarietie of wils, albeit the mindes of both partes were continually kept in hoat and angry moodes, yet neither faction shewed readinesse to determine the difference by armes: for, the people of *Florence* giuen of long to the following of marchandize, & not to the exercise of warre, suffered no small feares, hauing within their own wals one so mightie a king with his armie full of nations vnknownen & furious: And to the French men was no litle amaze the consideration of the great multitude of peoples, who, since the dayes that the gouernement chaunged, had gathered boldnesse and audacitie aboue expectation: They were astonished besides at the common brute, that at the alarme of the great bell, there would flocke infinite troupes of people from all parts confining. In which common feare on both sides, at the noyse of euery false alarme that was heard, either part for his proper suretie, tooke armes, but not one did assaile or prouoke an other. The foundation which the king sought to worke by *Peter de Medicis* was supplanted, for that *Peter* wauering betweene the hope that was promised him, and the feare that he should be giuen vp as a pray to his aduersaries, asked counsell of the Senate of *Venice*, touching the kings letters: Truly there is nothing more necessarie in great deliberations, and on the other side nothing more daungerous, then to demaund counsell: And albeit counsell, is lesse necessarie to men discreet, then to such as are not tempered, yet no doubt the profites are not few which wise men reape by counsels; seeing no man hath that perfect wisdom to consider alwayes and know all things of him selfe, & in reasons contrarie or different, is able alwayes to discern the better part. But what assurance hath he that asketh counsell, to receiue counsell according to the faith he reapposeth: seeing if there be no equall fidelitie nor affection, but regard to particular interests, as profit, reuengé, or some other motion: he that giueth the coun-

The French
king entresth
Florence.

cell, dresseth it to that end which best aunswereth his purpose: So that those endes being for the most part vnknewen to him that comes to aske counsell, he perceiueh not (if he be not wise) the treason and infidelitie of the counsell. The experience was seene in the condition of *Peter de Medicis*: for, the *Venetians* iudging, that if he returned into his country, it would be a cause to giue the king a greater facilitie to his demaundes and desires of the *Florentines*, (a thing preiudiciall to them, and contrary to the course of their affaires) perswaded him by many liuely reasons, (counselling rather for them selues then for him) that he should not put him selfe in the power of a king of *Fraunce*, holding him selfe iniured by him: Wherein the better to encourage him to the imitation of their counsell, they offered him to imbrace his affaires, and as time and necessitie required, to minister to him all meanes and fauours conuenient for his restitution, wherefore the better to be assured that he should not then depart *Venice*, they set vpon him, (if the common brute be true) very secret espiall and guard. But now for *Florence*, in this meane while mens hearts were inflamed on all partes, and almost caried into manifest contention: the king would nothing abate of his later demaundes, nor the *Florentines* be bownd to summes of money so intollerable, and much lesse consent to any iurisdiction or preheminence in their estate. All which difficulties not being able almost to be dissolued without armes, were euen presently decided by the vertue of *Peter Capponi*, one of the foure deputed to treat with the king: this *Capponi* was a man of spirite and great courage, and speciall reputation in *Florence*, aswell for his partes and qualities, as for that he was of an honorable familie, and descended of personages, who had borne great rule in the common weale. As he and his companions were one day in the presence and audience of the king, and that one of the kings Secretaries read the vnreasonable capitulations offered by the king, at the last, he, in a great furie snatched the articles out of the Secretaries hands, and tare them before the eyes of the king, saying with a heart resolute, and voyce framed; Seeing you demand of vs things so dishonest, sound you vp your trumpets, and we will ring our bells, let all things be ruled by the sentence of the sword, and in the same heate flings with great suddenesse out of the chamber, being followed of his companions. The wordes of this Citizen whom the king and his Court had already knowen, for that a few monethes before he had bene in *Fraunce* in negotiation for them of *Florence*, astonished them all in such sort, specially for that they could not beleeue that such a boldnesse was without occasion: that they called him backe againe, and without speaking more of demaundes, whereunto the *Florentines* had no will to condescend, the king and the Citie fell to composition in this sort: That all quarrels and iniuries forgotten and cancelled, the Citie of *Florence* should be friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the crowne of *Fraunce*: That for the suretie of the king, the Citie of *Pysa* and towne of *Lyuorne*, with all their castels, should remaine in his hauds: And that he should be bownd to restore them to the *Florentines*, without any expenses or charges, as soone as he had brought to end his enterprise of the kingdome of *Naples*, the which should be construed to be at an ende whensoever he should haue conquered the Citie of *Naples*, or accorded the warre by meane of peace or truce for lesse then two yeares, or that for any other occasion his person should be gone out of *Italie*: That those that had the keeping of the sayd Castels, should be sworne from the present to render them in the cases aforesayd: That in the meane while the imperie, the iurisdiction, the gouernement, and the reuenue of the townes should be in the administration of the *Florentines*, as they were accustomed: That the like should be of *S. Peter*, *Serezane*, and *Serezanelle*: But (for that the *Genoways* pretended right to them) the king should procure either by composition or iustice some reasonable ende betweene them, and if within the time aforesayd he could not determine the titles, that then he should restore them to the *Florentines*: That the king might leaue at *Florence* two Ambassadors, and that during his expedition for *Naples*, there should be nothing debated concerning that action, without their priuitie and calling them to it: And that during the sayd time, they should not chuse a Captaine generall ouer their companies, without communicating with the sayd Ambassadors: That all the other peeces taken away or reuolted from the *Florentines*, should be immediatly rendred, and that they might be suffred to recouer them by armes, where deniall was made: That, to ayde the king in his enterprise, they should giue him fiftie thousand ducats within fifteene dayes, fortie thousand in the moneth of March, and thirtie thousand in Iune next comming: That the *Florentines* should pardon the *Pysans* their rebellions, and other faults committed during their reuolt: That they should deliuer *Peter de Medicis* and his brethren from con-

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A resolute part
of a Councillor.

Capitulations
betweene the
French king
and the Flo-
rentines.

demnation and confiscation, with this condition notwithstanding, that *Peter* should not come by an hundred myles neare the confines of the dominion of *Florence*, (that was because he should not remaine at *Rome*) nor his brethren nearer then a hundred myles of the citie of *Florence*: These were the articles of most importance in the capitulation made betweene the king and the *Florentines*, which after they were lawfully passed and contracted, were, in great ceremonie published in the great Church at diuine seruise, where the king in person (at whose request this was done) and the Magistrates of the Citie, promised by solemne othe ypon the high altar, in the presence of the Court and the whole face of *Florence*, to obserue the contents of the same. Within two dayes after the king left *Florence*, & went to *Siena*, which citie being confederate with the king of *Naples*, and with the *Florentines*, had followed their authoritie, vntill the going of *Peter de Medicis* to *Serezana* warned them to looke to their proper safetie.

Siena, a Citie well peopled, and planted in a region very fertill, and which (of antiquitie) had bene the most renowned and mightie towne of *Tuscanie* next to *Florence*, was gouerned by a peculiar pollicie proper and particular to it selfe, but so, as it knew rather the name of libertie then the effectes: for that being diuided into many factions or members of Citizens, which they called orders, it obeyed that part which according to the accidents of times, and fauours of forreine Potentates, was more strong then the others: At that time held most rule and authoritie the order of *Mont Nene*. After the king had taried a very few dayes at *Siena*, he planted a garrison there, (for that hauing bene alwayes at the deuotion of the Empire, he held it suspected) and tooke his way to *Rome*, rising euery day more insolent then other, for his successe and fortunes, which were alwayes greater then euer were his hopes: And being also fauored with the ayre, and weather more then the naturall temperature of that season had wont to shewe, he determined to put diligence to his fortune, & vse those prosperities, not only as terrible to his enemies manifest and professed, but euen to those that were conioyned with him, or at least had not prouoked him in any thing: therefore, the Senate of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Myllan*, no lesse astonished with these successes, then doubtfull that the kings thoughts would not bee at rest by the conquest of *Naples*, (specially seeing him possesse of the fortresses of the *Florentines*, and to leaue a garrison at *Siena*) began for a remedie of their common daunger, to make a new confederation, whereunto, they had with more speede and ease giuen perfection, if there had bene made that resistance to the king at *Rome* that was hoped for, the intention of the Duke of *Calabria* (with whom were ioyned in one strength the bandes of the Pope, and *Virginio Vrsin*, with the residue of the *Aragons* armie) being to incampe at *Vicerba*, to giue impediment to the king for passing further: To this he was drawne, besides many occasions, by the oportunitie of the place, inuironed with townes of the Church, and neare the states of the *Vrsins*: but all the circumference and countreys about *Rome*, drawing into tumult by the incursions which the *Colonnos* made beyond the riuer of *Tiber*, and for the impediments of the vituals (by meane of *Ostia*) which should come to *Rome* by sea, he durst not abide there: he doubted withall, the intention of the Pope, for that since he vnderstood that *Peter de Medicis* was turned, he had begun to open to his eares to the demaundes of the French, for the which, and the reasons of them, Cardinall *Askanius* went to him, after, in pledge of his suretie, the Cardinall of *Valence* was come to *Marina*, a towne of the *Colonnos*: And albeit *Askanius* was gone without resolution certaine, for that *Alexander* distrusted much the intention of the king, and on the other side was in great feare of his forces, which bred no small torment and cōslict in his heart: yet after the king was parted from *Florence*, they returned efsouones to common of the accord: wherein for the more diligent accomplishment of things, the Pope dispatched to the king the Bishops of *Concorde*, and *Ternie*, and *M. Gratiap* his confessor, with commission that they should compound aswell for the affaires of *Alphonso*, as for his owne. But the king was of a contrary meaning, hauing settled his resolution to accord onely and particularly with the Pope: and for that cause he sent to him the *L. de la Trimonille*, and the President of *Ganac* being there also for the same occasion: the Cardinall *Askanius* & *Prosper Colonne*, who were no sonner come to *Rome*, then the Pope (for what cause I know not) chaunging aduise, bestowed the Duke of *Calabria* within *Rome*, with all his armie: he caused to be arretted *Askanius* & *Prosper*, and restraining them within the tower of *Adrian*, of old called the Castell of *Crescence*, and now named the Castell *S. Ange*, he demaunded of them restitution of *Ostia*. In this tumult also the French Ambassadors were made prisoners by the *Aragons*: The Pope caused them with a

The Pope is
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owne safetie.

present speede to be redeliuered, and within a few dayes after, restored to libertie *Askanius* and *Prosper*, constraining them notwithstanding to depart suddenly out of *Rome*. After this, he sent to the French king lying then at *Nepi*, Cardinall *Federike* of *S. Seneria*, beginning to treat onely of his proper affaires, and yet in great doubt and declining of minde, for that some times he determined to stand to the defence of *Rome*, and therefore gaue sufferance to *Ferdinand* and the Captaines to looke to fortifie it in the parts most weake: and earst againe, he iudged great hardaesse & impossibilitie to defend it, for the impediments of vituals restrained by those of *Ostia*: In which respectes, waighing also with the infinit numbers of strangers, being of mindes and of wills different, the diuersitie of factions euen amongst the *Romaines*, he began to thinke to go from *Rome*, requiring in the Colledge that euery Cardinall would promise by a writing subsigned, to follow him: And euen standing amazed with the daungers and difficulties imminent, vpon euery one of his deliberations he turned his minde to accord: But whilest his minde wauered in these ambiguities, the French men forbore not to ouerrunne the whole country on this side *Tyber*, making them selues Lordes of one towne after an other, no place offering resistance to their incursions; no, not one peece or fort which gaue not place to their importunat furie, according to the example of the others, no, not such as had good occasion to oppose them selues against them, as *Virginio Vrsin*, drawne by so many bondes of faith, office, and honour to the house of *Aragon*, Captaine generall of the armie of *Alphonso*, grand Cōstable of the realme of *Naples*, & very neare parent to *Alphonso*, for that *Iohn Iordan* his sonne had married a bastard daughter to the late king *Ferdinand*. But he turning all things into forgetfulnesse, and as vnthankfull for the states and fauours he had receiued in the kingdome of *Naples*, as vnmindefull that the calamities of the *Aragons* were first kindled for his occasions, and nourished chiefly in his particular interestes: consented that (his person continuing still in the pay of the king of *Naples*) his children should compound with the French, and be bound to giue them passage & libertie of vituals and other friendships, through all the estates which he held of the dominions of the Church, leauing the French men not a litle amazed with his example and forme of dealing, being not acquainted with these subtle and vnaccustomed distinctions of the souldiers of *Italie*: he suffered withall that *Campagnane*, and certaine other places were put in deputation into the hands of the Cardinall of *Gurcie*, who promised to restore them so soone as the armie was out of the territories of *Rome*. This forme of agreement was vsed also by the Count de *Petillane*, with all the residue of the familie of the *Vrsins*. Immediately vpon these accordes, king *Charles* went from *Nepi* to *Bracciane*, a chiefe towne of *Virginio*, and sent to *Ostia* *Louys* the L. of *Ligny*, and *Yues* L. of *Alegre*, with fiftie hundred launces, and two thousand *Swyzers*: to the end that passing *Tyber*, and ioyning with the *Collonnys*, they might make a strength to enter *Rome*, and that so much the better, by how much the *Collonnys*, by the meane of their factions and partakers within *Rome*, had a resolute hope to make their entry in what sort so euer it were, notwithstanding by the season of the time being rough and stormy, the difficulties were much increased. By this time *Ciuitaueche Cornette*, and in the end almost all the territorie of *Rome* were brought to the deuotion of the French, when a man might haue seene all the Court amazed, all the Cardinals doubtfull, and all the communalitie of the Citie full of feares & emotion, demaunding vehemently peace: in so much that the Pope driuen to daungerous termes, seeing the foundations which he had layd for his defence, shaken on all sides, was not retained with any other thing, then with the remembrance that he was one of the first that stirred the French king to the enterprise of *Naples*: and had since without occasion giuen, obstinately resisted him with authoritie, with counsels, and with force: the same making him iustly doubt, that the faith which he should receiue of the king, should be like that the king had receiued of him. To these feares he felt an other torment, nothing inferiour, vnderstanding the Cardinall *S. P. ad vincula* was verie gracious in the kings fight, with many other Cardinals, his enemies bearing no litle authoritie and rule in the kings doings: By the perswasions of whom, and for the regard of the title of right Christian which the kings of *Fraunce* beare, and for the auncient name which that nation hath to be verie religious, and lastly for that in ill men the conscience guiltie and infected, suspecteth not onely the worst, but also their mindes caried in shadowes, they expect and dread great things of those that are knowen to them but by name onely: he feared least the king would turne his wits (according to a wayne brute) to reforme the gouernement of the Church: the same being a right trembling thought & coniecture to him.

him, when he remembred with what infamie he was come to the Popedome, performing his ministration with manners of life and meanes not differing from so fowle and vile a beginning: But he was cleared immediatly of these suspitions, by the diligence and promises of the king, full of efficacie and desire to aduance about all things his going to the Realme of *Naples*: and for that cause letting nothing passe that might take out of the way the blockes and impediments of the Pope, sent to him as soon as Ambassadors, the Seneschall of *Beucaire*, the Marehall of *Gie*, and the sayd President of *Gannay*: they laboured to perswade the Pope that the kings intention was not to meddle with any thing that appertained to the authoritie of Popes, and that his demaundes stretched not but to things reasonable and necessarie for the suretie of his passage: ~~They~~ ^{they} required him instantly to agree with good will to the kings entry into *Rome*, assuring him, that it was a holie and peculiar desire in his Maiestie: (Not that it was not in his power to make his entry by armes, but because he would not be constrained to forbear) to vse those actions of reuerence, which had bene alwayes done by his elders to the Popes of *Rome*: They assured him that as soone as his Maiesties person were possessed of the presence of the Pope within *Rome*, all those quarrels that had bene raised between them, would be conuerted into reconciliation, vnitie, and coniunction: It seemed to the Pope a hard compulsion, to despoyle himselfe afore all things of the ayde of his friendes, and committing his estate and life into the power of an enemy, to receiue him within the walles of *Rome*, afore he had compounded or assured his affaires: Notwithstanding, making election of the daunger that was of least qualitie, he consented to all their demaundes, and caused to depart out of *Rome* the Duke of *Calabria*, for whom albeir he obtained of the French king a safe conduct for his safe passage through all the dominions of the Church, yet the Duke, accounting it a diminution of his reputation and courage, refused it, & issued out of *Rome* by the gate *S. Sebastian*, the last day of the yeare 1494. at the same houre, that at the gate *de S. Maria de Popolo* entred with the armie of *Fraunce*, the French king armed, with his launce vpon his thigh as he entred *Florence*. At the same time the Pope full of incredible feares and perplexities, was withdrawne to the castell *S. Ange*, and not accompanied with other Cardinals then *Baptista Vrsin*, & *Oliuer Caraffe* a *Neapolitan*. But now began the Cardinals, *ad vincula*, *Askanius*, *Collonne*, & *Sauelle*, with many others, to sollicite the king with vehement instance, that taking from the sea a Pope full of vices, and abominable to all the world, he would create & set up an other: they told him it would be no lesse vertuous in him to deliuer the Church of God fro the tyranny of a wicked Pope, then it was great glory to *Pepin* & *Charlemain* his predecessours, to take the Popes of holy life out of the persecutions of those that did vniustly oppresse the: that the action was no lesse necessary for his securitie, then greatly concurring for his glory: for, there was no expectation of faith or trust in the promises of the Pope, being a man naturally full of fraude, insatiable in ambition, shamelesse in all his doings, & according to the testimonie of experience, extremely hating the French, with whom the reconciliation that now he made, was more by necessitie and feare, then of inclination or good will: partly by these perswasions, and partly for that the Pope in the conditions that were debated, refused to let the king haue the castell of *S. Ange*, for the suretie of those things he promised him: the artillerie were drawne twise fro the pallace of *S. Marke* where the king was lodged, to be planted before the castell: But the king bearing no inclination to offend the Pope, and the presents and promises of *Alexander* working much with some of those that gouerned most the kings counsels: they fell to accord in this sort: That the Pope should giue to the king, to hold for his suretie till he had conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, the Citadels of *Cinitanechia*, *Terrachine*, & *Spolet*, & yet this last was not put into his hands: That the Pope should keepe no remembrance of any offence or iniurie of the Cardinals or any Barons subjects to the Church that had followed the kings partie: That the Pope should inuest him in the kingdome of *Naples*: That he should giue to the king *Gemyn Ottomā* brother to *Baiazet*, who, after the death of their father, had bin persecuted by the sayd *Baiazet*, according to the barbarous customes of the *Ottomās*, seeking to establish their succession in the Empire, with the bloud of their brethren, their nearest kinne, & competitors: in which perill for safetie of his life, he was fled to *Rodes*, from whence he was brought into *Fraunce*, & lastly past ouer into the power & custodie of Pope *Innocent*: By which occasion *Baiazet*, seruing his turne of the couetousnesse of the Vicaires of Christ, as instrumēt to hold in peace the Empire enemy to the Christian faith, payed euery yeare (vnder the name of allowance towards his norriture and keeping) fortie thousand duckats to the

The French king entred Rome. 1494.

Perswasions of some Cardinals to the French king to depose the Pope.

Capitulations betweene the Pope and the French king.

Popes, to the end they should be lesse ready to deliuer him into the hands of other Princes to serue their turnes against him: The king was so much the more desirous to haue him, by how much he supposed to turne him to many vses and oportunities for the aduancing of his pretended enterprise against the Turkes, (being greatly caried into glory by the vaine flatteries of many of his fauorits) which he meant to begin as soone as he had accomplished the cōquest of the *Aragons*: And because the last fortie thousand duckats sent by the Turke, were taken at *Singalle* by the Prefect *Rome*, he required that the Pope would remit both the punishment and restitution. To these capitulations were added, that the Cardinal of *Valence* should follow the king three moneths as Legat Apostolicke, but in meaning it was to stand as ostage for the promises of his father. The accord thus made and past, the Pope returned to the Vatican, where is his pallace Pontificall: and after, with pompes and ceremonies accustomed at the receiuing of great kings, he receiued the king in the Church of *S. Peter*, & there (according to the manner) hauing kissed his feete kneeling, was afterwarde receiued to kisse his cheek: An other day he assisted in presence the Popes Masse, where he had his place the first after the first Bishop Cardinall, and according to the auncient custome, gaue water to the Pope celebrating Masse: which offices, humilities and ceremonies, the Pope, to continue the memorie to all posterities, caused to be curiously drawne in a table purtrayed, and hong vp in a gallerie of the Castell *S. Ange*. In this action, the Pope to gratifie the king, created and published Cardinals the Bishop of *S. Mallo*, and the Bishop of *Mans*, of the nation of *Luxumburg*, forgetting nothing that might expresse how sincerely and vnfaignedly he was reconciled.

Cardinall Valence the Popes some.

The French king kisseth the Popes feete.

The king parteth frō Rome and draweth towards Naples.

The kingdome of Naples beginneth to conspire.

The king remaining in *Rome* about a moneth, forgot not to send bands and troupes of soldiers euen vpon the confines of the kingdome of *Naples*: where was already such generall commotion, that *Aquila*, and almost all *Abruzza*, displayed ensignes afore he parted from *Rome*, as also *Fabrizius Collonne* occupied the quarters of *Albe* and *Taille Cosse*: The whole residue of the kingdome was almost in no more peassible estate, for that as soone as *Ferdinand* was parted frō *Rome*, the fruits of the hatreds which the people had long borne to *Alphonso*, begā to appeare, helping much the remembrance of many rigours which his father *Ferdinand* had vsed against them: vpon these they raised ready occasions to complaine vehemently of the iniquities of the gouernements passed, together with the cruelties and pride of *Alphonso*, expressing in these humours apparant desire that the French might come, and that in such sort, as the contemplation of the auncient reliques and monuments of such as held with the house of *Aniow*, albeit they were ioyned to the memorie of so many Barons as had bene chased and emprisoned at sundry times by *Ferdinand*, (things of them selues of great consideration, and of no litle power to worke a change) did litle in this time, in regard of the other occasions: so vehemently were the hearts of all the kingdome inflamed against *Alphonso*: who for his part, as soone as he vnderstood that his sonne was gone out of *Rome*, entred into such present feares and astonishments, that, turning all memorie or regard to the great renowne and glorie which with so long experience he had got in many warres in *Italie*, into a present despair not to be able to resist this fatall storme, determined to abandon the kingdome, and leaue to *Ferdinand* the name and authoritie royall: In this deuise perhaps he had hope that taking away with him selfe the generall hatred, and leauing to the people for their king a young Prince of great expectation, not yet hauing offended any of them, but gracious and plausible to the vniuersall multitude, he should make lesse in his subiectes their desire to haue the French: which counsell if it had bene sooner taken, would happily haue wrought to better purpose, but being differred, till things were not onely in motion and shaking, but euen beginning to fall, it was not able to stay so great a ruine. It was sayd also (if it be lawfull not to despise such things altogether) that the spirite of *Ferdinand* appeared three times in sundrie nights to *Iames* chiefe Surgeon of the Court, charging him first with soft and myld wordes, and after with many threatnings, to warne *Alphonso* from him, not to hope to be able to resist the French king, because it was a resolution in destinie that his race trauelled with infinite aduentures and fortunes, and depriued at last of so large a kingdome, should now end and determine: he sayd their enormities began now to appeare in iustice, and the many tyrannies by them committed were the causes, but aboue all others that, which by his perswasion he had done in the Church of *S. Leonard* in *Caiaia* neare *Naples* comming from *Pozzolo*: for that he expressed them no more particularly, men supposed that *Alphonso* had in that place perswaded *Ferdinand* to put

to death secretly many Barons, whom he held prisoners long time before : But of what nature so euer was the occasion, it is most certaine, that *Alphonso* vexed with his proper conscience, liued day and night in a discontented spirite, for that in his sleepes the shadowes and ghostes of those dead Lordes were liuely afore him, and on the daies hee beheld the people prepared greatly to insurrections, for reuenge of his rigorous dealings. In which perplexity of minde applying his counsels to his fortunes, he communicated onely his intencion with the Queene his mother in law, keeping it from his brother or his sonne, and departed from *Naples* accompanied with foure light gallies loaden with implements rich and precious : he was so afflicted with dread and confusion, that at the earnest instance of his mother he would not stay two or three daies (a time to end the whole yeare of his raigne,) and at his departure expressing some timorous disposition of minde, as if he had bene enuironed with the french men: he sailed to a towne in *Sicile* called *Mare*, which *Ferdinand* the king of *Spaine* had giuen him in the yeare before: but his feares left not to follow him no more then his fortunes, shewing at euery brute or small noise, no lesse perplexity and terror, then if the heauens and elements had conspired against him.

As the french King departed out of *Rome*, he receiued aduertisement of the flying of *Alphonso* : and as soone as he was arriued at *Vellitre*, the Cardinall of *Valence* fled secretly from him. With the which albeit the Pope shewed him selfe much discontented, offering to giue the king such assurance as it pleased him : yet wise men beleued that it was not without his practise and commandement, as one that sought to haue in his power to obserue or not obserue the conuentions he had made with his maiesty : an action agreeing with his ambition, which most gouerned him, but farre from the office of his profession which he least esteemed, making nothing vnlawfull, for that he challenged to himselfe to haue power to dispence with all things. From *Vellitre* the vaunt-guard marcheth to *Montfortyn*, a towne of the Church seated in *la Campagna*, and subiect to *Iacques* a gentleman *Romaine*, who had at first followed the pay of the french King, but since (the hate he bare to the *Collonnoys* preuayling more with him then his proper honour) he was become mercenary to *Alphonso* : the place being well shaken with the great artillery, was taken (notwithstanding his strong situation) within fewe houres by the french, who executed by the sword all that were found within it, except his three sonnes, and certaine others that retired into the Castell, but made prisoners as soone as they saw the artillery planted : from thence the army marched to *Mount S. Iohn*, a towne of the Marqueffe of *Piscaine*, seated in the said *Campagna*, vpon the confines of the kingdome : this towne, besides it was strong by nature and industry of men, yet it was well furnished with souldiers to defend it, hauing in it three hundreth footemen straungers, and fise hundreth of the inhabitants well appointed for all daungers : In so much as it was not thought pregnable, but by a hard and long siege. But after the french men had somewhat searched the wals with their Canons, they gaue in the prefence of the King (then come from *Vernue*) so hot and violent assault, that vanquishing all difficulties, they tooke it by force the same day. And following their naturall fury, as also to warne others by this example not to be so obstinate to resist, they made lamentable slaughters, wherein sparing no sort of barbarous cruelty, they followed the desolation of the place with setting fire on houses : a manner of making warre not vsed in *Italy* in many ages before, and therefore filled the whole realme with more generall feares and terrors: for, in *Italy* in all victories obtained in what order so euer, the most extreame and last action wherein the Victor would stretch out his cruelty, was to disarm and spoile the souldiers, & so let them go vanquished: and for towns taken by force, to put them to sack & pillage, and the inhabitants to ransom, pardoning alwaies the life of men not slaine in the heat & fury of the fight.

This was all the resistance, the paine, and impediments which the french King had to conquer so large, so rich, and so populous a kingdome: for the defence whereof, there was not shewed in any fort any vertue, any courage, any counsell, any force, any faith, nor any desire of honor: for, after the Duke of *Calabria*, (after his going out of *Rome*, retired to the borders of the kingdome, and from thence called to *Naples*, by the flying of his father) had taken vpon him the authority and title of King, (but more with solemnities, then with pompe and ioyes accustomed) and that he had assembled his army contayning fifty squadrons of horsmen, & fixe thousand footmen of choise, and led by the best reputed captains in *Italy*: he encamped him selfe at *S. German*, to stop the enemy for passing further, being drawn thither by the oportunity of the place, enuironed on the one side with high & rough mountains, & on the other with a countrey full of marshes:

and waters, and had in the front the riuer of *Garillan*, which the Auncients called *Lari*, albeit it was not so deepe in that place, but at some times it was passible at a foord, by reason whereof, and that the passage is very narrow and straight, they say with good reason that *S. Germaine* is one of the keys of the kingdome of *Naples*. He sent also bandes and troupes to the next mountaines to keepe the way of *Cancella*, but all was in vaine; and in these doings he did no other thing then keepe his minde in languishing, like as the Surgeon tormentes his patient by applying variety of medicines to a wound that resistes all cures and remedies: for his army already stricken with a generall terrour with the onely name of the french men, declared apparant tokens of pusillanimity and faintnesse: and the Captaines and Leaders, partly tending the safety of them selues and their owne estates, distrusting already of the defence of the kingdome, and partly desiring innovations and new things, began to wauer no lesse in faith then in courage. Lastly, all the kingdome being in insurrection, it was not without feare, that at their backs should happen some perillous disorder: Therefore counsell giuing place to cowardize, and fraile feares ouerruling resolution and constancy of minde, vnderstanding after the taking of *Mount S. Iohn*, that the Mareshall *de Gie* was at hand with three hundreth launces, and two thousand footemen, they discamped with ~~chaunce~~ from *S. Germaine*, and retired to *Capua* with such confusion and feare, that they left by the way eight great peeces of artillery without guard, giuing the enemy a meane to helpe forward their destruction with their owne weapons. This city, the new king (reposing much in the amity of the towne towards the house of *Aragon*, and in the strong seate of the place) he hoped to defend, and to keepe also *Naples* and *Caietta*, not making distribution of his forces to other places. The french men went after, but disperfed and out of order, marching more after the manner of trauellers, then like men of warre, and without all regard either to keepe vnder their ensignes, or to be ruled by the direction of their Captaines: they tooke liberty to goe where so euer they thought to finde pillage: and so neare was the encounter of these two armies, that one part of them most often lodged the nights in places where the *Aragons* were dislodged in the mornings: Neither in *Capua* was any greater demonstration of vertue or fortune, for that after *Ferdinand* had there bestowed his army, much diminished in numbers since the retraict from *S. Germaine*, he was sent for by letters from the Queene, expressing that since the losse of *S. Germaine*, there were such murmures and mutinies within *Naples*, as without his presence, there was manifest daunger of a generall tumult: for which cause he went thither with a small company, by his presence to giue impediment to the perill present, promising to returne eftsouones to *Capua* the day following. *Iohn Iacques Trinulce* to whom he had left the guard of the city, had secretly sent to the french King for a Herald, to come vnder surety to speake with him, which being graunted, *Trinulce* with certaine gentlemen of *Capua*, went to *Calui*, where the same day the King was entred: This did *Trinulce*, notwithstanding that many others of the city well disposed to keepe their faith to *Ferdinand*, did speake against it with many braue and haughty words: but being presented to the King all armed as he came in, he told him in the name of the *Capuans* and souldiers, that they seeing their forces, defence, and strength, to faile in *Ferdinand*, whom they had faithfully serued whilest there remained any apparance of hope: were now come to make offer of their seruices to him, bringing mindes to follow his fortunes where so euer he will employ them vnder honest conditions, adding withall, that he doubted not to bring him *Ferdinand* himselfe, so that he would entertaine and acknowledge him as appertayned. The King made him this gracious aunswere, that he accepted the offers of the *Capuans* and the souldiers, as also the coming of *Ferdinand* should be no lesse welcome: onely that he should retaine no portion of the kingdome of *Naples* how little so euer it were, but that he would endue him with estates and honours in the realme of *Fraunce*.

*Iohn Iacques
Trinulce go-
eth to the
french king.*

It may be doubted with what manner of inducements this *Trinulce*, a Captaine valiaunt and particular in the profession of honour, was drawne to reuolt and leaue his King: Touching himselfe, he affirmed, that he went by the will and direction of *Ferdinand* to sollicite some composition with the french, and being altogether excluded from all hopes, and the iudgement manifest that the kingdome of *Naples* could be no longer defended by armes, he thought it not only lawfull, but also allowable to prouide at one time for the safety of the *Capuans*, and security of the souldiers; but the common opinion of men made an other construction, referring his reuolt to a desire he had that the french King might be Victor, for that he hoped when he had made a conquest

of

of *Naples*, he would looke into the meanes by the which he might in like sort make him selfe maister of *Myllan*: in which city, he being borne of a most noble family, and because for the priuy fauours which the house of *S. Senerin* had with *Lodowyke Sforce* and with other occasions, he had not place according to his vertues and merites: he was wholly estraunged from *Lodowyke*. For those occasions many wise men iudged, that he had counselled *Ferdinand* to proceede in the actions and seruice of *Romania*, more temperately then perhaps the occasions required: But in *Capua*, afore the returne of *Trinuice*, all began to decline to reuolt, the souldiers had sacked the pallace, armories, and stables of *Ferdinand*, the men at armes made diuisions of them selues, and were bestowed in sundry quarters: and *Virginio* and the Count *Petillane* were retired with their companies to the city of *Nola*, belonging to the saide Count by the donation of the *Aragons*, sending first to the french king to demand safe conduct for them and their people. *Ferdinand* returned according to his word and promise, hauing somewhat appeased according to the time the humours of the *Neapolitaines*, by giuing them hope of the defence of *Capua*: he was come within two miles of the city all ignoraunt of the chaunge that happened since his departure: But the towne hearing of his returne and so neare approach, and the people wholly exclaiming against his reentry, drew into armes, and by a common voice and councill sent forth to meete him a certaine of the nobility, to aduertise him to passe no further, for that the city seeing he had left it abandoned, that *Trinuice* gouernour of the men of warre was gone to the french, his owne souldiers had made a spoile of his pallace, and *Virginio* and the Count *Perslane* left them to their fortunes, and that almost all his army was broken: they were constrained for their proper safety to giue place to the conquerour. With these newes no lesse heauy then troublesome, *Ferdinand* (after he had made vaine instance euen with teares to be receiued) returnes to *Naples*, being well assured that the example of *Capua* would draw the residue of the kingdome to reuolt, as the city of *Auerse* seated betweene *Capua* and *Naples*, drawne into emotion dispatched present Embassadours to offer them selues to the french king: And the *Neapolitaines* consulting also manifestly to doe the like, the infortunate king determined not to resist so obstinate a will of fortune, and therefore assembling vpon the place of the new castell many of the nobility and people, he deliuered to them this last and lamentable speech.

I may call God to witnesse and the consciences of all those men, that heretofore haue had any information of my thoughtes and conceites, that no desire made me more to aspire to the crowne; then to expresse to the world with what griefe I misliked the rigorous governments of my father and grandfather, and with a recompence more iust and plausible to reclaime by moderation and benefites those heartes and affections which they had lost by their hard dealing and cruelty: But the infelicity of our house would neuer suffer that I should receiue this fruit, which I esteeme more excellent and honourable then the kingdome it selfe: seeing that to be a King, is a thing that often times dependes vpon fortune, but to be such a King as to turne all his cares and endes to the welfare and felicity of his peoples, that dependes onely of him selfe and his proper vertue. These bee hard tearmes in nature, to detect my parentes, and chalenge their abuses to those, to whom nothing is more welcome then the occasion of reuenge, nor any thing further off, then heartes and affections to forgiue or forget. I could say enough to iustifie my selfe, for that it is easie for innocents to finde wordes to speake, but seeing there is so little comparison betweene their offences past, and the merite of my innocency present, it were but in vaine to vrge a hatefull remembrance of them, and yet nothing the more acquite you of the calamities that approach: No, in cases of aduersity it is a better temperance to prouide for the ill that is coming, then to amuse the time in complaintes against the Authors supposed, leauing the consideration of the cause to God, with whom no mortall creature hath familiarity in the vnderstanding and ordering of his iustice. I see our affaires suffer hard fortunes, and the extremity wherein they are fallne is of that nature, that we may complaine more to haue lost the kingdome by the infidelity and feares of our armies and Captaines, then our enemies can vaunt to haue wonne it by their proper vertue: And yet our fortune leaueth vs not altogether without hope, if we sustaine yet a little time, for that both by the King of *Spaine*, and all the Princes of *Italie*, is preparing a mighty succour, their eies being now opened that afore could not consider, that the fire which burnes our realme must in like sort (without prouidence) cast his flames into their seuerall estates: And for me, at the least, corage should not want to determine together

“ the kingdom and my life, both with that glory which becomes a yong king descended by so long
 “ succession of so many kings, and also aunswering the expectation which hitherunto you haue
 “ had of my merites and vertues: But because things can not be put to triall, without committing
 “ the common patrimony to desperate perill, I am determined rather to giue place to fortune, and
 “ keepe hid my vertue, then in struiuing to lose the kingdome, to be the causer of effectes contrary to
 “ those ends for the which I haue alwaies desired to be King. Therefore with teares I giue you this
 “ counsell, that standing no more against the fury of the time, you send with speede to make your
 “ accord with the french King. And to the end you may be in better power, to do it without stain
 “ to your honours, I absolue you willingly of the homage and oath which you made to me a few
 “ daies past: wherein I exhort you according to the necessity of your fortune, not to defer your o-
 “ bedience, humility, and readinesse to receiue him, as by that meanes to stay the course of your
 “ proper aduersities, and helpe to moderate the naturall pride of that nation. If at any time their bar-
 “ barous customes and manners cause you to hate their rule and impery, and desire my returne, I
 “ will remaine in place apt to minister aide to your will, and be ready to offer vp my life for the re-
 “ dresse of your oppressions and harmes: But if their gouernment content you, this realme shall ne-
 “ uer receiue vexation or trauell by me, your well doing and benefite seruing as a perpetuall con-
 “ solation to my miseries: and that so much the rather, if I may know that there remaine in you any
 “ memory, that neither in the person of an eldest sonne to a King, nor in the power of a King, I haue
 “ done no wrong to any creature: My thoughts were neuer subiect to motions of ambitio, my mind
 “ neuer defiled with inclination to cruelty, mine owne sinnes bring me not this affliction, but by a
 “ diuine iustice I suffer for the wickednesse of my parents: I am determined not to be the cause, that
 “ either to preserue the realme, or to recouer it, any subiect of the same be oppressed: No, it is more
 “ sorrow to me to lose the meane to make amends for the transgressions of my parents, then to for-
 “ goe the roiall dignity and kingdome it selfe: for, albeit I shall be estranged from you, and banished
 “ from my patrimony, yet I will not hold my selfe altogether wretched, if to the memory of these
 “ things, you ioyne a stedfast beliefe, that I would haue bene King rather like to old *Alphonso* my
 “ great grandfather, then to *Ferdinand*, or the last *Alphonso*. It cannot be that these words were de-
 “ liuered without great compassion: but albeit they wrought many sorrowfull impressions in the
 “ harts of the hearers: yet, it did nothing to the stay of the tumult, so hateful was the name of the two
 “ last kings to the people, and so sweete the desire of the french gouernment to the nobility: he was
 “ no sooner retired into the castell, then the multitude began to sacke his pavilions and hailes then
 “ pitched in the place: which being an indignity farre vnworthy his merits, and more then he could
 “ endure, he returned with great courage to the place to driue them from the spoile, the maiesty and
 “ presence of a King being yet of such authority in a city rebelled, that the souldiers restraining their
 “ fury, euery one abstained from pillage: but as soone as he was returned to the castell, and had set
 “ on fire and suncke most of the shippes in the haue (hauing no other way to depriue the enemy of
 “ them) he began by tokens certaine to doubt that the Lanceknights, which were the guard of the
 “ castell containing in number fise hundred, conspired to take him prisoner: and therefore the
 “ daunger being present, he vsed this sodaine counsell, to giue them his wardrobs, goods, and fur-
 “ nitures that were within the castell, and whilest they were busie to diuide and share them, he slipt
 “ out of the castell by the gate of succours, deliuering first out of prison all the Barons that had
 “ bene restrained by the cruelty of his father: he mounted vpon the light gallies that attended him
 “ in the haue accompanied with *Dom Federyke*, and the old Queene wife to his grandfather, who
 “ caried with her *Iane* her daughter: and being followed with very few of his people, he sailed in-
 “ to the Ile of *Yschia*, called by the ancients *Enaria*, distant thirty miles from *Naples*. On his way,
 “ so long as his eies were fed with the prospect and sight of the kingdom, he made many repetitions
 “ with a pitifull voice of this verse of the Psalme, *That they watch in vaine which keepe the city, if*
 “ *it be not kept by the Lord*. But finding now no more comfort of fortune, then when he was amidst
 “ the daungers of *Naples*, it fell to him to make triall of his vertue in *Yschia*, together with an ex-
 “ perience of the ingratitude and infidelity of such as rise vp against those wretched persons that
 “ are persecuted with fortune: for the Castell keeper of the place refusing to receiue him but with
 “ one man onely, he fell vpon him with such furie, that what by his agilitie and valour, and the
 “ impression of a King and maiesty royall, he brought immediatly vnder his power both the castell
 “ and the keeper. This aduersity albeit was much inferior to the losse and priuation of his kingdome,

yet it afflicted him no lesse, then if the action had bene of higher moment, for that in all miseries nothing more mitigates the perturbations of the minde, then to remember that the greatest mis-
 hap are past, as in sorrowes, it is a speciall comfort to know the vttermost: But fortune is infi-
 nite in her afflictions; and leaues no expectation of remedy where a ruine is determined, the
 same making good the experience of the old saying, that to the man vnfortunat one ill neuer hap-
 peneth alone, but when they begin to fall they thunder all at once. After *Ferdinand* was gone
 out of *Naples*, euery one gaue way (as to a violent land-floud) to the onely name and renowne
 of the victors, and that with such cowardize, that two hundredth horsemen of *Monsieur Lignes*
 went to *Nole*, whither *Virginio* and the *Count Petilane* were retired with foure hundredth men at
 armes, and tooke them prisoners without resistauce: either they had confidence in the safe con-
 duct that was graunted them, or else their feares were no lesse then the others, seeing without
 triall or shew of valour, they suffered them selues to be ledde captiues to the rocke of *Mondra-*
gon, and all their companies to suffer pillage and spoile. In this meane while, the Embassadours
 whom the *Neapolitanes* had sent to present to the french king the keyes of the city, found him at
Auerse, from whence after he had accorded to them with great liberalities, many priuiledges and
 exemptions, he went to *Naples*, and made his entrey the xxj. of February: he was receiued with
 generall reioysing on all sortes, neither person, kinde, age, condition, quality, nor faction of men,
 sparing to runne to behold him, as if he had bene their patrone and first founder of the city: yea,
 there was a plentifull and willing presence of those, who either in them selues, or in their aunce-
 stours, had bene raysed to honours and estates by the house of *Aragon*: with this affluence and
 concourse of people, after he had visited the great Church, he was led (because the new castel was
 yet to the enemies) to be lodged in the castell of *Capua*, the auncient resort and residence of the
 kings of *France*, hauing with a wonderfull course of felicity farre aboue the example of *Iulius Cæ-*
sar, rather vanquished then scene his enemy, and that with so ready fortune and facility, that du-
 ring the whole expedition, he neuer had neede to display one pavilion or tent, and much lesse to
 breake a lance. And touching helpes and prouisions, he had so great plenty and superfluity, that
 his army at sea prepared with so great expences, being caried by violence of weather into the Ile
 of *Corse*, was so long in approaching the shoares of the kingdome, that the king had accomplished
 his conquest afore there was necessity of their seruice.

The French
king entresth
Naples.

Thus by ciuill discordes which so long had blinded the Princes of *Italy*, to the great dishonor
 and scorne of the men of warre of that nation, and common daunger and ignominy of euery regi-
 on of the same, was transferred one of the most goodly and mighty parts of *Italy*, and of the Em-
 pire of *Italy*, to an Empire and gouernment of a nation beyond the mountes: for, albeit old
Ferdinand was borne in *Spaine*, yet, for that from his youth he had his trayning in
Italy, either king or the sonne of a king, and holding no other principality
 in any region else, where together that his sons and sonnes sonnes
 were bred vp in *Naples*: I may with good right ap-
 proper them to the countrey, and call
 them *Italians*.

The end of the first booke.



THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE *Pyrians* continue their rebellion against the *Florentynes*: The french king takes the castles of *Naples*: The Pope, the *Venetians* and other Princes make league against the King, who returning into *Fraunce* is fought withall neare the river *Taro*: *Ferdinand* wins againe *Naples*: *Nouaro* is besieged by the confederates: The king makes peace with the Duke of *Mylan*, and returnes into *Fraunce*.

IN the booke before haue bene set downe the foundations of the french warres in *Italy*, both out of what fountaine they sprong, and with what course and motions they had their proceedings, euen to an action of conquest farre aboute the memory and examples of all times and ages before. But as in all powers and causes naturall, this is a property infallible, to haue their reuolution by the same swift and violent returne, wherewith they did rise to their exaltation and fullnesse: So, the french king, rising with his felicity, into humours of security, saw the declination of his fortune and great triumphes, in the like measure and proportion of time by the which he aspired to them. And suffering together the priuation of the kingdome, with the honour of his new conquest, he shewed him selfe more happy to get glory, then able to keepe it. Then whilest things went in this course at *Rome* and the kingdome of *Naples*, there kindled in an other part of *Italy*, sparkes of a little fire, wherein was nourished a smothering heat, ordained to burst out to a great burning, to the hurt of many, but specially to the ruine of him, who, by too great a desire of dominion and rule, first kindled it and set it on flame: for, albeit the king was bound by the contract of *Florence*, that *Pyza* remayning in his hands till he had conquered the realme of *Naples*, the iurisdiction and reuenues should be administred by the *Florentynes*: yet, at his departure, he had set no order for the execution of his word and promise: in so much that the *Pyrians*, presuming much of the Captaines and souldiers left by the king for the guard of the city, did determine no more to returne to the obedience of *Florence*. And therefore expulping some of their officers and others that solicited there for the city, they made the residue prisoners, with confiscation of all their goods, and confirmed wholly their rebellion, both by demonstrations and actions. In this reuolt, to be the better able to continue it, they dispatched not onely Embassadors to the king to pray him of defence and protection to their doings, but also, for their stay and strength more assured, they recommended their cause vnder many arguments of compassion to the cities of *Syena* and *Lucques*, who, being auncient enemies to the name of *Florence*, could heare of nothing more to their liking and gladnesse, then of the reuolt of the *Pyrians*, to whom in coming they sent forthwith a proportion of money, and *Syena* apart furnished them with an ayde of horsemen. Inlike sort the *Pyrians* sent Embassadors to *Venice*, to sound the willes of the Senate, of whom albeit they were graciously receiued, yet they brought away nothing but hopes doubtfull and vncertaine: But they reposed their chiefe confidence and foundation in the Duke of *Mylan*; for that as he was the first breeder of their rebellion, so they hoped he would not faile to support them with succours, countenance and counsell. The Duke, albeit he made other shewes and demonstrations to the *Florentines*, yet he solicited secretly the confirmation of this reuolt, and breathing courage into them with many offers, perswasions and promises, he communicated presently with the *Genoways*, to furnish the *Pyrians* with armor and munitions, and to send to them a commissioner

Beginning of
the warres of
Pyza.

commissioner, with three hundred footmen. There hath bene ancient quarrell betweene the *Florentines* and *Genoways*, rising at first by the conquest of *Pyfa*, and continued by many degrees of displeasures, both for buying the port of *Lyorne* of their Duke *Tomasin Fregosa* which they possessed, and also the taking away of *Pietra Santa* and *Serezana*: The memory of these, ioyned to the occasion offered, was sufficient to arme them with a wonderfull readinesse to do all things that might annoy the *Florentines* occupying euen already many of their places in the countrey of *Lunigiane*, and were become Lords of the borders of *Pietra Santa*, vnder colour of a letter obtained from the french king for the restitution of certaine goods confisked. The *Florentines*, complaining of these actions at *Myllan*, were answered by the Duke, that according to the contract and capitulations which he had with them of *Venes*, he could not well doe any thing to the restraint and impediment of them: And labouring to content them with wordes and diuersity of hopes, he forbore not with a study more secret and suttile, to practise and execute the contrary, as one that nourished an ambitious expectation to draw *Pyfa* to his obedience, if the *Florentines* did not esloones recouer it, a thing much desired by him, no lesse for the quality of the city, then oportunity of the situation. Neither was this desire new, but had bene nourished in him euer since he was expulsed *Myllan*, a little after the death of *Galeas* his brother, for a iealousie which the Lady *Bonne*, mother and tutor to the little Duke had of him, at what time sojourning many moneths vpon the borders of *Pyfa*, he cast many plottes and deuises to get the rule and imperry of it: wherein, as touching the title, he was holpen with a record and memory, that *Pyfa*, afore it came into the iurisdiction of the *Florentines*, had bene possessed by *Iohn Galeas Viscount*, first Duke of *Myllan*: by reason whereof, he thought it would be an increase of his glory, to recouer that which had bene possessed by his elders, and seemed that he might pretend a coulour of right, in not making lawfull, that *Iohn Galeas* might leaue by testament (to the preiudice of the Dukes of *Myllan* his successours) to *Gabriell Maria* his bastard sonne, the state of *Pyfa*, which he had gotten, (albeit with the treasures and armies of the Duchy of *Myllan*: the *Pyfans*, not content to haue drawn their city from the obedience of the *Florentines*, sought to obtrude vpon all the places and peeces of the generall *de Mayne*, all which for the most part (in a generall sturre examples may doe much) following the authority of the city, receiued their commissioners euen in the first dayes of the rebellion, the *Florentines* making no resistance in the beginning, for that they were otherwise busied in affaires of greater importance, not hauing as yet composed with the french king, and did perhaps expect that he would apply remedy to those harmes according to his bond protested by publicke and solemne oth. But finding his order too slow and lingring, and happily answering the care he made, they sent thither bandes and companies, who esloones recovered partly by force, and partly by composition, all that was occupied except *Casina*, *Bruti*, and *Vicopisan*, into which places the *Pyfans* (being not strong enough to make resistance against the whole) had withdrawn their forces. Touching the king, the doings of the *Pyfans* did nothing displease him, and much lesse was the manner of their proceedings disagreeing from the estate of his endes and purposes: Their cause was apparantly fauoured of many of his court, induced perhaps by a compassion that they had bene straightly gouerned by the *Florentines*, the same notwithstanding being more in opinion then in truth: But some of the chiefeft both in his counsels and of his court, vnder the occasion to pity the *Pyfans*, objected them selues against the Cardinall of *S. Mallo* being wholly for the *Florentines*: of these was principall the Seneshall of *Beaucaire*, with whom the money of the *Pyfans* had much preuailed, but much more the discontentment he had of the greatnesse of the Cardinall, from whom (according to the variations of Court) he began to be estranged and separated, being moued with the selfe same ambition to embase him, with the which he had raysed him in the beginning. These men not hauing respect to that which concerned the honor and promised faith of so great a king, perswaded that it agreed best with the profite and estate of his other enterprises, to keepe the *Florentines* in this necessity, and not to moderate the doings of the *Pyfans*, at the least till he had made perfect his expedition vpon the realme of *Naples*. The king carried with these perswasions, framed him selfe to entertaine both the one and other party with seuerall hopes, and therefore whilst he remayned yet at *Rome*, he called for the Embassadors of *Florence* to heare in his presence the complaints made to him by the *Pyfans*, for whom spake *The complaints of the Pyfans afore the french king*. *Burgundio Loli* Citizen of *Pyfa*, and aduocate of the consistory in the Court of *Rome*: he complained bitterly, that the *Pyfans* had bene holden foure score yeares in such an vniust and cruell

Two particular causes of quarrell, betweene Florence and the Genoways.

The pretended title of the Duke of Myllan to Pyfa.

The complaints of the Pyfans afore the french king.

seruitude, that that city, which with many honourable victories heretofore had stretched out her jurisdiction euen to the parts of *Lenant*, and had bene alwayes one of the most mighty and glorious members of all *Italy*, was now by the severity and couetousnesse of the *Florentines*, come to her last desolation: That the towne of *Pysa* was almost made naked of inhabitants for that the most part of the naturall and free borne Citizens, not able to beare so heauy yokes, had willingly abandoned the place of their patrimony, possessions, and delights, whose counsell hath bene proued wise by the miseries of others, whom the loue of their countrey hath made to abide to serue as a wretched spectacle to all eyes of pity, conscience, or humanity. That they, for the great exactions of the Magistrates, and insolent robberies of persons priuate, were dispoyled almost of all their substance, and yet in no liberty nor way to nourish their liues, for that with a tyranny and iniustice strange and barbarous, they were forbidden to manage trades of marchaundise, or to exercise any art except of the hand. They had no acceffe or function in any office of quality, nor in the administration of the gouernment of *Florence*, no not in things which were transferred to persons strange and forraine: That the *Florentines* by many arguments exercised all sorts of cruelty against the health and benefite of their liues, and to haue a more ready way to their generall destruction, they haue of late yeares shaken off an auncient and necessary care to preserve the bankes and cawseys of the countrey of *Pysa*, maintained alwayes from age to age by the Lordes of that countrey with no small study, for that otherwaies it was impossible, (seeing the shallownesse of the contrey, subiect to inundations and water floods) that they should not be euery yeare stricken with diuersity of diseases: that by this decay, were made ruinate euen flat with the earth, Churches, Pallaces, with many honourable buildings both publicke and priuate, erected by their predecessours, with no little expence and charge: That it was no shame to particular cities or townes, if, after the raigne and course of many worldes they fell into seruitude, for that all mortal and earthly things beare their proper destiny and subiection to corruption: But the memory of their nobility and greatnesse, alwaies disposed into the maiesty of a gouernment or common weale, ought to breede in the spirites of conquerours more compassion then rigour, chiefly euery one hauing to consider, that it is not onely in the power of time, but also incident to the iust course and destiny of earthly things, to bring vpon them the selfe same end which is ordained to happen to all other Cities and Empires: That in the *Pysans* there rested no more, wherein the inhumanity and insatiable couetousnesse of the *Florentines* could be exercised with further scope: and therefore the yoke of those burdens bearing a waight aboue their strength, and the variety of their miseries so infinite and intollerable, they had with one minde determined, rather to abandon their countrey, to giue vp their liues, and to forbear the vse, society, and delight of their goods, friends, and kindred, then to returne eslooges vnder so vniust, so tyrannous, and so vile a gouernment: beseeching lastly the king with teares (which he besought him to imagine to be the plentifull tears of the whole people of *Pysa* miserably prostrate at his feete) to remember that with the same piety, with the same iustice, and with the same religion and conscience, he had restored them to that liberty, of the which they had bene so vniustly dispoyled: he would esloones as a Prince reolute and constant, defend and keepe them in the same benefite, seeing the election was more honorable, more godly, more worthy his name and greatnesse, to beare the name of the father and deliuerer of this city so ancient and innocent, then in redeliuering it vp into a seruitude so wretched, to become the infamous minister of the robberies, oppressions, and tyrannies of the proud *Florentines*. To these accusations answered, with no lesse vehemency, *Frauncis Soderyn* Bishop of *Volterre*, afterwards made Cardinall, and at that time one of the Embassadours for *Florence*: He shewed that the title of his common weale was iust, for that they had bought *Pysa* in the year 1404. of *Gabriell Muria Viscount* the lawfull Lord, by whom they were no looner put in possession of their purchase; then the *Pysans* redeliuered them selues by force; By which occasion they were driuen to seeke to conquere it by a long warre, whose end was no lesse prosperous, then the occasion was iust, and no lesse praiseworthy the humanity of the *Florentines*, then the victory glorious: for that hauing in their discretions to perish all the people of *Pysa* (languishing already with hunger) when they entred with their army into the city, they brought with them a greater quantity of victuals then of weapons: and so in place to take away their liues by iust law of conquest and victory, they breathed new liues with their refreshing and victuals, into bodies miserable and not worthy of life: That the city of *Pysa* at no time had obtained any greatnesse in the

The Embas-
sador of Flo-
rence confu-
seth those
complaints.

land, and much lesse had bene able in power to winne forraine and straunge peeces, seeing
 they could neuer make them selues Lordes ouer *Lucques*, a city communicating with them in
 neighbourhood and borders: but they stood alwaies restrained and inclosed in a straight
 territory, not seeking to make their fortune greater then was their vertue. And for their power at
 sea, neither hath it bene so mighty as there is left any monument of it, nor of such continuance as
 any prescription of time: for that, by the iust iudgement of God, whom they had prouo-
 ked by many actes of prophane impiety, and for a scourge of the long ciuill discordes amongst
 them selues, it was long time before the purchase of the *Florentines*, salne from all estate and great-
 nesse, & rayned of all wealth and habitants, and at last reduced to such a naked weaknesse, that one
Jacques d'Appian a simple notary of the countrey, was of power to make him selfe Lord ouer
 them; leauing the city and territory as a succession to his children: That the land and countrey of
Pysa was of little importance to the *Florentines*, except for the oportunity of the situation, and
 conueniency of the sea, seeing the reuenues that were drawn from thence were of little confide-
 ration, the exactions being so easie and light, that they exceede very little the necessary expences,
 and yet the most part were leuied vpon marchant strangers, and by the meane of the port of *Ly-
 uorne*. That touching trade of marchandise, artes, and offices, the *Pysans* were not bound with
 other lawes, then did regulate all other cities subiect to the *Florentines*, who, acknowledging to
 liue vnder a moderate and easie pollicy, had no desire to chaunge Lordes, not hauing in deede
 that obstinacy and pride of mind which is naturall in the *Pysans*, nor yet infected with a disloyalty
 so notorious, as it is made generall and famous by the auncient prouerbe of all *Tuscane*. And al-
 beit, since the *Florentines* had gouernment in *Pysa*, sundry of the Citizens tooke a willing banish-
 ment: yet it concludes nothing against the *Florentines*, but detectes iustly their owne proud sto-
 mackes and impacience, bearing no mindes to accomodat them selues to their owne forces nor
 fortune. And much lesse that vnder the gouernment of the *Florentines*, *Pysa* is diminished either
 in treasure or inhabitants, seeing on the contrary they haue at a great charge recouered the hauen
 of *Lyuorne*, without the which their city would be no lesse vnprofitable then inconuenient. They
 haue also introduced the publicke study of all sciences, together with many other benefites, and
 lastly, diligently continued the reparations of the banckes; the better to replenish them with in-
 habitants. The truth of which things did shine with too cleare a light, then that the clouds of false
 complaints were able to ouershadow and darken it: he saide it was suffered to euery one to de-
 sire to aspire to a better fortune, but withall it was an office iust in all inferior degrees to beare
 without grudging the ordinance and sentence of their lot: otherwise there would be confusion
 of all Empires and gouernments, if it were suffered to euery one that is subiect, to aspire to liber-
 ty. Lastly he told the king that to the *Florentines*, it was neither necessary nor any way apper-
 taining to their office, to perswade *Charles* a Christian king of *Fraunce* what he had to doe, for
 that being a Prince wise and iust, they doubted not that he would suffer him selfe to be caried by
 so vaine complaints and slaunders: that of him selfe he would remember him selfe of his promise
 made afore his army was receiued into *Pysa*, together with his word and oath of a king published
 solemnly at *Florence*, for that by how much a king is mighty and great, by so much is it more me-
 ritorious and glorious to him to vse his power and greatnesse for the preservation of his faith and
 iustice. The king hearing the differences thus disclosed by both the Embassadours, bare an in-
 clination partiall to the *Pysans*, and wished that during the warre of *Naples*, there might be a sur-
 ceasing of armes betweene the two parties, or at least that the *Florentines* would consent that he
 might hold the whole countrey, assuring them that as soone as the conquest of *Naples* were ac-
 complished, he would make perfect all his promises giuen at *Florence*. This the *Florentines* refu-
 sed holding euen now for suspected all the kings words, and yet they forbore not with great con-
 stancy to presse him to keepe his promise: wherein, to make show that he would satisfie them
 (his intention in deede being to haue of them before the time lxx. thousand duckats which they
 had promised him) he dispatched at the same instant he departed from *Rome*, the Cardinall of *S.
 Mallo* as Embassador to *Florence*, making as though he sent him thither to satisfie their demands:
 But in secret he charged him, that nourishing them with hopes till they had made payment of the
 money, he should leaue things in the same estate: of which shift of time, albeit the *Florentines*
 made sufficient doubt, yet they aduaunced xl. thousand duckats afore the tearme, which as soone
 as the Cardinall had receiued, he went to *Pysa*, promising to recontinue the possession of the estate

to the *Florentines*: But he made a speedy returne without any effect of his promise, and left answering the expectation of them of *Florence*, afore whom he excused him selfe by the obstinacy of the *Pyfans*, and that being not able of him selfe to dispose them, his authority was lesse sufficient to constrain them, hauing no expresse commission from the King. Lastly it was not conuenient for him being of holy profession, to take or follow any counsell whereon might rise effusion of Christian blood: yet he bestowed a new garrison within the new Citadell, and had done the like in the old castell, if he could haue got the consent of the *Pyfans*, who grew daily more and more in courage and forces by the secret helping of the Duke of *Myllan*, who iudging it necessary, that there should be within *Pyfa* a greater strength, and a leader of experience & valour, had sent to the (couering him selfe notwithstanding as he was wont with the name of the *Genoways*) *Luke Mawerze*, with new bands and companies. And letting passe no occasion that might keepe the *Florentines* in businesse, the better to hold them from offending the *Pyfans*, he entertained into pay in common with the *Siennos*, *Iacques d'Appian* Lord of *Plombyn*, and *Iohn Sauelle*, the rather to encourage the said people of *Sienna* to defend *Montpalcian*, a place newly reuolted from the *Florentines* and accepted by them of *Sienna*, without hauing regard to the confederation which they had together. At the same time also the *Florentines* were in no lesse care and trauell for sodaine businesse newly happened within the city: for immediatly after the King was departed from *Florence*, the better to reestablish their gouernment, they had in their parliament (which in their custome is a congregation assembled of all the Citizens in the place before the towne house, who deliberat with free voice vpon matters propounded by the great Magistrat) instituted a kind of policy, which, vnder the name of a gouernment popular tended in many things, more to the power of a few, then of euery one in generall: The which being grieuous to many, who fashioned in their mindes a greater liberty, and hauing the priuate ambition of some one of the principall Citizens concurring, there was necessity to dispute vpon a new forme of gouernment, wherein as it was commoned vpon one day amongst the principall Magistrates and persons of greatest reputation, *Paule Anthony Soderyn*, a Citizen, wise and much respected, deliuered his opinion in this sort.

P. Anth. So- Albeit the estate popular is lesse esteemed then that wherein things are referred to one alone;
der in reaso- or gouerned by the directions of graue men: yet, for that the desire of liberty is a desire auncient
neth touch- ent and almost naturall in this city, and the conditions and estate of our Citizens are equally pro-
ing a forme portioned, which is a necessary ground of popular gouernments: I might maintaine by easie and
of gouern reasonable discourse, that it ought to be preferred before all other, were it not that the disputati-
ment for Flo- tion would be superfluous, seeing in all our assemblies since the parliament, it hath bene alwaies
rence. determined by a consent vniuersall, that the city should be gouerned in the name and with the au-
Causes of po- thority of the people: But the diuersity of opinions is risen vpon this, that certaine particulars, in
pular go- things ordained in the Parliament, seeke to come neare and resemble that forme of common
uernment. weale, vnder the which the city was gouerned before our liberty was oppressed by the family of
the *Medicis* and others, (of which number I confesse I am) supposing that the gouernment so
established, bare in many things rather the name then the effectes of a pollicy popular, and fea-
ring the accidents which often happen by like gouernmentes, desire a forme more perfect and
more regarding the preservation and protection of the concord and surety of the Citizens: A
thing which neither by reason, nor experience of times passed, can be hoped for in this city, but
vnder a gouernment depending altogether vpon the power of the people, so that it be well and
duely ordained and regulated, which thing consistes principally in two foundations: The first is,
that all ministrations and offices as well in the city as through the whole demeane, be giuen (for
a certaine time) by a counsell vniuersall, which according to our lawes may participate in the go-
uernment; without the approbation of which counsell, new lawes can not be established: By
this meane, not being in the power of Citizens priuate, nor of any particular faction or intelli-
gence to distribute dignities and authorities, no man shall be excluded by passion or partiality
of others, but offices shall be bestowed according to the vertues and merites of men: And ver-
tue bearing this property to transerre dignities to those persons to whom her selfe is conioyned,
it will be a meane and encouragement to euery one to strue by his vertues and good partes, with
the aide publicke and priuate, to open his way to honours and reputation: it shall be necessary
that euery one abstaine from vices, and forbear to hurt one an other, and finally eschew both the
study and action of all hatefull things in a city well instituted. And it can not be in the power of
one

one of a few to introduce with new lawes; or with authority of a Magistrate, an other government, this being not to be chaunged, but by the will and priuity of the counsell vniuersall. The second ground is, that the deliberations and counsels of importaunce, such as appertaine to peace and warre, to the construing and examination of new lawes, and generally to all things necessary for the administration of such a city or empire, be managed by Magistrates particularly appointed to that charge, and by a counsell more priuate compounded of wise and experienced citizens to be deputed and ordained by the counsell popular: for that the knowledge and iudgement of such affaires, falling not familiarly into the vnderstanding of euery one, it is necessary they be gouerned by such as are capable of them, and requiring oftentimes diligence and secrecy, they are not to be consulted or communicated with the multitude, as not being necessary for the preservation of the publicke liberty, that such things be handled in too great audience and company, seeing the liberty is assured as often as the distribution of Magistracies, and deliberation of new lawes, depend of the vniuersall consent. These two foundations thus laide, you haue a true popular government ordained, the liberty of the city grounded, and a perpetuall and commendable forme of common weale confirmed. There bee many other things which tend to make this government more perfect, but they are referred more conueniently to an other time, to the end not to confound in this beginning the mindes of men, which both suspicious by the memory of tyrannies past, and not accustomed to manage governments free, can not wholly know all things necessary to be ordained for preservation of the liberty: and there be things, which for their little importance and consideration, may without daunger be differred vntill a time more apt, and better occasion. No doubt, the Citizens will embrace more and more this forme of common weale, and being by experience, made daily more capable of the truth, they can not but desire that their government be polished and brought to his full perfection: Neither can it but be sustained and holden vp by these two foundations, which, how easie it is to lay and establish, and what fruite they bring, is not to be proued only by many reasons, but also appeares plainly by examples: for, albeit the government of the *Venetians* standes properly vpon gentlemen, those gentlemen yet are no other then Citizens priuate, and what for their numbers, so many, and for their conditions so diuerse, it can not be denied, that it doth not much participate with a government popular, although in many things it can not be imitated of vs: and yet it is principally founded vpon these two pillars and bases, by the which hauing bene continued by many ages, together with a liberty, vnity, and concord ciuill, it is risen to the glory and greatnesse which the world seeth. The vnity and strength of the *Venetians* hath not growen as many suppose, by their situation, for that in the same may be and haue bene many discordes and seditions: but it hath proceeded for that they had a forme of pollicy so well sorted and proportioned to it selfe, that necessarily it brought forth precious and wonderfull effectes, agreeable to the firme and sound foundations. Our owne examples ought to moue vs no lesse then straungers, if we consider in the contrary, that because our city had neuer a forme of government like vnto this, it was the cause that our estate and affaires haue bene so subiect to ordinary mutations, sometimes troden vnder feete by the violence of tyrantes, and sometimes rent and dismembred by the ambitious and couetous discordes of certaine particulars, and sometimes confounded by the vnbridled liberty of the communalty. Infomuch that where cities were built for the rest and happy life of the inhabitantes, our tranquillity, our felicities, and our ioyes haue bene the confiscation of our goods, with banishment and execution of our miserable Citizens. The government brought into the Parliament, differeth not from the pollicies heretofore ordained in this city, which being all infected with discordes and calamities, after infinit trauels both publicke and priuate, they finally ingendred tyrannies, like as in the time of our ancestors, for none other then these occasions, the Duke of *Athens* oppressed the liberty, and in the times succeeding, *Cosmo de Medicis* followed his example, whereof it is not to be maruelled: for, when the distribution of Magistracies, and deliberation of the lawes, haue not community with the common consent, but depend vpon the arbitration of the lesser number: then the Citizens not carefull of the publicke benefite, but seeking their profites and endes priuate, rise into sectes and conspiracies particular, whereunto are ioyned the diuisions of the whole city; a plague most certaine to all common weales and Empires: So that it can not but be a better discretion to eschew those formes of government, which by reasons and examples in our selues we finde to be hurtfull, and draw neare to those pollicies which with the reasons and examples of others, we

discerne to be whole and happy. And thus much I take boldnesse to auouch (the tr^{ue} and sincerity of the matter much enforcing me) that the pollicy of our city running alwaies in that order that a few Citizens shall haue an vnmeasured authority, will proue to be a gouernment of a few tyrants, who will bee so much more dangerous then one tyrant alone, by how much the ill is great, and hurts more, by how much it is multiplied: And if there should bee none other ill or mischief at all, yet at least wise, what for the diuersity of opinions, and for the ambition and different couetousnesse of men, there could be no expectation of long concord: and discord, as it is hurtfull in all seasons, so it would be most dangerous at this time, wherein you haue sent in to exile one so mighty a Citizen, and wherein you stand depriued of one of the principallest parts of your estate. And lastly, *Italy* hauing euen in her heart and intrals forraigne armies, stands on all sides enuironed with manifest perill: albeit very seldome or possible, neuer it hath bene absolutely in the power of all the city to put order to it selfe according to our owne liking, yet seeing by the goodnesse of God you haue that power, lose not the occasion to institute a free gouernment, and so well erected, that not onely you shall be made happy by it whilest you liue: but also may promise the same to your posterity, and leaue as an inheritance to your children such a treasure and felicity, as your ancestours neuer had nor knew.

Against this
opinion reasoneth
Guido Anth^{ony} Ves-
pucci.

To the contrary of this, did reason *Guido Anthony Vespucci*, a lawyer notable for his iudgement, and no lesse singular for his facility and sharpnesse of wit: If the gouernment (saith he) instituted in the forme of *Paul Anthony Soderyn*, would as easily bring forth the fruits that are desired, as he hath liberally recounted them: sure we should shew great corruption in iudgement, reason, and discretion, if we would wish to our countrey any other sort of pollicy, & right vnworthy should we seeme of the reputation and benefits of good Citizens, if we would not embrace a forme of a common weale wherein the vertues, merites, and valours of men, should be aboute all other things honored and recompenced. But I can not see how it may be hoped that a gouernment put wholly in the power of the pepole, can bring forth so many benefites: seeing no man doubts but it is a lesson in reason, a triall in experience, and an authority confirmed by great men, that in so great a multitude can not be found that discretion, that experience, nor that order, as may be promised that they will preferre the wise afore the ignorant, the good afore the ill, and the experienced afore such as neuer knew what it was to manage affaires: for, like as of a iudge incapable and ignorant, can be no expectation of iudgements righteous and iust: so, in a people full of confusion and vanity, is no hope (but at aduenture) of election or deliberation wise or reasonable: That which in publicke gouernments, wise men and such as follow the study of no other affaires, can hardly discern, let vs neuer beleue that a multitude vnexperienced, ignorant, compounded of so great diuersity of spirites, of conditions and customes, and wholly giuen to things that concerne them particularly, can distinguish and know it: Besides, the immoderat perswasion that euery one will haue of him selfe, will kindle in euery one a couetousnesse of honors, not sufficing to men in popular gouernment to enioy the honest fruites of liberty, but they will aspire all to the degrees principall, and seeke to haue place in the counsels of things of most importance and hardnesse, for that lesse in vs then in any other city, raigeth the modesty to giue place to such as know most, and deserue best: And so nourishing our selues with perswasion that of right we ought to be allequall in all things (the power resting in the multitude) places of vertue, valour, and merit will be confounded, and this couetousnesse stretched out into the greatest part, will bring to passe that such may doe most as know least and merite lesse, for that being most in number, they will haue most power, opinions being rather counted then considered. These things well weighed, what assurance is there, that contenting with the forme which now you would bring in, they would not immediatly fall to disorder, and confound with inuentions new and lawes vnwise, which wise men could not resist, the waies to gouerne a common weale which had bene wisely deliberated and established: which things being dangerous at all times in such a sort of common weale, would bring farre more perill at this present, seeing it is the nature of men when they come out of one extremity wherein they haue bene holden by force, to runne with a swift course to another extremity without staying in the midst: euen so, men drawne out of a tyranny, if they be not restrained, run headlong into an vnbrideled liberty, which iustly may be called a tyranny: because in these actions a people and multitude is like to a tyrant when he giueth where is no cause of merite, and taketh from him that hath well deserued, confounding the degrees and distinctions

persons; yea haply their tyrannie is so much the more hurtfull, by how much their ignorance
 (containing neither waight, measure, nor law) is greater then the malignitie, which yet perhaps
 is governed by some rule; with some bridle, or subiect to some limit: We ought not much to
 be moued with the example of the *Venetians*, for that in their behalfe the situation makes some-
 thing, and the forme of gouernement receiued of long time may do much, together with the or-
 der and disposition of things ruled in such sort, that the counsels of importance rest more in the
 power of a few then of many, and their spirites happily not being by nature so futtle as ours, they
 are more easie to be kept quiet and contented. Besides, the pollicie of the *Venetians* standes not
 onely vpon the two foundations that haue bene considered, but for their perfection and firme-
 nesse it importes much that they haue a Duke perpetuall, with many other ordinaunces, which
 who would introduce into this common weale, should seeme to bring in innouations, and finde
 many resistances, seeing our citie takes not now her being, nor at this present the first time of her in-
 stitution: and therefore auncient customes impugning often times common profit, and men su-
 specting that vnder collour of preservation of the libertie, there would be rayled a new tyrannie,
 wholesome counsels will be of litle force, euen as in a body infected and replenished with ill hu-
 mours, medicines are not of that seruice, as in a body purged: for which reasons, and for the na-
 ture of humane things which commonly go impairing, it is more to be feared, that that which in
 this beginning shall be imperfectly ordained, will be wholly disordered with time, then to hope
 that by time and with occasions, it may be reduced to perfection: we haue examples of our own,
 and neede not the iustification of authorities and experiences of others; for, at what time hath the
 people gouerned absolutely this Citie, that it hath not bene full of discordes, that it hath not suf-
 fered deformitie and dismembring, and lastly that the state hath not immediatly chaunged? And
 if we stand so much vpon the examples of others, why do we not remember, that the gouerne-
 ment wholly popular, bred in *Rome* so many tumultes, that had it not bene for the science, dili-
 gence, and discipline of waire, the life of that common weale had bene short. Let vs remember,
 that *Athens* a most flourishing and mighty Citie, lost not for other occasion her Empire, and so fell
 into seruitude of the Citizens and straungers, then for that they did dispose of great affaires with
 the deliberations and counsels of the communaltie. But I see not for what occasion it may be
 sayd, that in the forme introduced in the Parliament the libertie is not there wholly found, seeing
 all things are referred to the disposition of Magistrates, and they not perpetuall, but changing, are
 not elected of few, but approued of many, and ought according to the auncient custome of the ci-
 tie, to be referred to the arbitrement of the lot: then they can not be distributed by factions, or by
 the appetite of Citizens particular: we shall haue a farre greater assurance whe the affaires of most
 importance shall passe by the examination and direction of the most wise, the most practised, and
 most graue men, who are to manage and gouerne them with an other order, an other secrecie,
 and an other iudgement, then would be expressed in a multitude or communaltie incapable of
 such things, sometimes when is least neede, prodigall in expences, and eftsouies in businesse
 great and waightie, so sparing and restrained, that often times for sauing a very litle, they fall into
 great expences and daungers, euen as men that leaping ouer a great blocke, stumble vpon a litle
 stow. Indeepe as *P. Anboine* hath sayd, the infirmities of *Italie*, & particularly of our countrey,
 is great and of no litle consideration, euen so the folly is so much the greater, when hauing neede of
 Phisitions experienced and wise, we will put our bodies into the hands of such as haue least skill
 and discreffion. Lastly, you haue to consider, that you shall maintaine your people in greater rest,
 and leade them most easily to counsels wholesome both for them selues, and to the benefite of
 euery one, in giuing them in the common weale a moderate part and authoritie, seeing if you re-
 ferre all things to their arbitration, there will be daunger that they will become insolent and whol-
 ly disagreeing from the counsels of your wise, careful, and affectioned Citizens.

In this counsell, whereunto was not admitted the great number of Citizens, the aduise then
 tending to a forme of gouernement not so large and popular, had caried it, if amongst the de-
 liberations of men, there had not bene mixed authoritie diuine, pronounced by the mouth of *Je-
 ronimo Sauonarola* a Religious man of the order of Frier Preachers. This man hauing bin continu-
 ally exercised for many yeares in the publike preaching of Gods word at *Florence*, and hauing
 ioyned to his singular doctrine, a generall brute of holinesse of life, had gotten in the opinion of
 most part of the people, the name and authoritie of a Prophet: for that at times wherein in *Italie*

*Jeronimo Sa-
 uonarola este-
 med for a Pro-
 phet in Flo-
 rence.*

was no other apparance in mans reason, then of common tranquillitie, would in his Scrib-
 Prophecie of the coming of forreine armies, with so great altonishment of men, that neither
 walls nor camps were able to resist them: which things with many others of other nature, he
 would assure that he did not foretell by discourse humane, or knowledge of the Scriptures, but
 simplie did foresee them by reuelation diuine: In these wonders and warnings he would
 sometimes touch the mutation of the state of *Florence*: at that time he detested publickly the
 forme of gouernement agreed vpon in the Parliament, affirming that it was the will and pleasure
 of God, that they did erect a pollicie mearely popular, in such sort that there should not be pow-
 er in a few Citizens to alter neither the suretie nor the libertie of the residue: in so much that for
 the reuerence of one of so great a name, ioyned to the desire of many, such as were of the other
 opinion, should not be able to resist so great an inclination. Therefore this matter being many
 times propounded and debated, it was lastly determined, that there should be made a counsell
 of all the Citizens, wherein should haue no access (so it was spread in many places in *Italie*)
 the dregges of the people, but onely such as by the auncient lawes of the Citie might participate
 in the gouernement. In this counsell should not be handled, nor they should not dispose of other
 things, then of the election of all the Magistrats for the Citie & for the demaine, and of the confir-
 mation of prouisions of money, together with all the lawes ordained before by the Magistrats &
 other counsels more priuate and straite. And to the end that the occasions of ciuill discordes
 should be taken away, and the spirits of euery one the more assured, it was prohibited by decree
 publick according to the example of the *Aueniens*, not to remember the errors and transgres-
 sions committed in the times past in the affaires of estate: vpon which foundations, might per-
 haps haue bene constituted a gouernement well regulated and established, if at the same time
 they had introduced all the ordinaunces which then came into the consideration of wise men: but
 such things being not able to be deliberated without the consent of many who for the memory of
 things past were full of suspicions: it was iudged and determined that for the present, the grand
 counsell should be established, as a ground and foundation of the new libertie, referring to ac-
 complish that which wanted vntill a better oportunitie of time, and vntill (by the meane of ex-
 perience) the publick vtilitie should be knowne of such as had no capacitie to know it by reason
 and iudgement: this was the course and condition of the affaires of *Tuskane*. But in this meane
 while, the French king, after he had with a readie fortune conquered the Citie of *Naples*, to
 giue a full perfection to his victorie, he had principally to looke to remoue two impediments: The
 one how he might get new Castell, and the Castell of the egge, which are two fortresses of *Na-
 ples*, holding good yet for *Ferdinand*, but for the towne of *S. Vincent*, builded for the gard of the
 haven, he had it without much resistance: his other consideration was, how he might reduce the
 whole kingdome to his obedience. In which two things fortune still followed him with a full
 sayle of her fauours; for, new Castell, the habitation of the kings builded vpon the banke or shoars
 of the sea, by the couetousnesse and cowardize of fife hundred Launceknights holding garrison
 there, was rendred, with condition that they might depart in safetie with all the goods and mo-
 ueables they were able to carie: In this Castell was found great quantities of vittuals, whereof
 the king without consideration to that might happen, made prodigall liberalities to certaine of
 his owne people: And touching the Castell called the egge, built within the sea vpon a rocke,
 afore times parcell of the firme land, but now deuided from it by the operation of *Lucullus*,
 was ioyned with a narrow bridge to the next brinckes or shoares of *Naples*: they within the rocke,
 seeing them selues battered without ceasing with a perpetuall furie of the artillerie, which might
 well shake the walls, but nothing moue the rocke, agreed to yeeld vp the place, if within eight
 dayes they were not succoured. The Barons also and gouernours of the communalities, would go
 many dayes iourneyes to meete the French Captaines and companies of souldiers sent into sun-
 drie partes of the Realme: whose example in yeelding, and the humanitie and inclination of the
 French in receiuing them, bred such a generall minde of reuolt in Cities, fortes, and peeces par-
 ticular, that almost all the places of strength were rendred by those that kept them, either with no
 resistance at all, or at least without perill or difficultie: yea the rocke of *Caietta* notwithstanding
 it was made strong with men, vittuals, munition, and things necessarie for defence, yet after a few
 light assaultes, it yeelded to the discreffion of the victors. This felicitie of the king followed with
 so full streame, that within a very few dayes, and with a wonderfull facilitie, all the kingdome was
 brought

brought into his obedience, except the Ile of *Tschia*, the Castels of *Brondusia* and *Galipoly* in *Powylla*, and in *Calabria* the rocke of *Reggi*, situate in the point of *Italie* right ouer against *Sicile*, the Citie holding for the king: and except also *Turpia* and *Mantia*, who in the beginning displayed the banners of *Fraunce*, but refusing to liue vnder the subiection of other then the king, who had already disposed them to certaine of his fauorits, they chaunged counsell, and returned to their first Lord. The like was done within a litle time after by the Citie of *Brondusia*, to the which the French king hauing sent no men, but vsing negligence where was nec^{ess}itie of care and counsell, did scarcely heare their Magistrates sent to him to *Naples* to capitulate: by which occasion ioyning with the oportunitie offered, those that kept the Castels in the name of *Ferdinand*, had good meane by perswasions to draw againe the Citie to the deuotion of the *Aragons*: by which example also, the Citie of *Otrante* lately declared for the French, and no creature sent thither to receiue them, continued not long in their affection: All the Lordes and Barons of the Realme (except *Alphonso Daualo* Marquis of *Pisouire*, who left within new Castell by *Ferdinand*, was gone to him when he perceiued the inclination of the Launceknights to yeeld: and except two others, who (for that the French king had giuen away their estates, were fled into *Sicile*), came to do homage to the new king: who, desiring to assure wholly so great a conquest by the way of concord, called afore him vnder safeconduit afore he had wonne the rocke of the egge, *Dom Federike*, who, as well for that he had remained many yeares in the Court of *Fraunce* in the time of the kings father, as also for that he touched his Maiestie in parentage, was much fauoured of all the Lordes of *Fraunce*. The king told him, he would induc *Ferdinand* (leauing all that was his in the Realme of *Naples*) with estates and large reuenues in *Fraunce*: And touching him, to recompence him liberally with all that he possessed there. But *Federike*, well knowing that his nephew was determined to accept no condition, except he might haue *Calabria*, answered with a countenance of humilitie and reuerence, and wordes graue and wise: That seeing God, fortune, and the good wills of men haue concurred in his present felicitie, to giue him the kingdome of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* was not determined to make resistance against so fatall a disposition, but, rather esteeming it no shame to giue place to a king so happie and mighty, he would no lesse then others, remaine in his obedience and deuotion, so that his Maiestie would contribute to him some part of the kingdome (touching *Calabria* by a secret meaning) to the end that dwelling therein not as a king, but in the condition of one of his Barons, he might honour the clemencie and magnanimitie of the French king, in whose seruice he hoped to haue once occasion to shew that vertue which his malicious fortune would not suffer him to expresse in the action of his owne safetie: That, nothing could turne more to the glorie of king *Charles* then that counsell, bearing resemblance and affinitie with the counsels of those kings whom antiquitie doth so much recommend vnto vs, who, by such operations had raysed their names to immortalitie, and established amongst peoples and nations, diuine honours: That, it was a counsell no lesse for his suretie then for his glorie; for that *Ferdinand* brought to his deuotion, the Realme would be assured to him, that he should not hereafter feare the chaunge of fortune, who had this common propertie: that as often as victories were not assured with moderation and discreffion, she would defile by some accident vntooken for, the vertue and reputation of the glorie gotten. But the king doubting that if he communicated any part of the kingdome with his competitor, he should open a way to manifest perill for the residue, *Dom Federike* parted from him without any thing doing. *Ferdinand*, vnderstanding of the rendring of the Castels, sayled into *Sicile* with fourteen light gallyes slenderly appointed, wherein he passed from *Naples*: This he did to be ready vpon all occasions, leauing the gard of the rocke of *Tschia* to *Ianicke Daualo* brother to *Alphonso*, both men of great valour, and of singular faith towards their Lord. But the French king, to take from the enemie that receptable very conuenient to trouble the Realme, sent thither his armie by sea, which arriued at length in the port of *Naples*, and finding the towne abandoned, they forbore to assaile the rocke, wherein, for his inuincible strength by situation, they discerned many impossibilities to preuaile: And therefore, to giue a greater helpe to their vertue, the king determined to assemble all the vessels of *Prouence* and of *Genes*, to take *Tschia*, and assure the sea which *Ferdinand* vexed some times: But their counsell and diligence were not equall to their fortune, seeing, according to the infirmitie of all their doings, all things had a slow proceeding, and were guided in most great negligence and confusion: for, the French king turning the prosperitie

The French king
makes offers to
Dom Federike

Dom Federike
answereth the
king.

The French king
sends an armie
to inuade Tschia.

of his affaires to serue his vanities, his companies in like sort, by so great felicitie became more insolent then of custome, and let go at aduenture the affaires of importance, not receiuing into their thoughts any other impression then of feasting and pleasures: and such as were great in the counsels and fauours of the king, cared not but for their owne particular, and to draw of the victory all the profit they could, without respecting the dignitie or vtilitie of their Prince.

*The death of
Gemyn Otto
Turke, kept
in refuge by
the Pope.*

About this time died at *Naples* *Gemyn Otto* to the great displeasure of the king, who layed up in him many foundations and oportunities for the war he determined to make against the Empire of the *Turkes*. It was beleued his death was brued in a cup of poyson, which the Pope had giuen him, to worke his end in a certaine time: or that hauing deliuered him against his will, and so depriued of the fortie thousand duckats which his brother payed him yearly, he tooke for consolation that he that had takē him away, should receiue by him no commoditie or profit: or at least for enuy he bare to the glory of the French king: or lastly for feare, that things succeeding happily with him against the Infidels, he would afterwarde turne his thoughts to reforme the abuses of the Church, which being wholly aliened from the auncient deuotion, customes, and pietie, made euery day of lesse authoritie the Religion of Christ, euery one withall hauing an assured expectation that they would further decline before the end of his raigne, which being gottē by wicked meanes, was haply neuer in the memorie of mā administred with worse orders: And there were that beleued (for the corrupt nature of the Pope made credible in him all wickednesse) that *Baiazet* after he vnderstood that the French king prepared to passe into *Italie*, practised with him by the meane of *George Bucciardin* corrupted with money, to oppresse the life of *Gemyn*: And yet the king nourishing still his inclination to the warres of the *Turkes* (more vpon a greene humour of youth and volubilitie of mind, then by maturitie of counsell) ceased not for his death to send into *Greece* the Archbishop of *Duraz*, of the nation of *Albania*, who put the king in hopes by the meane of certaine factions of the banished, and other vaine intelligences, to stirre vp some commotion in that prouince: But new accidents constrained him to turne his spirits to new thoughts.

*Lodo. Sforce
beginneth too
late to feare
the greatnesse
of the French.*

It hath bene set downe before, how the desire to vlturpe the Duchie of *Myllan*, ioyned to a feare that *Lodowyke Sforce* had of the *Aragons* and *Peter de Medicis*, induced him to procure the French king to passe into *Italie*, by whose comming after he had obtained his ambitious pretence, and that the *Aragons* were brought into those necessities, that there was no abilitie remaining to defend their proper safetie: A second feare both more great and reasonable then the first, began to occupie his thoughtes, his eyes, and all his senses: that was the seruitude and thraldome houering ouer him, and all the *Italians*, if the kingdome of *Naples* were ioyned to the power of the crown of *Fraunce*, desiring for that cause (as hath bene noted) that by the *Florentines* should be objected many difficulties and impediments against the resolution of his enterprise. But when he saw his Maiestie was easily ioyned with that common weale, and with the same facilitie had overcome all the impediments of the Pope, and lastly without resistance had pretailed ouer the Realme of *Naples*, the danger seemed euery day so much the greater to him, by how much the course of the French victories aduanced more and more with facilitie, fortune and felicitie. A like feare also began to stirre in the mindes of the Senat of *Venice*, who in all their counsels hitherto had constantly perseuered in newtrality, gouerning their abstinence with so great discreffion, no lesse in action then in demonstration, that there was no meane to suspect their inclination more to one partie then to an other: They had for Ambassadours with the king *Anthonie Loredan* & *Domsnicke Trevisan*, albeit they lingered so long to send them, that the king was not onely passed the mounts, but arriued at *Florence* afore they were presented to him: But now looking with iudgement and studie into the violent course of so great felicities, his armies running like a thunder, without resistance thorow all *Italie*, they began to esteeme as their owne the damage of their neighbours, and to feare least in the ruine of others, their destruction were also conspired, but chiefly the king hauing made him selfe Lord of *Pysa* and other fortresses of the *Florentines*, leauing garrison in *Sienna*, and almost wonne the like imperie in the state of the Church: they construed all to argumēt absolute, that the ambition of his thoughts was not limited within the Realme and rule of *Naples*: for these causes the Senate gaue willing care to the perswasions of *Lodowyke Sforce*, who as soone as the *Florentines* had yeelded to the king, had begun to sollicite them to ioyne with him in a common remedie against common dangers: wherein it was beleued, that if the French king had met with any impediments either at *Rome*, or at

his

his entry into the Realme of *Naples*; they had altogether taken arme against him: But the kings fortune preuented their counsels; and in his victorie was more suddainesse and expedition; then in all the impediments that could be objected. The king also, doubting of the practices and factions of *Lodowyke*, had retained in his pay since the conquest of *Naples*, *Iohn Iacques Triunlice* with an hundred launces, vnder a pension worthie and honorable, and ioyned vnto him with many promises the Cardinall *Fregosa* and *Obietto de Fiesque*: the one for that they weremightie instruments to trouble and rayse emotions in the towne of *Genes*: and the other, for that being a chiefe leader of the *Guelfes* faction at *Myllan*, caried a minde much deuided from *Lodowyke*: To whom as yet the king refused to giue the principallitie of *Tarenta*, saying his bond had no force till he had reduced into his power all the Realme of *Naples*. These things being bitterly displeasing to *Lodowyke*, he restrained twelue gallyes which were armed for the king at *Genes*, and denounced the appointing of any more vessels there for the French seruice; which the king complayned to be the cause that he did not esstoones reassayle with a new supply the rocke of *Tschia*.

Thus suspitions and disdaynes growing on all partes, and the suddaine conquest of *Naples* representing to the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan* the present perill of their estates: they were constrained to ioyne vertue to their counsels, and deferre no longer to put their thoughts in execution: wherein, for the furthering of their resolution and courage, they had the consideration of the mightie companies of confederats: for that to this the Pope was lesse ready (to whom the greatnesse of the French was fearefull and suspicious) then *Maximilian* king of *Romaines* wholly disposed, to whom aboute all other for many occasions of hatred to the crowne of *Fraunce*, and for the many iniuries receiued by the king raigning, the prosperities of *Fraunce* were hatefull. But the chiefe groundes and foundations whereupon the *Venetians* and *Lodowyke* wrought, were the King and Queene of *Spayne*, who being a litle before bound to the French king (not for other respect then to draw from him the Earledome of *Rosillion*) not to hinder him in the conquest of *Naples*, had cunningly reserued to them selues till that time a free power to do the contrary: for, (if their brutes be true) there was a clause annexed to the capitulations made for restitution of the Earledome of *Rosillion*, which bare, that they should not be bound to any thing that touched the preiudice of the Church: of which exception they inferred, that if the Pope, for the interest of his chiefe, desired them to succour the Realme of *Naples*, they had good right to do so, without breaking their faith, or corrupting their promises: To this they added afterwarde, that by the same capitulations they were forbidden to oppose them selues against king *Charles*, in case it appeared that the same kingdome did iudicially appertaine vnto him. But what difference so euer was betweene the truth and their constructions of things, it is certaine; that hauing got that they desired, they began not onely to giue hope to the succours of them of *Aragon*, and secretly to sollicite the Pope not to abandon their cause, but also, as they had in the beginning exhorted the French king with wordes moderat, as louers of his glorie and zealous to Religion, to conuert his armies rather against Infidels then the Christian nations: So they continued esstoones that course, but with so much more efficacie and wordes suspected, by how much the victorie of the king aduanced and flourished. And to the end they might couer their doings with more authoritie, and to nourish in greater hopes the Pope and the *Aragons*, (& on the other part giuing out a brute that they had regard onely to the gard of *Sicilie*) they were ready to send thither an armie by sea, which arriued there after the losse of *Naples*; but yet with equipage and furniture more in demonstrations then in effectes, for that it contained not aboute eight hundred horsemen mounted vpon iennets; and a thousand footemen *Spaniardes*. They vsed their apparances vntill the taking of *Ostia* by the *Collonnoys*, and the threatens of the French against the Pope gaue them a more honest occasion to aduance that which they had fashioned and resolued in their mindes. And following their deuise to an action and beginning, they protested openly to the king whilest he was at *Florence* by their Ambassadors, that according to the office of Princes Christian, they would take the defence and protection of the Pope, and the Realme of *Naples* (a chiefe of the Church of *Rome*) wherein hauing already begun (as soone as they vnderstood of the flying of the *Aragons*) to negotiate with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan* for confederation, they esstoones solicited them with a new instance, to communicate with them for their common surtie against the French men.

A confederat
league against
the French
king.

So that, aswell by the solicitation of the king of *Spaine*, as occasions of the time present, threatening indifferent perils to all the principalities in *Italie*: there was at length in the moneth of April and in the Citie of *Venice*, where were the Ambassadours of all those Princes, contracted a confederation betwene the Pope, the king of *Romaines*, the king of *Spaine*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Myllan*. The title and publication of this league was onely for the defence of the states of one an other, reseruing places to whosoever would enter it with conditions reasonable. But they all being of opinion that it was necessary so to temper things as the French king might not hold *Naples*, it was agreed in capitulations more secret, that the bands of *Spaniards* arriued in *Sicilie* should be a succour for the recouering of that kingdome to *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, who with a great hope in the wills of the people, laboured to enter into *Calabria*: That the *Venetians* at the same time with their armie by sea, should assaile the sea coastes of the sayd kingdom: That the Duke of *Myllan* (to hinder succours that might come out of *Fraunce*) should do what he could to get the Citie of *Ast*, wherein was the Duke of *Orleans* with a very small strength: That to the kings of *Romaines* and *Spaine* should be contributed by the other confederates a certaine quantitie of money, to the end that either of them should make warre vpon the Realme of *Fraunce* with a puissant armie: The confederats withall desiring that all *Italie* would be vnited in the same concord of will, made instance to the *Florentines* and Duke of *Ferrara* to participate with this league: But the Duke being dealt withall after the league was published, refused to take armes against the French king, and yet, with an *Italian* suttletie he consented that *Dom Alphonso* his eldest sonne should take pay of the Duke of *Myllan* for a hundred & fiftie men at armes, with the title of Lieutenant ouer all his companies.

But the cause of the *Florentines* was otherwise, hauing no lesse iust occasion to leaue the French king, then allured to the confederation with many great offers: for that immediatly after the publication of the league, *Lodowyke* offered them in the name of all the confederates (so that they would communicate in the league) all their forces to resist the king, if, in his returne from *Naples*, he would vex them, and to ioine with them as soone as might be for the recouering of *Pysa* and *Lyuorne*. And on the other side, they saw the king neither make reckoning of the promises he had giuen at *Florence*, and much lesse had in the beginning restored them to the possession of their townes, nor since the conquest of *Naples* redeliuered the Castels of the same: They saw him make his faith and othe inferiour to the counsels of those, who, fauouring the cause of the *Pysans*, perswaded him that the *Florentines*, as soone as they were restored would vnite with the other *Italians*: They saw also, that notwithstanding the great summes of money and other corruptions which they had bestowed vpon the Cardinall *S. Mallo*, yet he resisted coldly such as incensed the king against them, as one that would not for the loue of the *Florentines* come to contention with the great ones of the kings Court: Aswell in these causes generall, as in matters more particular, they found in the king by demonstrations manifest, that to the violation of his faith, he had ioined carelessse estimation of them, their merites, and amities: in so much that one day their Ambassadours complayning of the rebellion of *Montpulcian*, and summoning him according to his bond to compell them of *Sienna* to render it: he answered in scorne, what had he to do if their subiectes rebelled, because they were ill gouerned. But all these notwithstanding, the *Florentines*, framing their counsels according to the termes & necessities of their affaires, would not suffer disdayne to carie them against their proper profit, esteeming it to agree best with their present fortune, not to beare inclination to the requestes of the confederates: aswell not to prouoke against them of new the armie of *Fraunce* in the kings returne, as for that they would yet expect and temporise, and hope to haue restitution of their places by such as kept them: and lastly, for that they reapposed litle in those promises, knowing that they were hated of the *Venetians*, for the impediments which at sundry times they had giuen to their enterprises, and knowing manifestly that *Lodowyke* aspired to the imperie of *Pysa*.

“ But now, as all things earthly are subiect to their seasons of reuolution, and in mortall felicities
“ can be no assurance nor perpetuities: So, about these times the reputation of the French began to
diminish in the kingdome of *Naples*, for that making their prosperities serue to their pleasures, &
gouerning all things at aduventure, they looked not to chase the enemy out of those fewe places
“ yet holden by them, which they might easily haue done, if they had followed their fortune: They
“ litle considered, that armes do litle aduance, where pollicie is not concurrant, and victory brings
a very

A very short glorie, where the gouvernement is vnperfect. But much more began they to decline in opinion, affection, and friendship: for, albeit the king expressed many honorable aspectes and liberalities towards the people, in graunting throughout the Realme so many priuiledges and exemptions, as they amounted to more then two hundreth thousand duckats by yeare: yet other things were not redressed nor gouerned with that order and discreffion that appertained: for that the king, holding it an action inferiour to his authoritie and greatnesse, to heare the complaints and futes of men, referred ouer the whole charge of the affaires to such as gouerned him selfe, and they partly by incapacitie, and partly by particular couetousnesse, confounded all things: for, the nobilitie were not embrased with that humanitie they looked for, and much lesse had recompenses equall to their merites; yea they found many difficulties to enter into the chambers and audience of the king: There was made no distinction of persons: the merites and seruices of men were not considered but at aduenture: The mindes of such as naturally were estraunged from the house of *Aragon* were not confirmed: many delays and difficulties were subborned touching the restitution of the states and goods of those that were of the faction of *Aniow*, and of the other Barons that had bene banished by the old *Ferdinand*: fauours and graces were imparted to such as procured them by corruption and meanes extraordinary: from many they tooke without iustice or reason, and to many gaue without occasion or deseruing. Almost all offices and dignities were transferred to the French, in whom were also inuested (to the great grieve of the naturall Lords) all the townes of the demayne (such they call those that are wont to obey immediatly the king) things so much the more grievous, by how much the king had promised there should be no alteration of nature, estate, or possession of those gouernements. The discontentment of these things was much increased by the insolencie and naturall arrogancie of the French, aggrauated much by the facilitie of the victorie, which caried them into those opinions and weenings, that they esteemed nothing of the whole Monarchie of *Italie*, attributing that to their proper vertue and vallour, which chanced by their fortune and felicitie: And these publike and generall insolencies were made more intollerable by many priuate and inferiour abuses, as the armie being furried in many partes of the Realme, and the bands dispersed more at aduenture then by discreffion, liued in such vnbridled incontinencie, that those wiues and daughters that had escaped their dissolution in the time of hostilitie, were violently dishonored bearing the name of their hostes & friends. In so much as these doings drawing with them a suspition of a perpetuall seruitude, that loue, that desire, that affection wherewith they honored them before, had now taken contrary qualitie, and not onely turned into hatred, conspiracie, and accursings against them, but also in place of the malice they bare to the *Aragons*, there was new insinuation of compassion to *Ferdinand*, no lesse for the generall expectation of his vertue, then for the memory of the gracious speech which with so great sweetness and constancie he deliuered to the *Neapolitans* the day of his departure: the same so working that that Citie and almost all the kingdome expected with no lesse desire, an occasion to reappeale the *Aragons*, then a few moneths before, they had desired their destruction. Now began to be agreeable to them the name so hatefull of *Alphonso*, calling iust seueritie, that which they had wont to note in him for crueltie: and interpreting to true sinceritie of minde, that which wrongfully, they had wont to conster pride and fiercenesse: such is the nature of communalties and peoples inclined to hope more then they ought, and endure lesse then is necessary, alwayes thirsting after innouations, and neuer contented with the time present. This infection chiefly goeth thorow the inhabitants of *Naples*: who, of all the regions in *Italie* are most noted of inconstancie and desire of new things.

Before this new league was made, the French king had determined to returne into *France* with speede, moued more with a light fancie, and a vehement desire of his Court, then with considerations discreet or well tempered: seeing that in the kingdome of *Naples* remained vndecided many and great affaires of Princes and estates, and the parts of the Realme being not fully conquered, his victorie had not yetther iust perfection. But after he knew that so many Princes were drawne into league against him, he was much moued in his minde, and fell to deuise with his Lords what he were best to do in so great an accident, specially euery one assuring him that it was long since those Princes had consented in conspiracie against him. Those of his counsell were of aduise, that he should dispatch his departure, doubting that by how long he taried, by so much should he giue oportunitie to the difficulties to increase, seeing the Cōfederats would win time to

make greater prouision, the brute running already that a great leuie of *Almaynes* should passe into *Italie*, & that men began to speake much of the person of the Emperour: They perswaded that the king would prouide that there might passe with diligence out of *Fraunce*, new bands of soldiers to the towne of *Asi*, both to garde that Citie, and to keepe the Duke of *Myllan* in necessitie to defend his owne countrey, and withall to be in readinesse to passe further according to the occasions and necessities of his Maiesties seruices: it was also determined in the same counsell, to labour with all diligence and corruption of offers, to separate the Pope from the other confederates, and to dispose him to transerre to the kings person the inuestiture of the Realme of *Naples*, which (notwithstanding he promised absolutely at *Rome*), yet he had denied it till that day, and with declaration that that graunt or concessio should not beare prejudice to the title & rights of an other: In a deliberation so graue, and amongst so many thoughts of such importance, was not lost the memorie of the affaires of *Pysa*: for, the king, desiring for many regards, that in him might remaine power to dispose of that estate, and doubting least by the ayde of the confederats the people of *Pysa* would bereaue him of the citadell, he sent thither by sea together with the Ambassadors of the town which were with him, six hundreth French footemen, who being arrived there, conceiued the same affection which others that had bin left there, had: for, being gouerned with desire to spoyle and pray, after they had receiued money of the *Pysans*, they went with their companies to encampe afore the towne of *Librafrate*, where the *Pysans* (whose Captaine was *Luke Malmoze*) had bin in campe certaine dayes afore, vpon an aduertisement that the *Florentines* had sent part of their bands to *Montpulcian*, and hearing of the approach of their enemies, were raised and gone the day before: but returning thither estoones with the supply of the French men, they tooke it in fewe dayes, for the *Florentine* armie sent to succout it, could not passe the riuer of *Serele* for the violence of waters, neither durst they take the other way by the walls of *Lucques*, for the ill disposition of that people, who were much moued, and fauoured greatly the libertie of the *Pysans*. These bands with those of the French that remayned of the conquest of *Librafrate*, ranne ouer the whole countrey of *Pysa* as enemies manifest to the *Florentines*: who, when they complained, the king gaue no other answer, then as soone as he should come into *Tuskane*, he would redeliuer all those places he had promised, desiring them to beare with patience that litle respite.

But the meanes of departure were not so easie to the king, as was ready his desire: for that his armie was not so great, as, being deuided into two partes, it was able to bring him into *Asi* without daunger, and to suffice both to auoyd the impediments of the confederats, and defend the kingdome of *Naples* against so many exactions as are in preparing. In which difficulties he was constrained (to the end the Realme should not be naked of defence) to diminish the prouisions reserued for his owne safetie, and yet to keepe his person from manifest perill, his necessities enforced him not to leaue in the kingdome so strong an armie as was needefull: so he determined to leaue there halfe of his *Swyzers*, and a part of the French footemen, eight hundreth launcemen of *Fraunce*, and about fife hundreth men at armes of the *Italians* which were in his pay, deuided vnder the ensignes of the Prefect of *Rome*, the *Collonnoys* and *Anthonye Sanelle*, Captaines who had tasted plentifully of his liberalities, in the distribution of the townes & estates of the kingdome, but specially the *Collonnoys*: for that to *Fabricius* he had giue the countrey of *Alba* & *Talle-Cosse* possessed before by *Virginio Vrsini* & *Prospero*, he had indueed with the Duchie of *Tracette*, and the Citie of *Fondi*, with many Castels which belonged to the familie of *Caetane* and *Montfortin*, together with many other peeces adioyning, taken from the house of the *Comtes*. To these forces, he made reckoning that in all necessities, he should vnite the forces of those Barons, who for their owne suretie, were constrained to desire his greatnesse: but specially he reappoled much in the powers of the Prince of *Salerno*, whom he had restored to the office of Admirall, and of the Prince of *Bisignian*: He created as Lieutenant generall ouer all the Realme, *Gilbert de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpensier*, a Captaine more esteemed for the greatnesse of his house, and that he did participate in the bloud royall, then for his proper vertue: he assigned other Captaines in many partes of the Realme, on whom he had bestowed estates and reuenues; of these the chiefe was *Monsieur D'auigny*, whom he had made great Constable of the Realme of *Calabria*: In *Caiette*, the Seneshall of *Beaucaire* whom he had raised to the office of high Chamberlaine: And in *Abbruzzo* *Gracian* a valiant Captaine of great reputation: promising them all in one generall faith and

Gilbert Bourbon
son Duke of
Montpensier
the kings Lieut-
enant in *Naples*.

and word of a Prince to send them speedy rescue of money and men : But in the meane while to enterthe the warre, he left them no other prouision, then the assignation of those moneys which should be dayly gathered of the reuenues of the Realme, which began already to wauer & shake, for that the name of the *Aragons* began to reuiue in many places : For, at the same time that the king would depart from *Naples*, *Ferdinand* accompanied with the Spanish armie that came by sea into the Isle of *Sicile*, was discended into *Calabria*, to whom flocked with a swift readinesse many troupes of the countreymen, the Citie of *Regge* rendring it selfe to him, whose Castell had bene alwayes kept in his name. At the same time was discouered about the shoares of *Pouylla* the *Venetian* armie by sea, ouer whom was Captaine *Anthony Grymany*, a man in that common weale of great authoritie : But neither for these, nor many other signes of chaunges to wardes, the king did not forbear, no not once suspend or linger his deliberation to go his way : for, besides that haply they were driuen by necessitie, the desire was incredible in the king and all his Court to returne into *Fraunce*, as though fortune that was sufficient to make them get so great a victorie, had bin so still able to preserue it for them: he did not remember that the getting of a victorie is referred to fortune, but the losse of a kingdome is imputed to the king, who standes then in most necessitie of counsell and discreffion, when fortune makes him belecue he is in most securitie: it is familiar with fortune to do more harme in one day, then she doth good in many yeares, vsing for her delite to rayse vp vaine men for her glorie, and suffer them esloones to fall with the waight of their proper vanitie and want of gouernement. In this time also held good to *Ferdinand*, the Isles of *Tschia* and of *Lipara*, which albeit were neare to *Sicile*, yet they are members of the kingdome of *Naples*: he held *Reggi* which he had newly recouered, & euen in *Calabria*, he commaunded *Villenefine* with the Castell, and places about *Brondusa* where *Federik* was retired; also *Galipoli*, *la Mania*, and *Turpia*.

Before the king parted from *Naples*, many things were in negociation betweene him and the Pope: not without great hope of concord: In which action was lent from the Pope to the king, & after returned to *Rome* the Cardinall *S. Denis*, and for the French king, *M. Francis*: The king desired greatly the inuestiture of *Naples*, and that the Pope, if he would not ioine with him, at the least that he would not be for his enemies, and that he would receiue him into *Rome* as a friend. To which demaunds, albeit at the beginning the Pope bare some inclination, yet, distrusting much in him selfe of the king, and esteeming that to separate him selfe from the confederats, and consent to the inuestiture, would be supposed a meane sufficient to make a faithfull recõciliation with him: he objected many difficulties to the other demaunds, & to that of the inuestiture, (albeit the king would condescend to take it vnder this condition, not to be preiudiciall to the rights of an other) he answered, that he wished the lawes might be looked into afore, to see to whom the right appertained: And on the other side, seeking to giue impedimēt by force to the kings entry into *Rome*, he sent to the state of *Venice*, and to the Duke of *Myllan*, to returnish him with succours & strength of souldiours; who, immediatly sent him a thousand light horsemen, and two thousand footemen, with promise of an ayde of a thousand men at armes: with which bandes ioyned to his own forces he hoped to be able to make resistance : But the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan* considering afterwarde, that it was a thing too daungerous to send their strength and companies so farre from their own estates, seeing that neither the whole armie agreed vpon was yet in order, and part of their peoples occupied in the enterprise of *Ast*, and ioyning withall to these doubts the infidelitie of the Pope, remembred in a late experience when king *Charles* past that way, he called *Ferdinand* into *Rome* with his armie, and suddenly with a counsell chaunged, made him issue forth againe : they began to perswade him to withdraw to some place of suretie, rather then to aduenture his person to so great a daunger in striuing to defend *Rome*. These things increased the kings hopes to come to composition with the Pope.

The French king departed from *Naples* the twentie day of May : but for that he had not taken in the beginning with the ceremonies accustomed, the titles and enseignes regall of the kingdom: a few dayes afore his departure, he receiued solemnly in the cathedrall Church with great pompe and celebrations the royall ornaments, the honours, othes and homages, accustomed to be done to new kings. At this coronatiõ, the oration was pronounced in the name of all the people of *Naples* by *Iohn Ionian Pontan*, to whose prayes very cleare and shining for the excellency of his doctrine, his life, and ciuilitie of manners, this action brought no small stayne and a slander, for that

The Realme of Naples beginneth to re-
claime the
name of the A-
ragons.

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The French
king crowned
king of Na-
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Virginio Vrsin and the Count Petrellane being the kings prisoners, shew reasons to be redelivered.

Their reasons are disproved by Monsieur de Ligny.

as he had bene of long principall Secretarie to the kings of *Aragon*, and of very private and familiar authoritie, and the teacher and maister of *Alphonso*: so whether it were iustly the partes proper to Oratours, or to shew his affection to the French, he tooke too great libertie to speake in the dispraises and derogation of the kings by whom he had bene so much aduanced. So hard it is sometimes for a man to keepe in him selfe that moderation and those rules, which he following with so great doctrine, had taught to others writing of morall vertues, and by his wit and knowledge had made him selfe wonderfull to the world in all kindes of Philosophie and learning. The king led with him eight hundred French launces, two hundred Gentlemen for his garde, a hundreth launces vnder the Lord *Triunlce*, three thousand *Swyzers* footemen, a thousand Frenchmen, and a thousand *Cascoyns*, hauing ordained that in *Tus-cane Camylla Vitellis* and his brother should ioine with him with two hundreth and fiftie men at armes, and that the armie by sea should draw towards *Lyuorne*. *Virginio Vrsin* and the Count *Petrellane* followed the king without other gard or suretie then their faith not to go away without leaue: their cause, for that they reasoned that they were not iustly made prisoners, had bene disputed in the kings counsell, afore whom they alledged, that at the time they yeilded them selues, the king had not onely graunted to those that they sent, but also set downe in writing vnder his owne signature, their safe conduit, whereof being aduertised by their solicitors, which attended the dispatch of the Secretaries, they had vnder that trust at the summons of the first Herald that went to *Nola*, erected and displayed the ensignes of the king, and giuen the keyes to the first Captaine hauing with him but a few horsemen, notwithstanding their strength being foure hundreth men at armes, they might easily haue made resistance: They preferred besides, the auncient deuotion of the familie of *Vrsins*, who taking part alwayes with the faction of the *Guelfes*, had alwayes borne both in themselves and in all the predecessours of that house, perpetuall impressions of honour, reuerence, and seruice, to the crowne of *Fraunce*: And as from those regardes had proceeded, that with so great a readinesse they had receiued the kings Maiestie into their estates bordering vpon *Rome*: So therefore, it was neither conuenient nor iust, both hauing regard to the faith giuen by the king, and the merite of their operations and actions, that they should be holden prisoners. But they were answered with no lesse roundnesse by *Monsieur de Ligny*, whose souldiers tooke them within *Nola*: that the safe conduit, albe it was determined and subsigned by the king, yet it is to be vnderstood, that it was not perfectly giuen, but when it was confirmed with the kings seale, and with the seale of the Secretarie, and so deliuered to the partie: That in all graunts and letters pattenes such was the auncient custome in all Courts, to the end that if any thing were inconsideratly passed the mouth of the Prince, by reason of many thoughts and affaires, or for not sufficient information of things, it might be moderated and go forth with his due perfection: he alledged that the confidence of that moued them not to yeeld to so small a companie of souldiers, but they did communicate in the generall necessitie and feare, for that there remained no meane either to defend or to flie, the whole countrey about them swarming with the armies of the victors: That what they alledged of their merits was false, which if it should be affirmed by an other, them selues ought to denie it for their honour: for that it was manifest to all the world, that not of will or free consent, but to auoyd danger (leauing in aduersitie the *Aragons*, of who in prosperitie they had receiued great benefits) they agreed to giue the king passage thorow their lands: therefore seeing they were in pay of the enemy, and bare mindes estraunged from the name of the French, and that they had perfectly no safe conduit or suretie, they were made prisoners by good law and right of armes. These reasons thus auouched against the *Vrsins*, & sustained by the power of *Monsieur de Ligny*, and authoritie of the *Capitonnys*, who aswell for auncient enuies, as for the diuersitie of the factions, quarrelled them openly: there was no resolution nor sentence, onely they were commanded to follow the king, leauing them naked hopes to be deliuered when his Maiestie was come to *Ast*.

But albe it the Pope, (the confederates hauing counselled him to go his way) was not without inclination to be reconciled with the king, with whom he negociated continually: yet, suspicion and ielousie being strong in him, he nourished the king with hopes that he would attend him: and yet after he had bestowed a sufficient garrison within the Castell *S. Ange*, two dayes before the king should enter *Rome*, he went to *Orniette* accompanied with the Colledge of Cardinals, and two hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and three thousand

footemen: he left behind him as Legat, the Cardinall of *S. Anastasio*, to receiue & honour the king, who entered by that quarter on the further side of *Tyber*, to the end to auoyd the Castell *S. Angelo*: and refusing the lodging that was offered him by the Popes cōmissiō in the Pallace of the *Mount Vatican*, he went and lodged in the suburbes: And when the Pope vnderstood that the king came neare to *Viterbe*, notwithstanding he entertained him with new hopes to cōpound with him in some place conuenient betweene *Viterbe* and *Oruiette*, he left *Oruiette* and went to *Perouse*, with intention (if the king tooke that way) to go to *Ancona*, the better to haue meane, by the comoditie of the sea, to retire to some place absolutely assured. All this notwithstanding, the king being not a litle discontented with his vniustfeares and ielousies, rendred the Castels of *Ciuitanuochia* and *Terracina*, reseruing *Ostia*, which when he came out of *Italie*, he gaue vp to the power of the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vincula*, who was Bishop thereof: he passed in like sort by the countreys of the Church, as thorow the dominions of a friend: sauing that they of *Tuscanella* refusing to receiue into their towne his vauntgarde, the souldiers tooke it by force, and sacked it, not without murder and slaughter of many.

After this, the king remained without any occasion at *Sienna* six dayes, not considering (neither of him selfe nor by the straite aduertisements of the Cardinall de *S. P. ad vincula*, and by *Trinulce*) how hurtfull it was to giue time to his enemies to make their prouisions and vnite their forces: neither did he recompence the losse of the time, with the profit of counsels or deliberations: for there was debated at *Sienna* the restitution of the fortresses of the *Florentines* promised by the king at his departure from *Naples*, and confirmed by many voluntary graunts on the way: And therefore, the *Florentines*, besides that they were ready to pay the thirty thousand duckats remaining of the summe agreed at *Florence*, offered to lend seuentie thousand more, and to send with him till he were arriued at *Ast*, *Francisco Secco* their Captaine with three hundred men at armes, & two thousand footmen. The necessity which the king had of money, the oportunitie to augment his armie, ioyned to the consideration of his faith and othe, induced almost all those of his counsell to perfwade effectually the restitution of the Castels and preeces of strength reseruing *Petra Santa* and *Serezana*, as conuenient instruments to draw more easily to his deuotion the hearts of the *Genoways*: But it was a resolution in destinie, that the matter of new calamities should remaine kindled in *Italie* for, *Monsieur de Ligny*, a man for his youth more ready to enterprise, then ripe in counsell, and whose experience had not yet wrought in him a perfection of iudgement, being borne of one of the kings sisters, and of no small fauours with him, made his lightnesse together with the disdain he bare to the *Florentines*, for that in all their sutes they addrested their meanes to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, the onely impediment to this deliberation, alledging no other reason then the pietie & compassion of the *Pyrians*: And touching the offer of the forces which the *Florentines* made, he despised them, vaunting that the armie of *France* was able to fight with all the men of warre in *Italie* knit in one strength: *Monsieur de Pienes* was a supportr of his opinion, for that he thought the king would bestow vpon him the iurisdiction of *Pysa* and *Lyuorne*: There was debating also at *Sienna* of the gouernement of that Citie, for that many of the orders of the people & of the reformers (to plucke downe the brotherhood of the order of *Montenoue*), made instance; that erecting a new forme of gouernement, the garde which they of *Montenoue* kept at the publike Pallace might be taken away, and the place supplied by a garde of French men vnder the leading of *Monsieur de Ligny*: And albeit this counsell was reiected in the counsell of the king, as a thing of litle continuance and impertinent to the time present: *Monsieur de Ligny* who had layed a vayne plot to make him selfe Lord of it, obtained that the king would take into his protection that Citie vnder certaine conditions, binding him selfe to the defence of it: and all the circumstances except *Montpulcian*: which he sayd he would not intangle him selfe withall, neither for the *Florentines* nor for the *Siennoyes*: The communalitie of *Sienna* (albeit no mention was made of any capitulation) chused by the consent of the king *Monsieur de Ligny* for their Captaine, promising him twentie thousand duckats by yeare, vpon condition, that he would keepe there a Lieutenant with three hundred footemen for the gard of the place, which strength he left there culled out of such as were of the French armie: The vanitie of which deliberations appeared immediatly, for that the order of *Montenoue* hauing eftsoones reconquered with armes their authoritie accustomed, chased out of *Sienna* the gard, & gaue leaue to *Monsieur de Lisle* whom the

king had left there for his Ambassadour.

The Venetians and Lodowyke Sforce prepare to stoppe the French kings returning into Fraunce.

But there were now great stirres and emotions in *Lombardie*: for the *Venetians* and *Lodowyke Sforce* (who had euen then receiued from the Emperour with much solemnitie the priuiledge of inuestiture of the Duchie of *Myllan*, and made publike homage and othe of fidelitie to the Ambassadours that brought them) raysed great preparations to stoppe the king that he should not returne into *Fraunce*, or at least to assure the Duchie of *Myllan*, to come to the which he must passe ouer so great a circuit and space of countreys. To these endes, euery of them readdressed their forces, and leauied of new, partly in common, and partly at expences separate, many men at armes, obtaining after many difficulties, that *Iohn Bentiuole* whom they had taken into their common pay, should sticke to the league with the Citie of *Bologna*: *Lodowyke* armed at *Genes* for the garde of the same Citie, ten galleys at his owne charges, and foure great shippes at the common expences of the Pope, the *Venetians* and him selfe: And being at the point to execute that

Lodo. Sforce sendeth haughtie message to the Duke of Orleance.

whereunto he was bound by the covenants of the confederation touching the towne of *Ast*, he sent into *Germanie* to leauie two thousand footemen, and conuerted to that enterprise *Galeas S. Senerin* with seuen hundred men at armes, and three thousand footemen: in so much as assuring him of the taking of that towne, and to achieue all things to his honour, (he was naturally very insolent in his prosperities) he sent this message to the Duke of *Orleance* the more to terrifie him: That hereafter he should forbear to vsurpe the title of Duke of *Myllan*; which title *Charles* his father had taken since the death of *Philip Maria Viscounte*: That he suffered not new bands to passe out of *Fraunce* into *Italie*: That he caused to returne home againe such as were already within the towne of *Ast*: And for the assurance of these things, that he should put the towne of *Ast* into the hands of *Galeas S. Senerin*, in whom the king might reappose trust aswell as in him, hauing the yeare before bene receiued by the king into the brotherhood and order of *S. Michael* in *Fraunce*: he vaunted much in the same kinde, of boasting of his forces, of the prouisions the confederates made to make head against the king in *Italy*, the great preparatiōs of the king of *Romaines* & the king of *Spayne* to moue war beyond the Mounts. But the Duke of *Orleance* was made nothing affrayd with these vaine threatens, and being well assured that there was made a new confederation, he studied to fortifie *Ast*, and solicited with great instance to send out of *Fraunce* new supplies & companies, who, vnderstanding that they were to be employed in the proper succours of the kings person, began with great diligence to passe the mountes: By reason whereof the Duke of *Orleans* not fearing his enemies, marcheth into the field, and takes in the Marquisdom of *Saluce* the towne and Castell of *Galsimeres* which *Anthony Maria* of *S. Senerin* possessed: which being knowen to *Galeas*, who had a litle before taken certaine small villages, retired with his armie to *Anon*, a towne of the Duchie of *Myllan* neare to *Ast*, neither hauing hope to be able to offend, nor feare to be offended: But the nature of *Lodowyke* alwayes inclining to entagle him self with enterprises which demaund great expences, & yet of a condition to flie & feare (yea euen in greatest necessities) things that brought costes and charges, was the cause to commit his estate into right great daungers: for that by reason of his very spare and needie payments, a very few footemen came out of *Germany*, & for the same niggardnesse, the bands that were with *Galeas* were diminished euery day: where, on the contrary, were increased continually the supplies that came out of *Fraunce*, who for that they were called to the rescue of the kings person, marched with such diligence, that the Duke of *Orleans* had already assembled three hundreth launces, three thousand *Swyzers* footmen, & three thousand *Gascoynes*: And albeit the king by a commaundement speciall and peremptory had aduertised him, that abstainig from all enterprise, he should stand vpon continuall readinesse and preparation to meete his Maiesty when so euer he should be sent for: yet (it is hard for a mā not to make reckoning of his proper profit & to resist it) he determined to accept the occasiō to possesse the city of *Novaro*, wherein he was offred to be put by two of the *Orleans* Gentlemē of the same citie hating much the Duke of *Myllan*, for that aswell vpon the as many other of the town, he had with vniust sentēce & iudgement vsurped certaine conduits of waters & other possessions: The enterprise & the manner of it being resolued vpon, the Duke of *Orleans* passed by night the riuer of *Pan* at the bridge *Senuro*, within the iurisdiction of the Marquis of *Montferat*, hauing in his companie the Marquis of *Saluce*: he was receiued by the conspiratours of the enterprise into the towne with all his forces, and found no resistance: And from thence making suddaine iucursions with part of his horsemen euen vntill *Vigenena*, it was beleued that if he had drawne

An attempt vpon the citie of Novaro.

drawne his whole army with speede towards *Millan*, there would haue risen no small insurrection, for the losse of *Nouaro* and the present face and consideration of troubles towards, kindled in the *Millanoys* a wonderfull inclination to reuolt and change: wherein *Lodowike*, no lesse timorous in aduersity, then insolent in prosperity, was seene with teares vnprofitable to acknowledge his cowardize (for the most part is ioyned in oneselfe subiect, insolency and timorousnesse) they also that were with *Galeas*, in whome onely consisted his defence, remayning behind, shewed them selues in no place to his rescue: but because the conditions and disorders of the enemy, are not alwaies knowne to the other Captaines, it happeneth often in warres that many goodly occasions are lost, there being also no apparance that so sodaine a mutation could succcede against so great a Prince, seeing withall it is a principall pollicy in Princes in seasons daungerous and conspiring, to make their strength at home free from feare, ieaousie, or suspition. The Duke of *Orleans*, to assure the conquest of *Nouaro*, determined to haue the castell, which the fift day accorded to yeeld, if within *xxiij.* houres they were not succoured: during which time, *Galeas de S. Senerin* had leasure to conuay his companies to *Vigenena*, and the Duke (who the better to reconcile the mindes of the people, had by proclamation called in many exactions imposed afore vpon the communalty) good respice to encrease and refurbish his army. All which notwithstanding, the Duke of *Orleans* hauing ranged his bands neare the walles of *Vigenena*, offered battell to his enemies, on whom fell so generall astonishment, that they were vpon the point to abandon the town, and passe the riuier of *T. hesin* by a bridge they had made vpon boates, and other matter necessary to their succours in the passage. The enemy refusing to fight, the Duke of *Orleans* retired to *Trecas*: from this time the affaires of *Lodowike* began to faile with a better gale, many supplies of horsemen and footmen arriuing in his army: for the *Venetians* being content that the charge to meete the french King, should be in effect to them alone, consented that *Lodowike* should call backe part of those bandes he had sent vpon the coasts of *Parmesan*, and withall they refurbished him with foure hundred stradiots: insomuch as the meane to passe further, was taken from the Duke of *Orleans*, who making a road with fife hundred horsemen euen to *Vigenena*, and the horsemen of the enemy encountering with them, a great losse light vpon the Duke of *Orleans*. This encounter gaue courage to *Galeas S. Senerin*, both superiour in forces, and nothing inferiour in fortune, to present battell to the Duke at *Trecas*. At length all the army being assembled (wherein besides the *Italian* souldiers, was arriued a thousand horsemen, and a thousand footmen of *Alemans*) incamped within a mile of *Nouaro*, whither the Duke of *Orleans* was retired with all his regiments.

The newes of the reuolt of *Nouaro*, procured the King being then at *Sienna*, to make way: and therefore he auoyded all occasions that might make his departure slow, or hinder his resolutions: wherein being well aduertised that the *Florentines*, warned by the perils past, and newly salne into suspition, for that *Peter de Medicis* followed him, albeit they had determined to receiue him into *Florence* with honours due to his greatnesse, yet for their more surety, they filled their towne with men of armes and piked bandes: hee drew to *Pysa* by the lands of the *Florentines*, leauing the city on the right hand: In the towne of *Poggibonse* met him *Ieronimo Sauonarola*, who according to his custome, vsing the name and authority of God to his purpose, shewed him vnder vehement inuectiues and gesture, that he ought to restore to the *Florentines* their towne, ioyning to his persuasions, threatnings absolute and terrible, that if he obserued not that he had sworne with so great solemnity, and that vpon the holy Gospels, yea almost afore the eyes and presence of God, a punishment would follow equall to his infidelity and perjury: The King made him sundry answers according to his inconstancy, hauing as little conscience to keepe his faith, as he had regarded to giue it: sometimes he promised the Frear to make restitution as soone as he was come to *Pysa*, and immediatly (wresting his promise and oth) he sayd he had sworne to the *Pysans*, to protect their liberty afore he made any oath at *Florence*: and yet he gaue hopes alwaies to their Embassadors, for the restitution of their peeces as soone as he was come to *Pysa*: where being arriued, the matter was estoons proponed in the kings counsell, for that the preparations, vnity, & strength of the confederats about the borders of *Parma* increasug daily, they begā to look into the difficulties to passe through *Lombardy*: for which cause many desired the moneyes & other succors offered by the *Florentines*: But to these councelles were contrary euen those Captaines and gentlemen who had resisted them at *Sienna*: They alleadged, that albeit there happened by the opposition of the enemy, any disorder or difficulty to passe through *Lombardy*, yet it were better to haue in their

Ier. Sauonarola a Friar preacher in Florence.

power the city of *Pisa* (whither they might retire) then to leaue it in the hands of the *Florentines*, who, hauing once reobtaind the places they demaunded, would be of no better worth then had bene the other *Italians*. They added, that in comparifon of commodities, it was very conuenient for the furety of the kingdome of *Naples*, to hold the port of *Lynorme*: for that the plot layd to alter the ftate of *Genes* fucceeding well to the King (whereof the hope could not be doubtfull) he fhould be foueraigne Lord almoft of all the feas, euen to the hauen of *Naples*: fure thefe reafons were able to doe much in the mind of the King, as yet little capable to choofe the beft counsell: but of farre greater power were the petitions and teares of the *Pifans*, who in great concurfe of men, women, and children, fometimes prostrate at the Kings feete, and elfefoones recommending to euery one (yea euen the leaft of his Court, and the fouldiers, with lamentable cryings and compaints bewayled their miferies and calamities to come) the infatiable hatred of the *Florentines*, and the laft defolation of their countrey: which fhould not haue caufe to lament for any other thing, then for that his maiefty had put them in liberty, and promifed to protect them in it in affurance whereof, they beleeuing the word of a right Chriftian King of *Fraunce*, to be a word firme and refolute, they had taken boldneffe fo much the more to prouoke the hatred of the *Florentines*: with thefe complaints and exclamations accompanied with the prefent afpect and view of their miferies, they defcended with fuch compaffion into the harts euen of the moft fimple men at armes, the archers of the army, and many of the *Swizzers*; that they went in great numbers and tumult to the King, whom (*Salzart* one of the Pensioners fpeaking in the name of them all) they befought with inftance, vehement, and humble; that for the honour of his perfon, for the glory of the Crowne of *Fraunce*, and for the confolation of fo many of his feruants, prepared alwaies to put their liues in hazard for him, and who perfwaded him with a faith more loyall, fimple, and innocent, then fuch as were corrupted with the money of the *Florentines*, he would not take from thofe poore and naked *Pifans*, the benefite which fo graciously he had beftowed vpon them: They offered him, that if for want of money, he fuffered him felfe to be caried into a deliberation fo infamous, he fhould rather take their chaines, their iewels, and their treafures, yea and retaine in his hand their paies and pensions which they were to receiue of him. This vehement affection of the fouldiers tooke fo great a liberty, that a fimple Archer had boldneffe to threaten the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*; and others by his example with iealous and braue fpeeches quarrelled with the Marefhall of *Gie*, and Prefident of *Gannay*, whom they knew to labour the redeliuery of the *Pifans* to the feruitude of *Florence*. Infomuch that the King fomewhat confused by fo great a variety of his people, let things hang in fufpence, and was fo farre off to take any certaine refolution, that at one time he promifed the *Pifans* neuer to paffe them into the power of the *Florentines*; and the Embaffadours of *Florence* attending at *Lucquea*, he gaue intelligence, that that which he did not at that prefent for iuft occafions, he would doe immediately after he was arriued in *Aff*; willing that their common weale fhould fend Embaffadours thither.

The king afpi-
reth to the fur-
prifing of
Genes.

The King departed from *Pisa* after he had chaunged the Captaine, and left fufficient garrifon within the Citadell, doing the like in the other fortrefles and peeces of defence: and as it agreed with the greenneffe of his youth to embrace enterprifes, and no leffe equall to his greatneffe and title to nourifh ambition; fo carrying a defire incredible to conquere the towne of *Genes*, being fet on by the Cardinals of *Rouere* and *Fregofe*, and by *Obetto de Fiefquò*, and others of the banifhed, who gaue him hopes of a fodaine mutation there: he fent with them from *Serazama* (contrary to the opinion of all his counsell, who allowed not to diminifh the forces of the army) the Lord *Phillip de Brexe*, brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, with fixe hundreth lances, and fiue hundred footemen newly arriued out of *Fraunce* by fea, ordaying that the men at armes of the *Vicellies* coming behind with a flow march, and therefore not able in time to ioyne with him, fhould follow them: and that certaine others of the banifhed, together with the bandes fupplied by the Duke of *Sauoy*, fhould enter the riuer of the *West*. And laftly, that the army by fea, reduced to feauen gallies, two gallions, and two foyftes led by the Captaine *Miols*, fhould go to make backe to the army by land.

By this time the vanguard guided by the Marefhall of *Gie*, was come to *Pontreme*, which towne, after it had difmiffed three hundred footmen ftrangers, left there for the gard of the place, did yeeld fodainly by the meane of *Trinuice*, with couenant, that they fhould not be vexed, neither in their perfons, nor in their goods: but the faith giuen by the Captaines, could doe little for the furety of the

The towne, for that the *Swizzers*, whose fury being long kept smothered, burst out now to a greater flame & taking occasion of reuenge, for that when the army going to *Naples* passing through *Punigiana*, about xl. of their nation (for a quarrell hapning at aduventure) were slaine by the of *Pontremia*: they sacked & burnt the towne, after they had made barbarous slaughters of the inhabitants.

In these times, the army of the confederates assembled diligently about the borders of *Parma*: The army of the confederates. they contayned about two thousand, two hundred men at armes, eight thousand footemen, and more then two thousand light horsemen, the most part *Albanous* & of the prouinces near to *Greece*, who brought into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, retained the same name they had in their countrey, and were called *Stradiots*: of this army the sinewes and principall strength were the bands of the *Venetians*, for that those of the Duke of *Millan* (hauing turned most of his forces to the seruice of *Nouaro*) made not the fourth part of the whole army: ouer the bands of the *Venetians*, wherein were many notable Captaines, commaunded as generall *Francis Gonzague* Marquesse of *Mantua*, a man albeit very young, yet what for his great courage and naturall desire of glory, his expectation surmounted his age: with him were ioyned as commissioners two of the chiefest of the Senat, *Luke Pisan* and *Melchior Trenisan*: ouer the regiment of *Lodowike Sforce*, commaunded vnder the same title of generall, the Count *Caiazzo*, in whom *Lodowike* reapposed much: but for his partes, being nothing equall in armes to the glory of his father, he had rather got the name of a subtil and pollicke warriour, then of a hardy and resolute Captaine, and with him was Commissioner *Francis Barnardin Visconte* chiefe of the faction of *Gebelins* at *Millan*, and therefore vsed as opposite to *John Iackes Trinulce*. Amongest these Captaines and principals of the army, consulting whether they should goe incampe at *Furnone*, a little village at the foote of the mountaine: it was determined, for the straightnesse of the place, and perhaps (as was afterwards spread abroad) to giue occasion to the enemy to descend into the plaine: that they should lodge in the Abbey of *Guaruola* distant three miles from *Furnone*. This aduise was the cause that at *Furnone* was lodged the vanguard of the french, which had passed the mountaine much afore the residue of the army being hindered by the great artillery, which with many difficulties was drawne ouer that sharpe mountaine of the *e Appenin*, and yet had passed with farre greater troubles, if the *Swizzers* (desiring to satisfie the fault they had done to the Kings honour at *Pontremia*) had not applied a wonderfull readinesse, diligence, and force.

The vanguard being arrived at *Furnone*, the Marshall of *Gies* sent a trumpet to the *Italian* campe, to demand passage for the army in the name of the King, who not offering to offend any person, and receiuing victuals at conuenient prices, had to passe that way to returne into his realme of *France*, dispatching at the same instant certaine light horsemen to view the enemy and the country, who were broken and put to flight by certaine *Stradiots* which *Francis Gonzague* sent to the encounter: if this occasion had bene followed, and that the *Italians* had giuen vpon the trenches of the french, they had easily (by all discourse and coniecture of warre) broken the vanguard, and so taken away all possibilities of the Kings passage: This occasion remained in their fauour also the day following, notwithstanding that the Marshall after he had considered the daunger, had retyred his people into a place more high: but there lacked resolution of mind to the oportunitie that was offered, for the *Italian* Captaines had not boldnesse to assaile them, as well for the aduantage of the place whither they were retired, as for that they feared the ouergreatnesse of the vanguard, and that they were the maine army: It is certaine that euen then the confederats had not assembled all their forces, specially the bands of the *Venetians*, who were so slow to ioine in one strength at *Guaruola*, that it is manifest, if the King had not dallied so long vpon the way at *Pisa*, *Sienna*, and other places without all occasion, he might haue passed without impediment or encounter of the enemy: hee was ioyned at last to the vanguard, and lodged the day after with all his army at *Furnone*.

The Princes confederate neuer beleued that the King durst haue passed the *Appenin* by the high way with so small an army, for they were of opinion, that leauing the greatest part of his people at *Pisa*, he would returne into *France* with the residue by sea, and afterwarde vnderstanding that he continued his way by land, they supposed, that to eschew their army, he would lay his plot to passe the mountaine by the way of the boroughs of *Vandier* and by the hill *Centrong* very sharpe and hard, and from thence to the borders of *Ortoney*, hoping to meete the Duke of *Orleans* vpon the confines of *Alexandria*. But when they knew certainly that he was come to

Furnoue, the *Italian* army, very well resolved afore, both for the show of courage in so many valiant Captaines, and for the reappoynt of the little number of the enemies, began now to tremble and shake, making opinions fearefull of the valour of the men at armes of *France*, and the vertue of the *Swizzers*, to whom without all comparison, the *Italian* footemen were esteemed much inferior: they considered much of the agility of such as managed the great artilleries: but specially (which moueth much the mindes of men when they haue taken a contrary impression,) they redoubted greatly the vnhoped for hardinesse of the french, who, not waighing the inequality of their numbers inferior to theirs, durst yet affront them: for these considerations, the courage of the Captaines being well moderated, they held a councell amongst them selues what answer they should make to the trumpet sent by the Marshall of *Gie*: on the one side it seemed too daungerous to put the state of all *Italy* in the discretion of fortune, and on the other side it could not but bring preiudice to the valour of all the souldiers and men of seruice in *Italy*, to show that they had no courage to oppose against the army of the french, who, being farre inferiour in numbers, and lesse expectation of other oportunities in a countrey straunger, durst yet offer to passe euen in the face and eyes of them. In this councell the aduise of the Captaines being diuerse, and all the best experienced and stayed, either giuen ouer wholly to feare, or at least very vnrésolute; after many disputations, they lastly agreed to send aduertisement to *Milan* of the Kings demaund, and to execute that which should be determined by the Duke and the Embassadours of the confederats: who being drawne into councell as a matter of generall importance, the Duke and the *Venetians* being most nearest the daunger, were of this opinion, not to stoppe the way of the enemy, seeing he would goe, but rather (according to an old councell) to make him a bridge of siluer: otherwaies (according to many auncient examples) there might be daunger, that necessity turned into despaire, he would make his owne way with great effusion of blood of such as vndiscreetly would hinder him. But the Spanish Embassadour, desiring that without the danger of his King, they would make a triall of fortune, perswaded vehemently and almost with protestation not to let passe the King, nor to lose the occasion to breake that army, which passing in quiet, the matters of *Italy* would remaine notwithstanding in greater dangers then before: for that the french King keeping *Ast* and *Nouari*, all *Piemont* obeyed his commaundements: And hauing at his backe the realme of *France*, a realme mighty and rich, and the *Swizzers* his neighbours ready to come into his pay in what numbers he would: and lastly being a great encrease of his reputation and courage, if the army of the league so farre about him in numbers, would consent to towards to his passage: he would estoones torment *Italy* with greater courage, knowing that the *Italians* either would not or durst not fight with the french men. All this notwithstanding, the furt opinion preuailing most in this councell, they determined to write to *Venice*, with whom bare rule the same aduise.

But these consultations were in vaine, like as the arrow being shot, it is too late to wish it may doe no hurt where it falles: for, the Captaines of the army after they had written to *Milan*, waighing that by reason of the extremity of time, they could not haue returne of answer in season conuenient, how much it would touch in dishonour all the men of warre in *Italy*, to leaue the passage free to the french men, sent backe the trumpet without any answer certaine, being resolved to assaile the enemy, and charge them in the passage: the Commissioners of *Venice* being of the same aduise, but *Trenisan* much more then his companion. The french men marched on with great arrogancy and boldnesse, as they that till that time hauing encountred no resistance in *Italy*, were perswaded that either the army durst not oppose any impediment, or at least if they did, they iudged their proper vertue intwinable, & disdainig the strength of the enemies, they thought their fortune would be the same in this fight, that it was in their late conquest of *Naples*: but when in discending from the mountaine, they discovered the army lodged in infinite numbers of tentes and pavilions, and in a place so large that (according to the custome of *Italy*) they might range them selues all in battell: and waighing what by their great numbers, and lodging so neare them, with other demonstrations of resolution of minde, that there could want no will nor disposition to fight: their late arrogancy beganne to take another habite, and in their counsels began to fall so many coniectures of feare & doubt, that they would haue receiued it for a good newes, to heare that the *Italians* would be content to let them passe. This feare was redoubled by this occasion; The King, since the answer, had written to the Duke of *Orleans* to meete him with all the power

power he could make, and to march with such speede as he sayled not at the day and place appointed. But the Duke returned aduertisement, that the army of *Sforce* (opposed against him standing vpon a strength of nine hundred men at armes, twelue hundred eight horsemen, and five thousand footemen,) was so mighty, that without manifest perill he could not aduance to observe his maiesties appointment, considering besides, that he must be enforced to leaue part of his bands for the gard of *Ast* and *Novaro*. These necessities constraining the King to turne his mind to new counsels, he commaundell *M. D. Argenton* (who, a little before had bene his Embassadour at *Venice*, where *Pisan* and *Trenisan* now their deputy Commissioners perswaded him to dispose the kings mind to peace) to send a Trumpet to the sayd Commissioners, to let them vnderstand that he would common with them for the common benefit: they accepted his desire, and appointed the next morning to meete in a place conuenient betweene both the armies: but the King, either for that in that place he had want of victuals, or for some other occasion, chaunged aduise, and would not in that place attend the issue of that meeting.

The front of the tents and trenches of the one and other army, was distant little lesse then three miles, stretched out along the right shore of the riuer *Taro*, which is rather a land flood then a riuer, for that falling from the hill *Appenin*, after it hath runne through a little valley inclosed with two banckes, it discends into the large plaines of *Lombardie*, and so falles into *Paw*: vpon one of these two banckes, which was that of the right hand discending then to the shore of the riuer, was lodged the army of the confederates, incamped by counsell of the Captaines rather on that side, then on the left shore (where must be the waies of the enemies,) to the end they should not haue meane to turne to *Parma*: of which city for the diuersity of factions, the Duke of *Myllan* was not without suspition, the rather for that the french King had by the appointment of the *Florentins* for his conduit to *Ast Francis Secco*, whose daughter was married into the house of *Iorelli*, a family noble and mighty in the territory of *Parma*. The lodgings of the confederats were fortified with ditches and rampiers, and well furnished with artillery, by the mouth of the which, the french men going to *Ast*, must of necessity passe *Taro* on the side of *Furnone*, and march, no other thing remaining betweene them and the *Italians* then the riuer. All the night the french were in great trauell for the vexations of the *Italians*, who made their estradiots to make incursions euen to their campe, which was so ready at euery brute, as if there had bene a continual alarme: to this trouble and perplexity of minde, was ioyned a sodaine and most thicke raine mixed with lightnings and thunders fearefull, with many horrible crackes and flashies, that they tooke it as a foreshewing of some sorrowfull accident; a matter which did more amaze them then the army of the *Italians*: not onely for that, being in the middest of mountains and enemies, and in a place which (if they preuailed not by fight) fauored them with no hopes or meanes of safety, the consideration of those great difficulties, gaue them iust occasion of extreame feares: but also (to mindes fearefull all fancies and coniectures seeme things of truth) they made constructions of the threatnings of the firmament, not accustomed to shew it selfe ill disposed, but towards some great variation, the storme (in their opinions) raging most toward that part where was the person of the King of so great maiesty and power.

The morning following being the sixt day of Iuly, the french army began by the peepe of the day to passe the riuer: afore, marched the most part of the artillery, being followed with the vauntgard, wherein the King (supposing that against it would be bent the greatest forces of the enemy) had put three hundred and fifty french launces, *Trunice* with his company of a hundred launces, and three thousand *Swizzers* which were the sinewes and hope of that army, and with them on foote *Engilbert* brother to the Duke of *Cleues*, and the bayliffe of *Dion* that had leauyed them: to these, the King adioyned three hundred archers, and certaine crosse-bowmen on horsebacke of his gard, whom he made alight on foote, and almost all the footemen which he had with him: After the vauntgard marched the battell, in the middest whereof was the person of the King armed at all parts, and mounted vpon a fierce courser: & neare to him, (to gouerne with his counsel & authority that part of the army) was the Lord of *Trimonille*, a leader much renowned in the realm of *France*. Then followed the arearegard guided by the *Cout de Foie*: & in the last place was bestowed the baggage of the army. Notwithstanding this marching of the army, & the present readinesse to fight, yet the king, who could haue bene contented with some accord, solicited *Argenton* to go and negociat chissons with the *Venetian* Commissioners, euen at the same time that the

campe began to moue: But the *Venetian* army being all in armes, and the Captaines determined to fight, the shortnesse of the time and nearnesse of the enemy, left no respite or space of time to entertaine Parley: for, now began the light horsemen on both sides to skirmish, the artillery from all quarters to shoote off with a noise horrible, and the *Italians* issued out of their tents, and spread vpon the shoare of the riuer their esquadrons and rancks prepared to the battell. These things notwithstanding, the french men forbore not to march, partly vpon the breach or greaue of the riuer, partly by the skirts or stretching out of the bancke, for that in so straight a plaine they could not display their ordinance, and the vanguard being now led to the right way of the campe of the enemies, the Marquesse of *Mantua* with an esquadron of fixe hundred men at armes of the gallantest of all the army, and with a great band of stradiots and other light horsemen, followed with five thousand footemen, passed the riuer at the backe of the arearegard of the french, leaving vpon the bancke on the other side *Anthony* of *Montefeltre* bastard to *Federike* late Duke of *Vrbyn* with a great esquadron, to passe when he should be called to refresh the first battell: he ordained besides, that when the fight was begunne, another part of the light horsemen should charge the enemy in flanke, and the residue of the estradiots passing the riuer at *Furnoue*, to giue vpon the baggage of the french, which either for want of men, or (as was bruted) by the counsell of *Trunice*, was left without guard to who would make pray of it: on the other side, the Count *Gaiazzo* with foure hundred men at armes (amongest whom, was the company of *Dome Alphonsò D'Este* come to the campe without his person, for that his father would it so) and with two thousand footmen, passed the riuer of *Taro* to assaile the french vanguard: hauing in like sort left on the bancke on the other side *Amyball Bentiuole* with two hundred men at armes, to giue rescue when he should be called. And for the defence of their lodgings and tents, remained two great companies of men at armes, and a thousand footmen, for that the Commissioners of *Venice* would reserve in all fortunes a whole succor for their safety. But the King seeing that (contrary to that his Captaines had perswaded him) so great a strength came to charge that arearegard, he turned his backe to the vanguard, and began to draw neare to the arearegard with the battell, hasting so diligently with an esquadron afore the rest, that when the charge began, he was in the forefront with the first that fought. Some haue written that the companies of the Marquesse past the riuer not without disorder, both for the height of the bankes, and for the impediments of trees, of blockes, and boughs, whereof commonly the riuers of land-floods are full. To this others haue left in memory, that his footmen for the same difficulty, and because the water was swelled with the raine that fel in the night, either came late to the seruice of the battell, or at least all were not there, a great part remaining on the other side the riuer: howsoeuer he was followed, it is most certaine, that the charge which the Marquesse gaue was resolute and furious, and was no lesse valiantly answered by the french, the esquadron on both sides entring the conflict pellmelle, & not according to the custome of the warres of *Italy*, which was to fight one esquadron against another, and in place of him that was weary and began to retire, to supply the fight with a fresh, making in the end but one great esquadron of many esquadrons, in so much as for the most part the skirmish or triall of armes wherein commonly died but very few people, endured almost a whole day, and oftentimes the sodaine comming of the night was the cause that they brake off without victory certaine on either partie. The launces being broken, at the encounter of whom fell to the earth as well on the one part as on the other, many men at armes, and many horses, euery one beganne with the same fury, to lay handes vpon their mases, estockados, and other short weapons, the horses fighting with their fecte and their teath, and with the shocke, no lesse then the men that gouerned them: And truly the vertue of the *Italians* gaue a great shew in the beginning, but the valour and resolution of miude in the Marquesse, who being followed with a valiant company of young gentlemen and *Lanceperzades* (these are braue and proued souldiers intertrained about the ordinary compaines) forgot nothing which appertained to a Captaine couragious: The french men, sustained with great valour so hot and furious a charge, but being overlaid with such odds of numbers, they beganne almost manifestly to shake, not without the daunger of the King: within a very few pases of whom the bastard of *Burbon* was made prisoner, notwithstanding he fought with great vertue: the fortune of him put hope into the Marquesse, to haue the same success against the person of the King, being vndiscreetly led into a place so dangerous, without that guard and order which was conuenient for so great a Prince: The Marquesse with his people,

made

made many adventures to come neare him: against whom, the King albeit he had few of his people about him, yet his vertue defended his person, and his naturall courage ouercame his present danger, the fiercenesse and agility of his horse doing more to his safety, then the succours of his people. In these great perils, there wanted not in him those counsels, which in actions dangerous are wont most to appeare in mens memory and fancies: for that in so great a distresse of fight seeing him selfe almost made naked of his gird, and abandoned of fortune and worldly succors, he had recourse to the heauenly aides, making a vow to *S. Denys* and *S. Martyn*, reputed protectors particular of the realme of *Fraunce*; that if hee passed safe into *Piemont* with his army, he would, as soone as he was returned on the other side the Mounts, make personall visitation, and that with great gifts, to the holy temples dedicated to their names, the one standing neare to *Paris*, and the other in the towne of *Tours*: and that euery yeare with most solemne feasts and sacrifices, he would honour and celebrate so great a grace receiued by their meane. After this contemplation and promise to accomplish these vowes, he entred into a new courage, the strength of his body redoubling in the spirit and comfort of his minde, and so began eftsoune to fight with greater valour then his complexion could naturally beare. The daunger of the King so touched and enflamed those that were left farre off, that running to couer with their persons the person of the King, they sustained the *Italians*: and his battell which remained behind, pressing in at the same time, an esquadron of the same charged so furiously the enemy in the flank, that it moderated somewhat their heate, and presently reskued the kings danger: whereunto was added this helpe, that *Rodolphe Gonzague* Vncle by the mother to the Marqueffe of *Mantua*, a Captaine of great experience, as he encouraged the souldiers and reordered such as hee saw out of order, doing alwaies many other good offices of an excellent Captaine, as he raised by chance his beauer, was so hurt in the face with an estockado by a french man, that falling from his horse, his people could neuer rescue him in so great a confusion and tumult, and so thicke troupes of fierce horses raging without gouernment; but hauing other men and horses falling vpon him, he died rather stifled and smothered with the throng of horses feete and treadings, then by the armes or blows of the enemies: A chaunce truely vnworthy such a man, for that in the counselles of the day before, and the same morning, he perswaded (contrary to the will of his nephew) to abstaine from fight, iudging it a great want of discretion to hazard them selues to the will of fortune without any necessity. Thus the battell changing by diuerse accidents, and no aduantage appearing more for the *Italians* then for the french men, the difference was now more then euer to whom the victory would remaine: in so much that hope and feare being equall on both partes, they fought with an incredible fury, euery one esteeming that the victory rested in his right hand and strength, and not at the disposing of fortune: An auncient perswasion in old souldiers, that in actions of battell and warre, the successe of the victory followeth not the number of the souldiers, but resteth in the resolution of their mindes and innocency of their cause. The french men had a desperate courage, as well for the presence and daunger of their King (for that nation hath alwaies borne no lesse reuerence to the maiesty of their kings, then to things of diuinity) as for that they were hemmed into such straights and places, as gaue no hopes of their safety, but by the onely victory: The *Italians* were encouraged, by the couetousnesse of so rich a pillage, by the honorable example of the Marqueffe leading them to the battell with so happy successe, and with the great number of their army, by whom they had expectation of great succours from their friends and countreys enuironing; a thing which the french could not hope for, for that either their whole companies were already in the fight, or at least attended euery instant to be charged and brought into the fortune of their fellowes. But it is not doubted, that the power of fortune is great in all our humaine actions, more mighty in matters of warre then in any other thing, but most infinite and inestimable in the feates of armes, where, one commaundement ill vnderstood, one order ill executed, one rashnesse, one vaine voice, yea sometimes euen of the meanest souldier, carrieth many times the victory to such as seemed euen then vanquished and ouercome, and where vnlooked for do happen many sodaine accidents, which it is impossible to the Captaine by his experience to foresee, or let by his counsell, or assure by his wisdom: In so much as, in so great a doubt, not sayling of other custome, she did that, which neither the vertue of men, nor the force of armes had not yet done for, the estradiots sent to charge the tents and baggage of the french, hauing begunne to spoyle without any resistance, and beginning to leade away to the other side the water, some inlets,

some sompters, and some armour: not onely the other estradiots appointed to charge the french in the flankes, but euen such as were already within the fight, stirred vp with the sight of the gaine wherewith they saw their companions goe laden to their tents, left the battell, and turned their weapons to pill and spoile that that was left of the french pillage: and one cause, one respect, and one example drawing the residue, you should see many horsemen, and footmen issue by troups out of the battell, to doe the like. By which occasion, not onely the succours ordained, failing the *Italians*, but euen the number of those that fought diminishing with so great disorders, and *Anthony of Montfetre* not remouing for that no mā called him, *Gonzaga* being slaine, vpon whose calling he depended, the french men beganne to winne so much ground, that now nothing did more sustaine the *Italians* (manifestly declining) then the vertue of the Marquesse, who expressing in his person all the actions required in a valiant Captaine, made head yet against the new fortune and fury of the enemies, and labouring with euery possibility to keepe them from the victory, sometimes he encouraged his people by his owne example, and eftsometimes with sweet and piercing speeches perswaded them, rather to lose their liues then their honors, seeking to resolue their mindes with all those respects of honor, profit, reputation, and necessity, which make the souldier goe to the battell. But it was impossible that in a few should be continued long resistance against many, or that the vertue which is not fauoured with fortune should not at last faile. The enemies multiplied vpon them on all sides, a great part of their owne were slaine, and many hurt without hope of further helpe to the seruice, yea euen of the particular band of the Marquesse: by which extremities, they were driuen to fall into disorder, and flie to repasse the riuer, which by the raine ouer night, and the hailes and watery stormes falling in great abundance during the fight, was risen so high, that it gaue great impediments to such as were forced to repasse ouer it. The french men followed the chase with a fury equall to their fortune, euen to the riuer, regarding nothing more then to make slaughter of those that fled, without taking any prisoner, or respecting the spoils and gaine of the chase: onely they cried with redoubled voices; Companions remember *Guinegate*: *Guinegate* is a village in *Picardie* neare to *Terouane*, where, in the later yeares of the raigne of *Louis* the xj. the french men almost victorious in a battell against *Maximilian* king of *Romans*, being disordered because they beganne to fall to pillage, were put to flight. But at the same time that on that side of the army the fight was valiant and obstinate, the vauntgard of the french (against the which the *Count Caiazzo* led one part of the horsemen, came to the battell with so great a fury, that the *Italians* astonished when they saw they were not followed of their peoples, inclined of them selues so fast to disorder, that many of their leaders being slaine, amongst whom was *Iohn Piccingu* and *Galeas* of *Correge*, they returned in manifest flight to the great esquadron. But the Marshall of *Gie*, discerning (besides the Squadron of the *Count*) an other regiment of men at armes prepared to the battell on the other side the riuer, would not suffer his souldiers to follow them: which afterwards by some was reputed a counsell discrete and wise, and by others, looking perhaps lesse into the reason then into the euent, it was iudged a resolution rather cowardly, then constant: for that, if they had pursued them, the Count and his companies had giuen him their backs, by which disaray he had so amazed the residue of their strength remaining on the other side the water, that there would haue bin great impossibility to retaine them, seeing that the Marquesse flying as well as the others, and repassing the riuer as strongly and in as good order as he could, found them in such tumults and separations, as euery one thinking to saue him selfe with his cariage, the high way that goeth from *Plaisance* to *Parma* was already full of horses, of men, and cariages which drew to *Parma*. This tumult partly was stayed by the presence and authority of the Marquesse, who reassembled them, and put eftsometimes all in order: But much more did reasssure the diuided mindes of the *Italians* the comming of *Count Petillane*, who in so generall a confusion of both the armies, vsing the occasion, fled to the *Italian* campe: where dispersing comfort to euery one, and affirming that amongst the enemies, was no lesse disorder and amaze, he eftsometimes confirmed and reassured their mindes: In so much that both by opinion and reason, euery one supposed that without him, either at the instant, or at least the night following, all the campe had dispersed in great terrour. Thus the *Italians* retired to their campe, except such as being caried with confusion and tumult, and thinking to finde safety in flying, were separate into sundry places, whereof many falling into the hands of the french men, found at one instant an end of their life and fortunes. The king with his people drew to his vauntgard which had not stirred: And

And there deuising with his Captaines, whether he should suddenly passe the riuier and giue vpon the french their lodgings, he was councelled by *Triumice* and *Camilla Vuelli*, (who was come to the battell with a few horsemen, hauing sent the residue of his company to the enterprise of *Genes*) to set vpon them: and *Francis Secco* furthering the expedition more then any other, told the King that the way that was scene so farre off, was full of men and horses, which argued that either they were fled to *Parma*, or hauing begunne the chase, were eftsloons returned to the campe. But truely the difficulty to passe the riuier was not little: and the bands that partly had fought, and partly were kept armed in the field, were so weary and ouer-trauelled, that by the counsell of the french Captaines, it was determined to seeke harbour: and so they went to lodge vpon the hil in the village of *Medesane*, of little more distance then a mile from the place of the battell: there they pitched their lodging without any order, but with great incommodity, for that the most part of their baggage and stufte was made pillage by the enemy.

This was the discourse of the battell betwene the *Italians* and the french vpon the riuier of *Taro*, not vnworthy of memory, for that it was the first of very long time that was fought in *Italie* with slaughter and bloud, seeing that in all battels or actions of warre in that countrey, the liues of men were wont more to be put to raunsome, then sold with the price of bloud. But in this, notwithstanding of the french part, the slaughter scarcely contained three hundreth bodies, yet of the *Italians* were found dead more then three hundreth men at armes, and of others as many as made vp the number of three thousand persons, amongst whom was *Ramiccio de Farnese* leader of the *Venetian* horsemen, with many other gentlemen of marke. *Barnardin de Montone* also a Captaine of horsemen vnder the *Venetians*, whose name was more populous and renowned by *Braccio de Montone* his grandfather, one of the first beautifiers of the *Italian* discipline of war, then by his proper vertue or fortune, receiued a blow with a mase vnder his helmet, with the which being fallen from his horse, he was left on the ground for dead. This slaughter was so much the more wonderfull to the *Italians*, by how much the encounter endured not aboue an houre, euery one on both sides fighting with his proper force and valour, without helpe of the artillery or shot. Touching the honour of the journey, either part laboured to appropriate to his particular, the renowne and glory of the victory: The *Italians* occupied this reason; for that their tents and carriages remained vntouched, where the french on the contrary, had their lodgings rifled, and lost much of their best stufte, yea part of the proper pavilions of the King: They alleadged further, that they had vtterly discomfited the enemies, if one part of their people appointed to enter the battell, had not turned to the pillage of their trenches; a thing which the french confessed to be true. The *Venetians* were so partiall, that with a peculiar glory they made them selues victors, and by publicke commaundement through all the landes of their obedience, and specially at *Venice*, they made bonfires, with other feastes and testimonies of gladnesse. This publicke example was followed with no lesse affection of sundry particulars, for that vpon the sepulchre of *Melchior Trevisan*, were stamped these characters of letters in the Church of the *Freat minoris*: He fought prosperously vpon the riuier of *Taro* against *Charles* King of *France*. But by the vniuersall consent of men indifferent, the palme, merit, and true glory of the victory, was adiudged to the french men, both for the numbers of the dead, so farre different and vnequall, and for the chase of the enemies ouer the riuier, and also for that they wonne their liberty to passe further; which was the controuersie for the which they came to the battell. The king remained all the day following intamped in the same place, procuring (by the meane of *Argenton*) a parley with the enemies, by which was accorded a truce til night: that abstinence or truce was not vnwelcome to the King, for that he desired to passe with surety, knowing that many of the *Italian* army had not yet fought, and remaining in order about their trenches, the march of so many daies journey through the Duchy of *Millan* with the enemy in his taile; could not but be daungerous: Besides, he knew not what resolution to take, such was the simpleness of the counsell with whom he vsed most conference and direction in his most waightiest deliberations, rejecting for the most part the aduises of men graue and experienced. No lesse doubt and incertainty trauelled also the mindes of the *Italians*, who albeit at the beginning were false into no small astonishment, yet they were eftsloons so reassured, that the night after the battell, they held counsell, (by the encouraging and comfort chiefly of the *Comte Perillane*) to inuade the french campe in the night, being disordered with many incommodities, and not fortified: by the plurality of voices this counsell was rejected, as

bringing more perill then profite. There ranne a brute through all *Italy*, that the bands of *Lodowike Sforce*, according to his secrete direction, would not fight much, least hauing so strong an army of the *Venetians* vpon his estates, he was in more feare of their victory, then of the forty thousand of the french, touching whom he was indifferent whether they were victours or vanquished, and therefore for his better surety in all chaunces, he was blamed for his subtilty to keepe his forces whole, vpon which was imposed the occasion that the *Italians* army did not obtaine the victory. This opinion was maintained by the Marquesse of *Mantua* and the other *Venetian* Captaines, to make their reputation the greater: neither was it receiued with lesse will of all such as desired the augmentation of the glory of the *Italian* souldiers: But I haue heard this brute confuted, by a personage of iudgement and grauity, and remaining then at *Millan* in such degree, as the absolute and true knowledge of affaires was brought to him: he purging *Lodowike*, assured the world, that hauing sent most of his forces to the siege of *Novaro*, he had not so many at the battell of *Taro* as were of great consequence for the victory, which in deede the army of the confederates had obtayned, if their proper disorders had not hurt them more then the want of a great number of men, seeing withall, that many whole companies of the *Venetians* fought not at all: and where the *Count Caiazze* sent against the enemy but one part of his companies, and that very coldly, he did it perhaps, for that the vauntgard of the french was so strong, that the daunger was apparant to commit him selfe to fortune, and perhaps because ordinarily actions couragious and venterous haue made him more wonderfull, then such wherein was surety: notwithstanding, the companies of *Sforce* were not altogether vnprofitable, for that albeit they fought not, yet they kept at a bay the vauntgard of the french, and were the cause that it gaue no succours to the king, who with the lesse or most weake part of the army, sustained with the great daunger of his person, all the brunt and swaigh of that daies fight. In my iudgement this testimony is no more confirmed with authority then with reason: for, how is it likely that if that intention had bene in *Lodowike*, he would not rather haue instructed his Captaines, to dissuade from letting the french men to passe: seeing that if the victory had falne on the french, his bands being so neare the enemy, had bene no more in safety then the others, notwithstanding they medled not in the battell: and with what discourse, with what consideration, or with what experience of things could he promise to him selfe, that comming to the fight, fortune would be so equall, that the french king should neither be victor nor vanquished.

The morning following, the King departed with his army before day, without sound of trompets, to couer his discamping as much as he could: and for that day he was not followed by the army of the confederates, who though they had had will to haue pursued him, yet they should haue found impediments in the waters of the riuier, which were so much increased by raines that fell in the night, that there was no possibility of passage for the day following: Onely at the declining of the Sunne passed ouer not without daunger, the *Count Caiazze* with two hundred light horsemen, and following the trace of the french men, who marched the right way towards *Plaisance*, he gaue them the day following many alarmes and impediments: and yet, all wearied and trauelled as they were, they kept their way without disorder, the villages refreshing them with plenty of victuals, partly for feare to receiue hurt by them, and partly by the meane of *Trinulce*, who scouring before for the same effect with the light horsemen of the army, made perswasions to men, sometimes by threats, and sometimes with his authority, great in that Duchy with all sortes, but more great with the family of the *Guelfes*. The army of the league which remoued the day after the discamping of the french, and but little disposed (specially the prouisors of the *Venetians*) to put them selues any more in the arbitrement of fortune, came neuer so neare them, as to annoy them with any little discommodity: but being lodged the second day vpon the riuier of *Trebia* a little beyond *Plaisance*, (the *Swizzers* and two hundredth launces and almost all the artillery remaining betweene the riuier and the city of *Plaisance* for the commodity of incamping,) the floods were so great by reason of the raines falling in the night, that notwithstanding their extreame diligence, it was impossible that either the footemen or horsemen could passe but at high daies, and then with difficulty, although the waters began to abate: notwithstanding all which opportunities fauoring the army of the league, yet they neuer executed any action against the french but a farre off, nor yet the *Count de Caiazze* who was entred within *Plaisance*, for suspicion of reuolt or tumult: which suspicion was not altogether without occasion, for that it was beleueed that

The King according to the councell of *Triuulce*, had displayed his ensignes vnder the name of *Francis*, the little sonne of *Iohn Galeas*, the Duchy would easily haue falne into some mutation, so laurable was the name of him whom they held for their lawfull Lord, and so hatefull the remembrance of the vsurper, and of speciall importance the credit and friendships of *Triuulce*. But the King in whom was setled no other impression then to passe on, would not be entangled with new practises, but followed his way with diligent and speedy march, finding great want of victuals after the first daies trauell, and in all places, the forts and peeces well garded, *Lodowike* hauing distributed what into *Tortone* vnder *Iasper S. Senerin*, surnamed *Freccasse*, and what into *Alexandria*, many horsemen with twelue hundred lance-knights, which he had drawne from the campe of *Nonaro*. After the King was passed *Trebia*, his army was alwaies vexed in the taile by the Count *Caiazzo*, who had ioyned to his light horsemen fye hundredth launce-knights of the garrison of *Plaisance*, not being able to obtaine to be sent to him from the army, all the residue of the light horsemen and foure hundredth men at armes, for that the *Venetian* Commissioners, warned by the perill at the battell of *Taro*, would giue no consent estoones to hazard their forces: at last the french men taking (when they were neare to *Alexandria*) their way more high towardes the mountaine where the riuier of *Tanaro* runnes with shallowest water, were brought without losse of men in eight remoues or sojournings of the campe afore the wals of *Asti*: in which city after the King was entred, he disperfed his men of warre into the champion, with intention to encrease his army, and to abide in *Italy* vntill he had succoured *Nonaro*: and the campe of the league which had pursued him to the countrey of *Tortone*, despairing now to vex him more, went and ioyned it selfe to the companies of *Lodowike Sforce* besieging the sayd city of *Nonaro*, which euen now began to suffer great scarcity of victuals, for that by the Duke of *Orleans* nor his people had bene used any diligence for prouision, which by reason of the fertility of the countrey, they might haue done in great plenty and at easie rate: but like men either blinded with security, or else of litle policy, they neuer considered of the daungers, till the meane of the remedy were past, consuming without sparing all the store of victuals which they found there.

About this season returned to the King those Cardinals and Captaines, who with ill successe had bene at the enterprise of *Genes*; for after the Kings army by sea had taken the towne of *Spezia*, it set vpon *Rapalle* and possessed it easily: but there issued out of the port of *Genes* a nauy of eight light gallies, one carracke, and two barks of biskayes, which by night put on land seuen hundredth footemen, who without any difficulty tooke the borough of *Rapalle*, with the french garrison that were within, and then accoasting the french nauy retired to the gulfe, after long fight they remained victors, taking and burning all their vessels, the Captaines made prisoners, and the place by this victory made more renowned, for that in the yeare before, the *Aragons* were there defeated: neither was this aduersity recompenced by the army that went by land, who guided by the East riuier to *Valdibisagne*, and so to the suburbs of *Genes*, found them selues deceiued in their hopes, that in *Genes* would rise tumults: and therefore vnderstanding of the spoile and losse of the nauy by sea, they tooke way with no lesse speede then feare, to the mountaine sharpe and vn easie, and from thence descended to the valley of *Pozzenere*, which is on the other part of the city: from whence, notwithstanding their troupes were strong and great by the concourse of pay sants and other populars, whom the Duke of *Sauoy* had sent in their fauours, they drew with the same diligence towards *Piemont*. In the action of this enterprise it is certaine, that if they within the towne had not bene restrained from issuing forth, for doubt least the faction of *Fregosa* would make some innouation, they had wholly broken the french army and put them to flight. The horsemen also of *Vielli* (now come to *Chiaure*, vnderstanding the successe and great disorder of those with whom they went to ioyne in strength) retired with no lesse hast then daunger, to *Severana*: in so much, that except *Spesia*, all the places of that riuier that had bene occupied by the banished, reappealed or called againe forthwith the *Genowayes*, as did in like sort in the riuier of the Ponent, the city of *Vintemille*, which in the same daies had bene occupied by *Paul Baptista Fregosa*, and certaine others of the banished.

In the same times, the warre was also as hoat in the realme of *Naples*, as in the partes of *Lunardy*, but with a more diuerse fortune: for, *Ferdinand* after he had taken *Reggio*, considered how he might recouer the places bordering, hauing in his army six thousand men, comprehending such of the countrey and *Sicile*, as willingly followed him, together with the horsemen and footmen of

The french Kings attempt vpon Genes sped euill.

Ferdinand to recouer his kingdome of Naples.

of the Spanish, ouer whom was Captaine, *Consaluo Ernandes* of the house of *Aghilar*, a country of *Cordone*, a man very valiant and long exercised in the warres of *Granada*. This man, at his first coming into *Italy*, being called (by a Spanish bragge) the great Captaine, the be to signifie with this title, the soueraigne power that he had ouer them, did well deserue by many goodly victories which he there atchieued, that that surname might be iustly appropriated, confirmed, and perpetuated in him by vniuersall consent, in testimony of his great vertue and excellency in the knowledge of warre. To this army, which had already stirred vp a great part of the country, *Monsieur D' Aubigny* presentes him selfe neare *Seminara*, a towne vpon the sea, with the men at armes of *Fraunce* remaining for the gard of *Calabria*, and such bands of horsemen and footemen as the Lords of the country of the french faction had sent to him: and being come to the battell, the valour of the souldiers which were of traine and exercise, caried the victory against the ignorance of the other litle experienced: for, not onely the *Italians* and *Sicilians* which *Ferdinand* had gathered in hast, but also euen the *Spaniards*, were souldiers new and vntained to seruice; with whom notwithstanding, he maintained the skirmish with great stoutnesse, for that the vertue and authority of the Captaines failing nothing of their place and office, sustained such as for all other regards, were much inferiour: *Ferdinand* aboute the residue, applying vertue to the innocency of his quarrell, behaued him selfe as well appertayned to his vertue: in so much as his horse being slaine vnder him, he had in all coniecture, remained either dead or taken, if *Iohn de Capua* brother to the Duke of *Terminy*, (who had bene his Page from his childhood, and whom he entirely loued in that floure of age) had not alighted and remounted him vpon his horse, and with an example of faith and loue very notable and worthy, offered his owne life for the safety of his Lord, in whose presence he was slaine vpon the place: *Consaluo* fleeth along the mountaines to *Regge*, and *Ferdinand* to *Palma*, which lieth vpon the sea neare to *Seminara*, and there tooke gallies and sayled to *Messina*. And as in aduersities necessity is mighty to make men resolute, so by this ouerthrow, there encreased in him a new courage and will to assay againe the triall of fortune: for, he was not onely aduertised, that the whole city of *Naples* thirsted with great desire to haue him, but also by secret intelligence he knew, that he was generally called by the principals of the nobility and people: and therefore eschewing delaies where was so great necessity of expedition, and fearing least lingring ioyned to the reappoynt of his ouerthrow in *Calabria*, might not estoones make cold that new disposition: after he had assembled (besides the gallies which he had led from *Tschia*, and the foure that serued his fathers first departure from *Naples*) the other vessels that brought the *Spaniards* into *Sicile*, with all others that he could recouer of the cities and Barons of *Sicile*, he hoyseth saile out of the port of *Messina*, not tarrying, for that he had not men of warre sufficient to arme them: wherein wanting forces conuenient for such an enterpryse, he was constrained to furnish and serue his turne, no lesse with demonstration and appaurance, then with the effect and substance of things: he departed from *Sicile* with lxx. vessels of cable and anker, and twenty others of lesse proportion, accompanied with *Ricaiense* of *Catelogma*, Captaine of the Spanish vessels, a man whose experience was equall to his resolution in seruices at sea: he had so small proportions of fighting men, that in most part of these vessels, there were almost no other sortes or natures of men, then such as necessarily were appointed to the seruice of the navigation: In this sort his forces were small, but great towards him were the fauors and good wils of the people: in so much that being arriued in the road of *Salerno*, *Salerne* it selfe, the coast of *Melff*, and of *Cano*, hoised their streamers to the wind. Afterwards he remained two daies aboute *Naples*, in expectation to heare of some tumult, in the towne: but for the time his fortune being slow, made his desire vaine, for that the french men running presently to armes, & planting sure gard vpon places of perill, suppressed immediately the rebellion that euen already was kindled: yea, they had put remedy to al their dangers, if they had valiantly followed the counsell of some amongst them, who getting that the vessels of the *Aragons* were ill manned with souldiers able to fight, aduised *Monsieur Montpensier* to refurnish the french vessels which were in the hauen, with bodies resolute and men of action, and so giue the charge to the enemy. The third day *Ferdinand* despairing of commotion in the city, turned his sailes into the seaward to retire to *Tschia*: by which it hapned, that the conspirators with *Ferdinand*, considering that their faction & intelligence was now discouered, and therefore his cause was become theirs, and proper and generall to euery one of them, drew them to an assembly, and determined to be blinde against all daungers and difficulties, making of their

Common necessitie a speciall vertue : This deliberation was followed to effect ; for that they dispatched secretly a litle boate to call home *Ferdinand* , beseeching him to put on land either all or the greatest part of his companies , to the end to ioyne meane and courage to such as were inclined to make insurrection in his fauour. Vpon this intelligence, *Ferdinand* returned eftsouones a-bore *Naples* , and the day after the battell of *Furrowe* , he approched neare the shoare to take land at *Magdalena* a myle from *Naples* , and where the riuer of *Sebera* falls into the sea : it is rather a small brooke then a riuer , which yet had lyen vnknownen if the verses of the Poets of *Naples* had not giuen it a name: *Monsieur Montpensier* to whom all things were disclosed , shewed him selfe no lesse hardy & ready to charge them when was cause to feare them, then he was vnresolute and fearefull the day before when courage was necessary : In so much that issuing out of the Citie almost with all his strength to stop the descending of *Ferdinand* , the *Neapolitanes* taking the oportunitie of the occasion (which was such as they could not haue desired better) rose suddainly into armes: and sounding alarme by ringing the great bell of the Friers next to the walls of the town, all the other Churches doing the like, they seized vpon the gates of the towne , and began to publish the name of *Ferdinand* . This suddaine tumult so amiazed the French men , that holding it a place of no suretie to remaine betweene the enemies and the Citie rebelled, and lesse expectation to returne by that way they issued out, they determined to reenter *Naples* by the gate that belonged to the new Castell : for the accomplishment whereof they must take a long way, full of hills and troublesome, and compassing the walls of the towne . But in this meane while *Ferdinand* being entred, and mounted on horsebacke with certaine of his followers by the *Neapolitanes* , rode through the towyne, to the incredible ioye and gladnesse of euery one , the communitie receiuing him with great cryes and showtes , and the Ladies and women beholding him out of windowes and casements, could not be satisfied to couer him with flowers & sweet smelling waters: yea many of the Nobles ranne in the streetes to embrace him and wype the sweat from his face , not being negligent for all this in things necessary for the defence of the Citie: for, the Marquis of *Pis-saire* accompanied with the souldiers which were entred with *Ferdinand* and the youth of *Naples* , looked to the intrenching and fortifying of all places for their defence against the French: who after they were come vpon the greene of the new Castell , and doing what they could to reenter into the hart of the Citie , were so repulsed by crosbow men and small shot , that finding at all the entreyes and commings to the streetes , a resistance strong and sufficient, and the night now drawing on, they retired to the Castell, leauing almost (of all fortes) two thousand horses vpon the greene, hauing no place nor feeding for them in the Castell: within the Castell were inclosed with *Monsieur Montpensier*, *Messire Yves d' Alegro*, a Captaine of reputation, and *Anthonie* Prince of *Salerne*, with many others French and *Italians* of marke : who albeit spent certaine dayes in skirmishing, as well on the Castell greene as about the port, discharging their artillerie into the towne, yet finding in their repulses a redoubled vallour in theemie, they remained voyde of hope to be able to reouer the Citie of them selues.

The example of *Naples* was immediatly followed by *Capua*, *Auersa*, the rocke of *Montdragón*, and many other peeces thereabouts, yea most part of the kingdome was suddenly in reuolt: Amongest whom those of *Caietta* taking armes with more courage then force , and their hopes farre greater then their fortune , for that certaine galleys of *Ferdinand* were discovered afore the haven, they were with generall slaughter oppressed by the French garrisons there, who with a furious agreeing with the cause giuen, sacked all their Citie.

At the same time the nauie of the *Venetians* being come neare to *Mompoly* one of the Cities of *Romylla* , after they had set on land their Estradiots and many of their footemen, assaulted it both by sea and land, where *Peter Bembo* owner of one of the *Venetian* galleys was slaine with a shot out of the towne . But in the end fortitude yielding to vertue, the Citie was taken by force, and the Castell likewise rendred for feare which the French Captaine had that kept it: the said nauie took also by composition the towne of *Pulignone*.

Ferdinand was not without apparant hopes to haue the new Castell and the Castell of the egge, for that famine (which is an enemye troublesome) serued more for him then his force or pollicie, there remaining a verie small quantitie of victuals in regard of the proportion of men that were within ; and winning vpon them continually the places about the Castell to the end to keepe them at a straiter compasse: the French men succouring the aduersities of their fortune with industry &

The Citie of
Naples riseth
to let in Ferdi-
nand.

pollicie, seeing their armie by sea had no suretie in the hauē, which containede fīue ships, foure light galleis, a galliot, & a gallion: they retired them betweene the tower of *S. Vincent*, the eggs-castell, & *Pizzafalcone*, which yet they held, as also the hinder parts or skirtes of new castell where were the gardins of the kings: in so much as keeping peeces euen to *Capella*, & fortifying the monasterie of the crosse, they made incursions euen to *Pizzoforte* & *S. Martin*. Against whom *Ferdinand* hauing taken & fortified *Hipodrome*, & made couert wayes by *Incoronato*, he possessed the Mount of *S. Herme*, & afterwards the hill of *Pizzafalcone*, the Frēch holding the castell seated in the highest part of it. To hinder the succours that were to come frō it (for in taking it they might endamage & batter frō the steepe places the nauy of the enemy) *Ferdinand* assailed the monasterie of the crosse: at whose first approch they receiued such harmes by the artillery, that despairing to win it by force, they deuised to betray it by practise and intelligence; a deuise very vnhappy and wretched to him that was the authour: for that a More which was within, hauing fraudulētly promised to the Marquis of *Piscare* (aforetimes his master) to put him within the place, & in that action, hauing made him come by night by a ladder fastened to the wall of the monastery to speake with him, to the end to agree vpon the manner and time to enter it the same night: he was by great treason and double intelligence slaine with the shot of a crosbow running through his throat.

Marquis of
Piscare slaine.

Collony returns
to the pay of
Ferdinand.

It was not of litle importance for the affaires of *Ferdinand*, the reuolt first of *Prosper* and then of *Fabrice Collonne*, who during the bond of their seruice and oath contracted with the French king, (going with the streame of the time) returned to the pay of *Ferdinand* almost as soone as he had recouered *Naples*: They excused them selues, that they were not satisfied in time of their due payments promised; and that to *Virginia Vrsin* and the Count *Pellisane* (with small regard to their merites) were giuen many fauours and aduancements of the king: a reason that seemed to many very weake, and farre inferiour to the greatnesse of the benefites which they had receiued of him: But it may be doubted, that that which reasonable ought to serue as a bridle to restrain them, was the very motion that led them to do the contrary, seeing by how much the benefites they had receiued were great and many, by so much perhaps was great in them the desire to keepe them, looking withall into the ill disposition of the affaires of the French, which began euen then to shake and decline.

But now the Castell thus hemmed in, and the sea restrained by the nauies of *Ferdinand*, the want of victuals increased more and more, and they that were besieged interteined them selues onely with hopes to haue succours out of *Fraunce* by sea, the rather for that the king (as soone as he was arriued at *Ast*) had dispatched *Peron de la Basche* to rigge in the haven of *Ville Franche* neare *Nice* an armie at sea of two thousand *Gascoynes* and *Swyzers* with prouision of victuals, whose leader and Captaine should be *Monsieur d'Arban*, a man warlike, but not experimented in the seruice of the sea. This nauie being put vnder sayle and arriued as far as the Isle of *Poreze*, discovering thereabout the nauie of *Ferdinand* containing thirtie sayles and two great ships of *Genowa*, retired and fell forthwith into flight: and being pursued vnto the Isle of *Elba*, they made way in such feare to the haven of *Lynorne*, with the losse of a litle shippe of *Biscay*, that it was not in the power of the Captaine to withhold most of his men from going on shoare, and against his discipline & will to runne amaine to *Pysa*. By reason of the retire and deffeaite of this armie at sea, *M. Montpensier* with his companies, pressed with want of victuals, accorded to render the Castell to *Ferdinand*, hauing now endured the siege three moneths, & frō thence to go to *Proience*, if they were not rescued within thirtie dayes. This contract included suretie of life & goods to all such as were within the castell, giuing ostage to *Ferdinand*, *Tues d'Alegre* with three others for assurance of the cōditions. But the shortnesse of time made impossible all hope or expectatiō of succours, other the such as they had within the realme: In which respect *M. de Perse* one of the Captaines of the king, accompanied with the *Swyzers* and part of the Frēch launces, & the Prince of *Bysignia* with many other Barons, drew straight to *Naples*: against whom *Ferdinand* hauing espiall of their comming, sent out to *Eboli* the Count of *Matalono* with an army for the most part confused, compounded of bodies whom he trusted, & esteemed his friends: This armie albeit much superiour in numbers & furniture, yet encountering the enemy at the lake of *Pizzola*, which is a litle borough neare *Eboli*, they fell into generall disorder & present flying without fighting. In which chase was taken prisoner *Venutio* sonne of *Iulius Parano* Lord of *Camaris*: but being not pursued by the Frēch, they retired without great losse to *Nola* & so to *Naples*. The Frenchmē taking courage by

this

this felicitie) followed their enterprife to succour the Castels , and that with so great reputation for the victorie obtained, that *Ferdinand* was at point once againe to abandon *Naples*: but receiving courage by the comfortes of those of the towne , who were no lesse pushed forward perhaps with the feares their had of their liues, (remembring their rebellion) then with the friendship they bare to *Ferdinand*, incamped at *Capella* and the better to let the enemies for approaching the Castell, casting a trench from the Mount *S. Hermo* vntill the egge Castell, he furnished with artillerie and footemen all the hills vnto *Capella* and aboue *Capella* : In so much that albeit, the Frenchmen, who being come to *Nocere* by the way of *Salerna*, passing by the caue and the hill *Piegrotte*, were guided to *Chiaie* neare to *Naples*: yet all things hauing good defence, and by the valour of *Ferdinand*, the artilleries thundring vpon the Frenchmen, but specially those that were, planted vpon the hill of *Pizzifolcone* which commanded the egge Castell (where earst were the singularities and pompes so much renowned of *Lucullus*) they could passe no further, nor approach *Capella* : and hauing no meane to make further abode there , for that nature fauoreth the place with all pleasures and commodities sauing fresh waters, this necessitie constrained them to retire sooner then they would , leauing behind at their disamping three peeces of artillerie , and part of the relieffes which they had brought to reuictuall the Castels : they tooke their way towards *Nola*, against whom *Ferdinand* opposed him selfe, leauing the Castell besieged , and incamped with his companies in the plaine of *Palma* neare to *Sarnie*. Monsieur *Montpensier* seeing by their departure , nothing but an vtter losse and priuation of all hopes for rescues , leauing three hundred men within the Castell (a number no lesse proportioned for the victuals which now were short , then for the seruice and defence) and a garrison within the egge Castell : drew away with him the residue (which were in all two thousand five hundred souldiers) and by night embarking him selfe and his companies in the vessels there, he went to *Salerna*, not without the great complaints of *Ferdinand* , who pretended, that is was not lawfull for him (during the terme wherein he had promised to yeeld) to depart with such a companie, vnlesse he had rendred both the Castels according to the contract. This escape wrought many passions in *Ferdinand*, in whom was no want of inclination (according to the rigour of the contract) to reuenge the iniurie and infidelitie of *Montpensier*, vpon the bloud and life of the *Ostages*: for that the Castels not redeliuered at the terme accorded , he had abused the wordes of his promise with a meaning dissembled : Notwithstanding extrenities redoubling with time vpon those that remained , not able any longer to keepe force against the rage of hunger , within lesse then one moneth after he was parted , they rendred the Castell with conditions to haue the ostages deliuered . And almost at the same time , and for the same occasion they that were within the egge Castell, agreed to yeeld the first day of the next Lent , if they were not rescued before . Much about this time dyed at *Messina*, *Alphonso* of *Aragon* : the glory and fortune of whom (by which whilst he was but Duke of *Calabria* , his name was made honofable and famous,) were conuerted into a great infamie and infelicitie when he came to be king of *Naples*: It was said, that a litle before his death, he made instance to his sonne to returne to *Naples*, where the hatreds that were generall against him before time, were now almost reconuerted into affections and good likings: To whom it is supposed that *Ferdinand* (ambition & desire to reigne bearing more rule in him the reuerence and respect to his father) answered no lesse suttly then in scorne, that he should attend & expect till he had so assured the Realme, that he should not eftsouones be driuen to abandon it and flie.

Ferdinand, to enterteine him in the friendships of the king of *Spayne* with a bond more strait and assured, tooke to wife with dispensation of the Pope, *Iane* his aunt, daughter to *Ferdinand* his grandfather, and of *Iane* sister to the sayd king of the Spanish.

In this meane while that the siege was continued with diuerse successe about the Castels of *Naples* (as hath bene set downe) the siege of *Novaro* also was still holden and brought to very strait and hard termes : for the Duke of *Myllan* had there a puissant armie , which the *Venetians* had succoured with such a readinesse, that in no enterprife within memorie haue they bene knownen to make lesse sparing of charges , nor vsed more fidelitie and diligence : there were in this campe of the confederates three thousand men at armes , three thousand light horsemen, a thousand *Almaines* on horsebacke, & five thousand footemen *Italians*: but the principall strength of their armie stood vpon the ten thousand Launceknights (for so are the *Almaines* footemen called) entertained most part by the Duke of *Myllan*, to be opposed against the *Swyzzers*, for that the

Italian footemen could not endure their name, and much lesse heare speake of them without feare, so greatly were they diminished in reputation and courage, since the French men had action in *Italie*: ouer them were gouernours many Captaines of vallour, resolute, and for experience generally recommended, amongst whom bare a name most singular *George Pietrepante* of the countrey of *Austrich*, who a few yeares before, being in the pay of *Maximilian* king of *Romaines*, conquered with an honorable prayse vpon the French king, the towne of *S. Omer* in *Picardie*. The Senate of *Venice* was not onely carefull to send to this siege many bands of souldiers, but also to entertaine them in a greater courage, they created gouernour and Captaine generall ouer the armie, the Marquis of *Mantua*, honoring in him by the collation of that dignitie, the vertue he shewed in the battell of *Furnoue* or *Taro*, and with an example worthy of eternall memorie, they had not only increased the payes of such as shewed vallour there, but also indued with pensions and sundry recompences the sonnes of many that dyed in that battell, and transferred dowrie to their daughters. The siege of *Nonaro* was continued with this mighty armie, for that the councill of the confederates (referring all things appertaining to that action to the will of *Lodowyke Sforce*) was not to hazard the triall of battell with the French king, vnlesse they were constrained; but rather in fortifying about *Nonaro* the places necessarie, their intentions were to let victuals for entring: They hoped that those within could not hold out long, for that they had lesse store of victuals then would serue their numbers and proportion, and no expectation of remedie in a case so restrained: for, besides the people of the Citie, and the payfants which were thither retired, the Duke of *Orleans* had of French and *Swyzers* more then seuen thousand of choise. In which respectes, *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, giuing ouer all cogitation to take the towne by force, for the multitudes of men of warre that were within, had incamped him selfe with the Dukes armie at *Mugnes*, a place of suretie vpon the high way, very conuenient to giue impediments to the prouisions that might come to *Verceill*: and the Marquis of *Mantua* with the bands of the *Venetians*, taking at his arriual by force, certaine peeces there about, together with the Castell of *Brione*, a seruice of some importance, had also refurbished *Camarian* and *Bolgare* which are betweene *Nonaro* and *Verceill*, distributing the armie into sundry places about *Nonaro*, the better to stoppe the course of victuals, and fortifying euery particular lodging and trench, to be the more easie and ready to resistance.

On the other side the French king, to haue more oportunitie to the succours of *Nonaro*, was remoued from *Ast* to *Thurn*: and albeit he made many iourneyes euen to *Chyars*, to make court to a Lady remayning there, yet that vanitie brought no negligence to the common affaires, for that they ceased not without intermission to consider of the prouisions for the warres, soliciting continually the companies conte out of *Fraunce*, with intention to put to the field two thousand French launces: They were no lesse diligent to sollicite the descending of ten thousand *Swyzers*, for the leuye of whom was dispatched the Baylisfe of *Dyon*: Their resolution was, that as soone as the armie was possessed of them, to aduaunce all meanes possible to rescue *Nonaro*: without the strength of the *Swyzers*, there was litle abilitie in the French to accomplish any worthy enterprise, seeing the Realme of *Fraunce* in those times albeit mighty in horsemen, and well furnished with artilleries and men most apt and nymble to manage them, yet it was verie weake in footemen of the proper region: The reason was, that armes and exercises of warre resting onely in the Nobilitie, the auncient vallour of that nation was fayled in the multitudes of men of base condition, ignorant in seruice martiall for the long time they had not managed armes, in place of which they had giuen them selues ouer to trades, profites, & delights of peace: for, many of the auncient kings before, fearing the fury of the popular sort, by the example of diuerse conspiracies and rebellions hapning in the same kingdome, thought it necessary in pollicie to disarm them, and draw them from the vse and practise of armes. For these reasons the Frenchmen, not trusting in the vertue of their owne footemen, neuer went to the warres with courage, vnlesse their armie were strengthened with certaine bands of the *Swyzers*: which nation (in all ages resolute & hardy in armes) had about twenty yeares before much increased their reputation, for that being assayled by a mighty army led by *Charles* Duke of *Bourbo* (he that for his power & fiercenesse was much redoubted, not onely in the realme of *Fraunce*, but of all his neighbours) they had in lesse then one moneth put him thrise to flight, & at the last chase, either as he fought, or as he fled (the certaine manner being doubtfull) they tooke from him his life: So that what for their resolute

vallour,

valour, and that the French had no controuersie with them, and lesse feare to doubt them for their interests particular, as they had of the Launceknights, they entertained no other forreine souldiers then the *Swyzers*, vsing their seruice in all their warres of importance: but more willingly at that time then at any other, for that they saw how hard a thing it was and full of daunger, to relieue *Nouaro* enuironed with so great an armie, & wherein were so many bands of Launceknights gouerned by the same discipline that the *Swyzers* were.

The Citie of *Vercell* is situated in the mid way betweene *Thury* and *Nouaro*, and hauing *Vercell giuen to the Duke of Savoy.* in auncient times bene a member of the Duchie of *Myllan*, it was giuen by *Phillip Maria Viscounte* (during the long warres he had with the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*) to *Ayme Duke of Sauoy*, to separate it from them. Into this Citie was not yet entred any bands of either part, for that the Duchesse mother and tutor to the young Duke of *Sauoy*, who in her hart was wholly French, would not discouer her selfe for the king till he were more strong; giuing in the meane while to the Duke of *Myllan* gracious wordes and hopes: but as soone as the king was strong in men and come from *Thury*, a Citie of the same Duchie, she consented that he and his souldiers should enter within *Vercell*, when by the oportunitie of that place he entred into a greater hope to be able to succour *Nouaro* when all his strength should be assembled. And on the other side the confederates, for the same reason began so to doubt, that to debate with a more rype and full counsell how they should proceede in such difficulties, *Lodwyke Sforce* went to the armie with *Beatrice* his wife, who ordinarily accompanied him no lesse in matters of importance, then in actions familiar: in the presence of whom, and (as the brute went) chiefly by her counsell, the Captaines after many reasonings, concluded with one consent, that for the more common suretie of them all, the bands of the *Venetians* should be ioyned to the armie of the Duke of *Mugnes*, leauing sufficient gard in all the other places about *Nouaro* seruing to the siege: That *Vogaro* should be abandoned, for that being within three myles of *Vercell*, it was necessary, if the French men came with strength to get it, either to loose it with infamie, or to succour it with the whole armie: That in *Camarian* three myles from *Mugnes* where the campe was, the garison should be refurnished: Lastly, that the whole campe being fortified with trenches and rampiers, and supplied with sufficient artilleries, the Captaines and assistants should daily enter into other counsels according to the behauiours of the enemie. They forgot not in this consult, to giue order to spoyle and cut downe all the trees euen to the walls of *Nouaro*, to giue incommodities to men and forage for horses, whereof there were great quantities in *Nouaro*. These resolutions established, and a generall muster made of the whole armie, *Lodwyke* returned to *Myllan* to make with more readinesse such prouisions as daily should grow necessarie for the seruices wherein to giue fauours to the forces temporall, with the authoritie and armes spirituall, the *Venetians* and he wrought so much with the Pope, that he sent one of his officers at the mace to the king, commaunding him within ten dayes to depart *Italie* with all his armie, and within an other short terme to send all his people out of the Realme of *Naples*; otherwayes that vnder the spirituall paynes wherewith the Church is wont to threaten, he should appeare before him personally at *Rome*. This remedie the auncient Popes haue vsed in tymes before: for according to traditions written, *Adrian* first of that name, constrayned with no other armes then these, *Desiderius* king of *Lombardes* (going with a strong armie to trouble the Citie of *Rome*) to retire from *Ternie* (where he was arriued) to *Pauia*: but the reuerence and feare which for the holinesse of their life, was nourished in the harts of men, being now fayled, it was a thing hard to hope, that of manners and examples so contrary, would come like effectes: the same enabling the French king (scorning at his comandement) to answer the messenger, that the Pope refusing at his returne from *Naples* to tarie him in *Rome*, whither he went deuoutly to kisse his feete, he could not but maruell, by what reason he could require him now to go thither: notwithstanding he sayd, that to obey him, he would looke to open his way, and prayed him least he tooke those paines in vaine, to attend him there till he came.

In this time, at *Thury* the king contracted with the Ambassadors of *Florence* new capitulations, not without the great contradiction of such as afore times had made resistance: who now had so much the more occasion to impugne it, by how much the *Florentines* (after they had recovered the other borowghes and strong places of the hills of *Pysa*) their campe being afore *Pont de Sac*, and the souldiers that were within rendring it with condition to haue their liues saued:

The Gascoynes
put to the
sword by the
Florentines.

Capitulation
betweene the
French king
and the Florentines.

The French
kings Jewels
are pawned.

they did (contrary to their faith and promise giuen) put to the sword almost all the Gascoyns French men which were found with the Pyssans, and vsed many cruelties against the bodies dead: this accident albeit hapned against the wills of the Florentine Commissioners, who with great difficulty saued a great part of them, but altogether by the stirring vp of certaine souldiers, who being prisoners to the French, were very rigorously dealt withall: yet in the Court of the king, all being taken by their aduersaries as a signe manifest of mindes maliciois to the name of all the Frenchmen, many impediments were objected to the solicitation and practise of the accord, which notwithstanding had his passage and full conclusion, hauing more power then all other respects, nor the memorie of promises and othes solemnly made, but the vrgent necessitie and want of money, and other commodities to succour the affaires of the kingdome of Naples: This was the accord: That without any delay, all the townes and Castles which were in the kings possession, should be restored to the Florentines; vpon condition that the state of Florence should be bound to deliuer (within two yeares next comming at the pleasure of his Maiestie receiuing sufficient recompence for them) Pietrasanta and Serezania to the Genoways, in case their estate should fall to the iurisdiction and obedience of the king: That vnder this hope, the Florentines should make present payment of the thirty thousand duckats remaining of the capitulation made at Florence, receiuing a pawne of iewels for their suretie and restitution, if for any occasion their places were not rendred: That after the redeliuerie of their places, they should lend to the king vpon bonds of the Generals of the Realme of France (so are called the foure officers royall which receiue the reuenues of the crowne) three score and tenthousand duckats, and to send part of them in his Maiesties name to the bands which were in the Realme of Naples, & an other part to be ministred to the Collonoy, in case they were not recociled & reaccorded with Ferdinand, whereof his Maiestie albeit he had some apparace, was not yet in such certaintie as to beleue it: That if they had no wars in Tuskane, they should send to Naples to the ayde of the French armie there, 250 men at armes: And in case their warres were but for the quarrell of Montpulcian, yet they should be bound to send thither to accompanie the bands of Vitelli, and not to entertaine them in that seruice longer then the moneth of October: That they should remit and pardõ the Pyssans for all their offences committed, giuing them a forme certaine for the restitution of their goods which had bene taken from them, together with conuenient and liberall meanes to exercise their traffikes and marchandise: That for the surety and obseruation of these things, they should deliuer as ostages at the election of the king, sixe of the principall Citizens of Florence, & they to remaine a certaine time in his Court: This accord concluded, and the thirty thousand duckats (which were immediatly sent to make a leaue of Swyzers) giuen vnder gage of the kings iewels, the commissions and commandements of the king were immediatly dispatched to the Captaines of the places, to make present redeliuerie to the Florentines without any difficultie or standing.

But within Nonaro albeit the vertue of the souldiers was great, & most great (for the memorie of the rebellion) the obstinacie of the townesmen to defend the towne, yet things diuolued daily to more hard & difficult termes, the store of victuals so fast diminishing, that they began euẽ now to be pinched with the want of necessaries, & (according to the nature of extremities) their hopes to be relieued were no lesse desperate then their desires great, and their present lackes grievous: Notwithstanding the Duke of Orleans, somewhat to ease and fauour the hardnesse of their condition, had ryd out of the towne all mouthes and members vnprofitable: yet it was no remedie sufficient to so great a calamitie, for that many souldiers of the French and Swyzers not able to beare the fretting anguish of hunger, & lesse enured to the other discommodities of a close siege, began to languish in diseases and sicknesse: By reason whereof the Duke, being also troubled with a feuer quartaine, made many solicitations to the king by messengers and letters not to deferre their succours: which could not be aduanced with such readinesse as might be able to minister to their generall necessities, for that there was not assembled such sufficient strength as imported the estate of their daunger: The French armie for their parts, shewing more forwardnesse of action then able to do good, made many attempts to reuietual the towne by night, vsing to that purpose the seruice both of horsemen & footmen: but being alwayes discouered by the enemy, there succeeded no other fruits of their enterprises then great harmes to them selues, and no lesse disapointments to their friends, being made more wretched by their ill fortune: But to stop altogether the passage of victuals into the town, the Marquis of Mantua, assayled the Monasterio of S. Francis, standing

standing neare to the walls of *Nonaro*, and taking it, he manned it forthwith with a garrison of two hundred men at armes, & three thousand footemen of the *Almaines*: By this meanes the *armie* confederate was discharged of a great care, the way being now made sure by the which reliefe was brought into the towne, the way also of the gate that leades to the mount *Biandrane* was stopped, for that in it was most facilitie to enter *Nonaro*: The day after he tooke also the Bastill made by the French vpon the point of the suburbes of *S. Nazare*, and the night following were surprised the whole suburbes together with the other platformes neare to the gate, wherein he bestowed a garrad and fortified the suburbes, the Count *Petillane* (whom the *Venetians* had taken into their pay with title of gouernour) being hurt there with a small shot neare the girdle place and in great daunger of death: For the successe of these places, the Duke of *Orleans* distrusting to be able to defend any more the other suburbes which he had at his entrey into *Nonaro*, he let fire on them the night following, and drew all his strength to the defence and gard of the Citie only: And touching the extremitie of famine, he yet nourished him selfe with hopes of succours, the rather for that the *Swyzers* beginning now to arriue at the campe, the kings armie passing the riuer of *Stesia* was marched out of *Vercell* a myle to lodge in the field, and hauing bestowed a garde in *Bolgare*, expected the residue of the *Swyzers*: who being once assembled, the armie was resolved to minister succours to *Nonaro*: an action notwithstanding full of many difficulties, for that the *Italian* bandes were lodged in places of aduantage well furnished and fortified, and the way from *Vercell* to *Nonaro*, full of lakes and waters, and very vncasie for horsemen almost impassible, for the broad and deepe ditches thorow the whole countrey: Besides, betweene *Bolgare* holden by the French, and the canpes of the *Italians*, was *Camarian*, which the *Italians* garded. In respect of these difficulties, there appeared not in the minde of the king nor of the others, a readinesse answering the expectation of those that attended in distresse: and yet it was supposed, that if the *Swyzers* had sooner arriued, they had aduentured the fortune of battell, the euent whereof could not but be doubtfull to either of the armies: and therefore, they both hauing regard to the daunger present, there wanted no secret trauell to sollicite an accord betweene the king and the Duke of *Myllan*, albeit it was with small hope for the indifferent distrust that was betweene those two Princes, and for that both the one and other, for their greater reputation, made shewes that they had no deuotion to peace. But fortune layed open an other meane more expedient for so great a conclusion: for about the same times, the Lady Marquise of *Monferat* being dead, and being in debate, who ought to take the gouernement of a litle sonne whom she had left, to which Regentship aspired with one desire, the Marquis of *Saluce*, and *Constantin* brother to the said Lady deceased, one of the auncient Lordes of *Macedonia*, which *Mahomet Ottoman* had occupied many yeares before: the French king fauouring much the tranquillitie of that estate, sent *Argenton* to *Cesar Cernaui*, to ordaine and establish a Protectorship according to the consent of the subiectes: and being gone thither also as a mourner for the death of the Lady one of the principall officers of the Marquis of *Mantua*, they two meeting vpon the way, fell into discourse and deuises to haue a peace, alledging many benefites that would redound to both parties: This voluntarie reasoning betweene them two succeeded to so good fruite, that the Lord of *Argenton* tooke occasion to write to the *Venetian* Commissioners, reiterating the reasons and matters which had bene begun to be debated euer since they were at *Taro*, and they fauouring the motion with very forward affections, communicated immediatly with the Captaines of the Duke of *Myllan*, & so with one agreement, sent to require the French king (now come to *Vercell*) that he would assigne some of his counsell to meete in some place conuenient, to common with such as they should appoint in deputation for their part: whereunto the king consenting with a readinesse equal to his desire, there assembled the day following betweene *Bolgare* and *Camarian* for the *Venetians* the Marquis of *Mantua*, and *Bernard Contarin* gouernour of their *Estradiots*: for the Duke of *Myllan* was sent *Frauncis Barnardin Viscounte*: & for the French king the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, the Prince of *Orange* (to who being newly come to the campe, the king had giuen the principall charge ouer the whole army) the Marehall of *Gie*, *Monsieur de Pienes*, and *Monsieur d'Argenton*: who making many meetings and certaine particulars of them making iourneyes from the one armie to the other, the differences and chiefe controuersies fell at last vpon the citie of *Nonaro*: for that the French king making no difficultie in the effect of the restitution, but in the manner, the lesse to offend his honour, laboured that it might be referred (in the name of the

The counsell of the king and of the *Venetians* do meete.

The Prince of *Orange* general of the French armie.

king of *Romaines* direct Lord of the Duchie of *Myllan*), into the hands of one of the *Almans* Captaines which was in the campe of the *Italians*: On the contrary, the confederats required that it might be left frankly. These and other doubtess hapning, not being able to be resolved with that speed which they that were within *Novaro* required, being now false vpon such extremities, that what by famine, and other raging diseases rising by it, there were dead of the Dukes companie about two thousand bodies: a truce was made for eight dayes, with sufferance to the sayd Duke and the Marquis of *Saluce*, to go with a small companie to *Verceill*, but vnder promise and faith to returne to *Novaro* with the same companie, if the peace proceeded not; and for the suretie of the Dukes person (for that he was to passe thorow the campe of the enemye) the Marquis of *Mantua* went to a tower neare to *Bolgare* in the keeping of the *Count de Foix*: the souldiers that were to remaine in *Novaro*, would not haue suffered him to depart, if he had not giuen them his faith, that within three dayes he would returne, or else by his meane they should haue libertie to go out, the Marehall of *Gie* being there for his conduit, leauing also one of his nephewes for ostage: for that not onely the victuals were consumed which ordinarily serued for the sustenance of man, but also the vncleane and filthy scrappes, from which they could not abstaine in so great an extremitie. Immediately after the Duke was come to the kings presence, the truce was estoones proroged for a certaine few dayes, with condition that all his companies should go out of *Novaro*: that the towne should be left in the power of the people, and they to make an othe not to giue it to either partie without common consent: and that thirtie footemen, who should be victualled daily by the campe of the *Italians*, should remaine in the Castell for the Duke of *Orleans*. Thus all the souldiers issued out of *Novaro*, whom the Marquis of *Mantua* & *Galeas de S. Senerin* protected and conducted till they were in place of suretie. But so much were they weakened & consumed with hunger, that they were no sooner arriued at *Verceill*, then many of them dyed, and the residue remained altogether vnprofitable for the seruice of that warre.

About this time, the Bailiffe of *Dyon* arriued at the campe with the residue of the *Swyzers*, of whom albeir his commission was to leaue but ten thousand, yet he could not chuse but at the reappoynt of the kings money, there descended by troupes a far greater number, rising in the whole to an armie of twentie thousand: The one halfe was admitted to ioyne to the campe neare *Verceill*, & the residue remained ten myles off, because in pollicie it was not thought sure that so great a proportion of men of one nation should be at one time in one campe: if their comming had bin somewhat sooner, the practises of peace had bene easily broken, seeing without them there were in the campe eight thousand French footemen, two thousand of those *Swyzers* which had bene at *Naples*, and eightene hundred launces.

But things being now so far aduanced, and *Novaro* already abandoned, the interviewes did not discontinue, although the Duke of *Orleans* vsed all his labour to the contrary, hauing many of the greatest of the Court of his opinion: Therefore the Deputies were euery day at the campe of the *Italians* to sollicite with the Duke of *Myllan*, who was newly returned thither, to the end to debate him selfe in a matter of so great consequence, doing all things (notwithstanding) in the presence of the confederate Ambassadors. At length the Deputies returned to the king, bringing the last conclusion of all things that they could for the accord. First that betweene the French king and the Duke of *Myllan*, there should be a peace and friendship perpetuall (the Duke nothing derogating notwithstanding his other confederations:) That the king should consent that the towne of *Novaro* should be rendred to the Duke by the people, together with the Castell left to his Maiestie by the gard of thirtie footemen: That the towne of *Spesia* and all other places occupied by either part, should be rendred: That it should be lawfull to the king to arme at *Genes* (his freehold and chiefe) so many vessels as he would, seruing his turne of all the commodities of that Citie, so that it were not in fauour of the enemies to the state of the same: That for assurance of this article, the *Genoways* should giue him certaine ostages: That the Duke of *Myllan* should cause to be rendred to the king, the vessels lost at *Rapale*, and the twelue galleys restrained at *Genes*, and to arme for him presently at his proper charges two grosse carrakes of *Genes*, which with foure others of his owne he determined to send to the succours of *Naples*: That the Duke should also deliuer to the king the yeare after, three others in the same maner: That the Duke should giue free & friendly passage to the companies that the king should send by land to the same succours, vnder this couenant, that there should not passe by his estate more then two hundred launces at a time: That if

Peace between
the French king
and the Confederates.

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the king returned estoones to the same enterprife; the Duke should follow him with certaine bands of men: That the *Venetians* should haue power to enter this contract within two moneths: and if they did enter, then to retire their armie by sea from the kingdome of *Naples*, and to be bound to giue no succours to *Ferdmand*: but if they did not obserue this, and the king should leuy warre against them, the Duke should be bound to ayde him, reaping to his vse all that should be conquered of the *Venetian* estates: That the Duke should pay fiftie thousand duckats in the next march to the Duke of *Orleans* for the charges of the warre of *Nonaro*: and acquite the king of foure scor thousand duckats parcell of the money he had lent his Maiestie when he marched first into *Italie*, the residue to be rendred by his Maiestie at a longer terme: That *John Lackes Trimalce* should be absolued of the confiske and condemnation wherein he had bene conuicted by the Duke, and enioy restitution of all his goods: That the bastard of *Bourbon* taken in the journey of *Furnoue*, & the Lord of *Myolans* taken at *Rapale*, together with all other prisoners should be redeliuered: That the Duke should withdraw from *Pysa*, *Fracasse*; who he had sent thither a litle before, together with all his bands and the companies of the *Genoways*: That he should giue no impediment to the *Florentines* to recouer that which appertained to their iurisdiction: That within one moneth he should put by way of confidēce the Castell of *Genes* into the hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who called to that end by both the parties, was now come to the campe of the *Italians*, and that the sayd Duke of *Ferrara* should keepe it two yeares at their common charges, and to be bound by oath to redeliuer it within the sayd time to the hands of the French king, in case the Duke of *Myllan* should not hold his promises: who immediately vpon the conclusion of the peace, should giue ostages to the king for assurance to assigne the Castell at the time agreed vpon. These conditions brought to the king by his Deputies that had debated them, were propunded in his publike and priuate councell, wherein being found no lesse variation of mindes, then contrarietie of reasons, euery one disputing particularly, *Mōsieur Trymonille* reasoned in this sort. If in the councell present we had not to debate but of meanes to encrease the glorie to the crowne of *Fraunce* by actions of vallour and vertue, I should not perhaps be so forward to encourage your Maiesties person to new daungers, although the example of your selfe giues you councell to the contrary, seeing being caried with no other affection then a desire and ambition of glorie, you determined the yeare past, against the counsels and humble petitions of the face and body of your Realme, to descend into *Italie* to conquere the kingdome of *Naples*: where your enterprife drawing a success happy and with encrease of your name and honour, it is a thing manifest that now we haue not onely to deliberate, whether the occasion to winne new honours and glorie is to be reiected, but also if we may estoones lose againe that reputation which you haue got with so great aduentures, charges, and daungers, and conuerting the honours already wonne into imputations and infamies perpetuall, whether you ought to be the personage so impugnant and contrary to your proper resolutions, as to reprehend and condemne the counsels established by your selfe: for your Maiestie might without any losse to your reputation haue remained in *Fraunce*, and that which now the world will wrap in opinions of dishonorable feares and cowardize, could not as then be referred to any other then to negligēce, or to an age occupied in pleasures: your Maiestie asloone as you had bene arriued in *Ast*, might estoones haue returned into *Fraunce*, with the same speed, and lesse shame, making as though the matters of *Nonaro* concerned you nothing at all: But now by the presence of your armie so long incamping here, you haue published your intention, and that you were touched with desire to deliuer the towne from siege, for which regard also hauing assembled out of *Fraunce* so great a proportion of nobilitie and a leaue of *Swyzers* at a charge intollerable: who will doubt, that if you depart and not satisfie these expectations, but leaue the towne to her perils, that your glorie, with the reputation of your whole Realme, will not take a contrary conuersion of iust reproch and infamie perpetuall. But (if in the harts of great kings may be motions more violent then desires of renowne and glory) there be yet reasons more mighty, or at least more iust and necessary: seeing our retrait into *Fraunce*, consenting to the losse of *Nonaro*, neither is, nor will be thought any other thing then the losse of the whole kingdome of *Naples*, and the vnworthy slaughter of so many Captaines & Nobles of *Fraunce* left there for the defence, of the same, vpon your hopes, ioyned with your faith and promises, to send them speedy succours: wherein, how miserable will be their expectations, but more wretched and desperate their estates, and conditions, when they shall vnderstand that your Maiestie incamping vpon the frontiers of

*Monsieur Trimonille opinio
touching the
peace.*

" *Italie* with an armie so populous, and forces so resolute, shall yet retire and giue place to the ene-
 " mie: The successe of warres, dependes partly of reputation, which when it declines, declineth
 " with all the vertue of the souldiers, the faith of the peoples diminisheth, and the reuenges
 " pointed to sustaine and defray the warres, fall to wants and diminutions: As of the contrary, the
 " enemie increaseth in courage, such as wander in feares and doubts, come to be resolute and well
 " assured, and all difficulties are aggrauated to their aduantage: So that, for so wretched and mi-
 " serable a newes, the strength and vertue of our armie falling into faintnesse and feeble doubtes,
 " and the vallour and reputation of our enemies rising to greater glorie and arrogancie, who
 " doubtes not to see with this alteration and chaunge, the reuolt and rebellion of all the kingdome
 " of *Naples*: together with the desolation of our whole armie; and so that honorable enterprise be-
 " gun with so great felicitie, to bring forth in the end no other fruite their harmes wretched for the
 " present, and dishonorable to all ages hereafter: for he that is perswaded that this peace is made
 " with good faith and meaning, lookes with slender iudgement into the condition of things pre-
 " sent, and much lesse knoweth the natures of those with whom we deale: seeing it is a thing of easie
 " comprehension, that we shall no sooner haue turned our backs to the region of *Italie*, then all
 " these treatises, promises, and contractes, will vanish and turne into smoke: yea in place
 " to minister those aydes they haue promised, their infidelitie will carie them to applie succours
 " to *Ferdinand*. Lastly, these bands whose impudencie will fill the whole world with bragges
 " that they haue chased vs out of *Italie*, will march to *Naples* to make them selues rich with the
 " spoyles of our countrey men, made wretched by our cowardize: which infamie me thinks
 " might be easlier borne, if by any probable reason we might doubt of the victorie: But it is a
 " doubt wayne, and by no sense can settle in the mindes of any, who making consideration of
 " the greatnesse of our armie, and the oportunities of the countrey adioyning, will remember how
 " ouerweared and trauelled with a long marche, disurnished of victuals, our numbers small,
 " and in the midst of the countrey of the enemie, we fought against a most huge armie at the
 " riuer of *Taro*: making the riuer by our vallour swell higher with the blood of our enemies then
 " with his proper streames: At what time also we opened our way with the sword, and as Con-
 " querours rode eight dayes iourney thorow the Duchy of *Myllan*, enemie to our enterprises and
 " greatnesse: We haue now twise as many horsemen, the numbers of our French footemen re-
 " doubled, and in place of three thousand *Swyzzers*, our armie embraceth at this instant two and
 " twentie thousand: And albeit the enemie is stronger then before in *Almaine* footemen, yet in
 " all discourse of reason, they can not hold comparison with ours: neither are their horsemen o-
 " thers then the selfe same, and their Captaines euen those, that hauing once yeilded vnder the force
 " of our armes, and by our furie suffered so great harmes, will not eftsoones returne to the fight
 " but with mindes fearefull and appalled. But it may be objected, that the profites of the victorie
 " are so small, that they ought not to stand in regard or computation with vs: No, of the contra-
 " ry, they are such for their nature, and so great for their vse, that we ought to aspire to obtaine
 " with what great daunger so euer: for that they include not onely the preservation of so great a
 " glorie gotten, the succours of so rich a kingdome as *Naples*, the iust safetie of so many of your
 " Captaines, and the honorable deliuerie of such a proportion of your Nobilitie: but also they
 " make a secret offer to inuest you in the whole empire of *Italie*, which if we remaine here with the
 " vpper hand, will be the pray, fruite, and recompence of our victorie: for what other bands, what
 " other armies remaine to the enemies, in whose campe are assembled all the forces, all the compa-
 " nies, and all the Captaines, which they could leauy, either by fauour, authoritie, or money:
 " one trench which we shall winne, one rampier which we shall force, will put into our bosomes
 " (things honorable and great) not onely the empire and treasures of *Italie*, but also the meane to
 " be reuenged of all our common and priuate wrongs: which two spurres or motions alwayes ac-
 " customed to pricke forward minds base and cowardly, if they stirre not with an other quicknesse
 " our nation warlike and resolute, we may iustly say that our vallour hath rather fayled vs then our
 " fortune, by whom is prepared the occasion to winne in so litle place, and in so few houres, so great
 " and worthy recompences, that the wisdom and desires of men reasonable can with no more:
 " The time, the place, the occasion, our fortune, and all other oportunities and circumstances to be
 " considered in enterprises, offer vs the victorie, there wanteth nothing but actio in men, which for so
 " much ought to be more ready in vs, by how much it importeth me of vertue not to loose the ho-

nor they haue gotten ; nor leaue in suspition, that want of valour makes them vnworthy of that, which their fortune offereth with so great fauour and further reputation . The Prince of Orange, hauing a contrary affection, spake against this opinion in this sort.

If your affaires (right Christian king) were not so much pressed with time ; but that they would giue you leasure to accompanie your forces with industrie and discreffion : or if they stood not vpon degrees and conditions so immoderate, as you are constrained (if you will continue the warre) to proceede with importunities contrary to all the preceptes and directions of warre : I could be one of those would giue counsell to reiect the peace : for that by many reasons we are encouraged not to accept it, as also it cannot be denied, but that it would be a thing honorable to continue the warre, and no lesse conuenient for the affaires of Naples : But the termes whereunto are brought the towne and Castell of *Nomaro*, not prouided of victuals for one day, compell vs (if we will succour it) to set speedily vpon our enemies, and with a resolution suddaine to take away respite which makes them strong and able, and increaseth in our armie incommodities hurtfull and daungerous: and if (in suffering it to be lost) we meane to transport the warre into an other part of the state of *Myllan*, the season of the winter now at hand very vnfit to make warre in places so low and full of waters, and the qualitie of our armie for the nature and great multitudes of *Swyzzers*, who being not speedily employed may be more prejudiciall to vs then to our enemies ; and lastly our generall want of money making our abode here impossible for any long time, enforce vs (not accepting the accord) to seeke the meane to put suddainly an end to the warre : A thing which can not be done other wayes ; then directly to go and charge the enemies, which as well for their conditions, as the disauantages of the countrey, is so daungerous, that in reasonable conference of things, the action can not but hold of rashnesse and indiscreffion : for that their campe is so strong by nature and art, according to the time they haue had to rampier and fortifie it, the places round about where their garisons are so conuenient for their defence ; and so well manned : the countrey, for the quantitie of ditches and impediment of waters, so vnapt to the seruice of horsemen ; that to go seeke them directly, and not to accost them with commodities and aduantages, and (as the saying is) to winne vpon them by litle and litle : is no other thing then to tempt fortune, and aduenture vpon perils most certaine and desperate : for with what discourse, with what reason of warre, or with what example of notable Captaines, may we with such rashnesse and importunie inuade so great an armie, and that in trenches so strong and well furnished with artillerie ? No, it is better (if you will proceede otherwayes then at aduenture) to seeke to driue them from their trenches by winning some place which they commaund, or at least in restraining their victuals : wherein I can see no other thing to assure our hopes, then by proceeding deliberately and with the length of time, which we haue no meane to attend, (our affaires bearing nothing more prejudicially then to temporise and expect.) Besides, our horsemen containe neither those numbers, nor that valour, which happily many do weene, for that many are made weake by diseases, many returned into *Fraunce* with leaue and without leaue, and many of those that remayne, ouertrauelled with this long warre, haue more desire to go home then to fight : And touching the *Swyzzers*, who for their vertue are the principall forces of our armie, yet their great number may happily be more hurtfull, then would be vnprofitable a lesser proportion : for such hath bene alwayes the experience of the customes and nature of that nation, that to manage them being so strong and many together, can not almost be without certaintie of some daungerous tumult, (specially things (as is necessary) proceeding with sufferance and length of time.) During the which, by reason of their payments wherein they are insatiable, and other accidents which follow of course, may happen a thousand occasions to turne and chaunge them, & so we should remaine vncertaine whether their ayde would serue vs as a medicine or a poyson: and in such an vncertainty we can not establish any thing in our counsels, & much lesse resolue our mindes to any enterprise of valour or importance. No man doubteth but the victory is more honorable and sure for the defence of the kingdome of *Naples*, then the agreement to peace; but in all actions of men, and specially in warres, we must accommodate our counsels to necessity, and not for the desire to obtaine that part which is hard and impossible, to put the whole in manifest perill, seeing it is an office as equall and iust in a Captaine to shew wisdom in his actions, as courage. The enterprise of *Nomaro* (Sir) was not your principall intention, neither doth it touch you but indirectly, for that you pretend no right to the

The Duchie of *Myllan*: and much lesse are you come out of *Naples* to stay to make warre in *Piemont*:
 but to returne into *Fraunce*, to giue order to leaue treasure and men, to the end with more might
 to succours to minister ayde to your companies at *Naples*: who in the meane while, what with
 the rescue of your nauie departed from *Nyce*, & what with men and moneyes of the *Florentines*,
 will haue so good meane to defend their condition, that they may without daunger attend the
 great prouisions which you are to areare at your returne into *Fraunce*. I am none of those that
 will assure that the Duke of *Myllan* will iustly observe these capitulations, yet receiuing hostages of
 him and the *Genoways*, and the Castell also committed according to the forme of the contract, you
 are not without pawne and suretie. It is also reasonable in him to demaund peace, because lying
 nearest the daunger of your forces, his feares are no lesse iust, then his perils likely. Besides, leagues,
 which haue many competitors, of their proper nature haue not that stabilitie and concord, but vpon
 occasions they come to disagree and fall off one from another, in which case, euery little hole
 that they shall make, yea euen the smallest crannell or creuise that shall appeare, will make to vs
 the victorie no lesse easie then well assured: So that seeing your affaires stand in these degrees, and
 that God hath made it impossible to mortall Princes to rule the time, my aduise is, that your Ma-
 iestie strue not against the streame of the time, but to frame your inclinations to the peace; not that
 it is of it selfe profitable or commendable, but because it is an office in Princes wise and stayed
 condition, in causes difficult & daungerous, to allow for easie & commendable, that that is neces-
 sarie and conuenient, or at least wise such as are least intangled with daungers, & nothing at all de-
 rogate reputation & honour. The Duke of *Orleans* rebuked sharply the speeches of the Prince of
 Orange, either of them taking such libertie of passion, that falling from wordes to reproches and
 iniuries, the Duke gaue him the lye in the whole presence of the councell: but the inclination of
 most part of the councell, and consequently of the multitude of the armie, was to embrace the
 peace, bearing so much power in them all, & no lesse in the person of the king, a sweet desire to re-
 turne into *Fraunce*, that they were not able to discerne the daunger of the kingdome of *Naples*, &
 much lesse to see how slaundersous it was to suffer to be lost afore their eyes the Citie of *Nomaro*,
 and lastly to depart out of *Italie* with conditions so vnequall, considering the incertaintie of the
 obseruation: which disposition was so vehemently fauoured by the Prince of Orange, that many
 doubted lest to gratifie the king of *Romains*, to whom he was most affectioned, he had no lesse re-
 gard to the profit of the Duke of *Myllan*, then to the commodities of the French king, with whom
 truly his authoritie was great, partly for the excellencie of his wit, and partly for credit of his val-
 our, but most of all, for that it is a custome and propertie with Princes, to esteeme most wise, such
 as are most conformed to their inclinations.
 At last the peace was made, which was no sooner sworne by the Duke of *Myllan*, then the king,
 reiecting all other thoughts then such as made for his returne into *Fraunce*, went forthwith to
Thuryn: his hast was the more importunate to depart from *Vercell*, for that those bands of the
Swyzzers that were in the campe, to assure their payes of three whole moneths (according to the
 custome of *Lomys* the xi. as they alledged) began to speake of staying the king or the Chiefeines
 of his Court for the suretie of their pay: notwithstanding they could not claime so much by pro-
 mise, nor yet had serued so long time from which daunger albeit the person of the king was deli-
 uered by his suddaine departure, yet they hauing made prisoners the Bayliffe of *Dyon* and others
 that leauied them, he was in the end constrained to assure all their demaundes, as well with pro-
 mises as with hostages: fro *Thuryn* the king desiring to make a perfect establishment of the peace,
 sent to the Duke of *Myllan* the Marshall of *Gie*, the President of *Gannay*, and *Argenton*, to in-
 duce him to speake with his Maiestie: The Duke seemed to be of the same desire, but it was not
 without some doubt of treason: In so much that either for that suspition, or obiecting perhaps
 some expresse difficulties, as not to giue occasion of ielousie to the confederates, or for that his
 ambition would not suffer him to come in a behauiour inferiour to the French king: he propos-
 ed to haue the meeting vpon the middest of a riuer, where a bridge being made either with barks
 or other matter, there should be betweene them a barre of wood: A manner of communing to-
 gether vsed heretofore by the kings of *England* & *Fraunce*, and other great Princes of the West.
 This the king refused, as a thing vnworthy his greatnesse, and therefore without any enteruiewe,
 he receiued his hostages, and dispatched *Peron de la Basche* to *Genes* to receiue the two carrake
 that were promised him, and to rigge foure others at his owne charges for the succours of the Cite.

The lye giuen
 to the Prince
 of Orange.

The *Swyzzers*
 offer to stay
 the king for
 pay.

Ships of *Naples*, which he knew had not received the rescues sent from *Nice*, for that they suffered so many impediments as they could not be profitable to the service of *Naples*. In which respect, his people there besieged, had made composition to render up the castles if they were not succored within thirty daies. The King made his plot to arme the said vessels with three thousand *Swissers*, and to adioyne them to the sayd navy parte from *Nice* now retired to *Liurne*, and to certaine other vessels expected from *Prouence*. All which (without the great ships of the *Genoways*) had not bene sufficient for that succours, the haue of *Naples* being now full of a huge army by sea, both for the vessels of the provisions of *Ferdinand*, and also for twenty galleies and foure ships sent thither by the *Venetians*. The King after he had dispatched *Monsier Argenton* to *Venice*, to sollicite the Senate to enter into the peace and participat with the accord, tooke his way into *France* with all his Court, and that with such equall speed and desire to be there, that there was nothing could stay him any few daies in *Italy*, no not till the *Genoways* had deliuered him their hostages promised vpon the contract at *Vercell*, which certainly they had accomplished, if his hasty departure had not preuented their true intention and meaning. Thus then vpon the end of October 1495. his maiesty returned on the other side the mounts, resembling rather a personage vanquished, then a Prince victor (notwithstanding the conquest and victories he had obtayned:) he left as his Lieutenant in *Asi* (a city which it should seeme he bought of the duke of *Orleans*) *Iohn Jacques Trinuice* with five hundred french launces, who not many daies after of their proper authority followed the King, by whom was left no other succours for the kingdome of *Naples*, then the nauies preparing at *Genes* and *Prouence*, and the assignation of the aides and moneys promised by the *Florentines*.

Trinuice left to guide Asi, followeth the King.

After the discourse of other things, me thinkes it can not be out of purpose (specially it being a destiny fatall, that the calamities of *Italy* should take their beginning of the passage of the french men, or at least were imputed to them) to leaue to memory and tradition in what sort began the disease, which the french men call the euill of *Naples*, and the *Italians* name the botch, or more commonly the disease of *France*. It happened as an infection to the french men whilest they were at *Naples*, and by them in their returne from that warre, was dispersed and spred through all *Italy*. This disease either altogether new, or at least vnknowen in that age in our hemisphere otherwayes then in the most extreame and furthest parts, was for certaine yeares so horrible, that it well deserueth mention and monument, as a calamity grievous and lamentable: for it appeared alwaies either in vile botches or buttons, which oftentimes proued vlcers incurable; or else they tormented the whole body with paine and aches in the ioynts and sinewes: and the Physicians hauing no experience in maladies of that nature, and therefore ignorant in the remedies proper and naturall, applied oftentimes cures directly resisting and contrary, which inflamed the infection to greater rage, euen to the killing of many bodies of all ages and sexes. Many became deformed with them, and subiect almost to perpetuall torments, yea some such as seemed to be deliuered of them, returned euen soones in short time to the same misery: But after the course of many yeares (either the influence aboue being appeased which bred them so horrible and raging, or by long experience their proper remedies and cures being found out) the disease began to be lesse malitious, changing it selfe into diuerse kindes of infirmity, differing from the first calamity, whereof truly the regions and people of our times might iustly complaine, if it hapned to them without their proper disorder, seeing it is well approued by all those that haue diligently studied and obserued the properties of that euill, that either neuer or very rarely it happeneth to any otherwayes, then by contagious whoredome or immoderate incontinency. The french thinke it reasonable to acquite them of the ignominy, for that it is knowen since, that such a disease was transported out of *Spaine* to *Naples*, and yet not proper or naturall of that nation, but brought thither from the *Iles*, which in those seasons began to be made familiar to our regions, by the nauigation of *Christopher Columbus* a *Genoway*: in which isles by the fauor of nature, are remedies ready to the cure of that ill by drinking onely of the iuice of a wood (most singular for many other worthy properties) which growing plentifully in those places, is a remedy no lesse easie, then absolute and assured to the inhabitants there.

The french pocke and their beginning.

The end of the second Booke



THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guiccardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

LODOWIKE SFORCE keepeth not the treaty of peace: The Venetians take the towne of Pisa into their protection: The french King determineth to returne into Italy: The King of Romaines besiegeth Lynorne: The Pope makes warre upon the Vrsins: The french King dieth at Ambosse: Frear Ieronimo Saonarola is hanged at Florence.

BY the dishonourable returne of the french King ouer the Mountes, proceeding notwithstanding more of indiscretion and disorders, then by puffaninity or weakenesse of his army: wise men grew into hopes and iudgements, that *Italy*, after so many scourges and grievous stormes of infelicities, would now at last resume her liberty, or at least, be redeliuered of the insolent iurisdiction of the french: wherein by so much more were worthy and notable the vertues and actions of the Senate of *Venice* and Duke of *Millan*, by how much the taking armes with a wise and resolute councell, were the onely lets, that so goodly a part of the world fell not into the seruitude of strangers. But as nothing can satisfie the couetousnesse of man: so if they had not bin caried with ambitious respects touching their interests and desires particular, nor (to their proper injury and common harmes) had so corrupted the vniuersall benefite and common weale of that region: no man might haue doubted that *Italy*, (readdressed by their armies and councells, and disloones repossessed of her ancient dignities and prerogatiues) had not bene for long time assailed against the importunities, furies, and violent inuasions of the proud nations beyond the Mounts: but ambition, which would not suffer either of them to be contented with his limits, was the cause not onely to returne vpon *Italy* new inuasions and troubles, but also that they could not enioy the frute of the victory, which their fortune brought into their hands, against those miserable remainders of the french in the kingdome of *Naples*: a victory which the negligence and vniwise councells of the king made of easie action to them, for that the succors which he had leauied at his departure out of *Italy*, were either vtterly vaine, or at least of so litle fruit, that they brought no comfort to his people, his prouisions of nauigation, and the aids promised by the *Florentines*, seruing also to like effect.

“ This is a rule in the nature of man, that to him that is iniured and can not haue iustice, nothing
 “ is more sweet then the passion of reuenge: euen so by how much the remembrance of the offence
 “ is greene and fresh, by so much stronger is the desire of reuenge in the mind griued; and so much
 “ lesse the trust or confidence in the party that hath offended: *Lodowike Sforce* consented not to the
 peace with the King, with a sound faith and meaning, for that remembring the iniuries he had
 done him, he thought it stoode not with his surety, disloones to commit him selfe to the fidelity
 of the King: but the desire to recouer *Nonaro*, and deliuer his owne estate from the incommodities
 of the warre, induced him to promise that which he had no desire to keepe, following the
 Kings humor with wordes, and keeping his intentions dissembled: and it may be supposed, that
 in the peace made with this semblance, did participate the consent of the Senate of *Venice*, willing
 to disburden their state without their infamy, of the very huge and great expences occupied ypon
 the warre of *Nonaro*: But *Lodowike*, to whom in actions of shift and cunning, nothing was
 more familiar then moderation of wit, because he would not in vnadvised sort breake the articles
 of the capitulation, but shadow his doings with some colour, accomplished that which he
 could not deny to be in his power: he deliuered hostages: he set at liberty the prisoners, paying their
 ransoms of his proper treasures: he restored the vessels taken at *Rapale*: he withdrew from *Pisa*

Lodowike subtle in dissembling.

Freccasse,

Fracasse whom he could not dissuade to be in his pay. Lastly, he put the castell of *Genes* into the hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who went thither in person to receiue it: But on the other side, he left within *Pisa* *Luke Malvezzo* with many bandes of souldiers, as though he were in the wages and payes of the *Genoways*: he suffered that two carrakes which were armed at *Genes*, went to *Naples* for the seruice of *Ferdinand*, vsing this excuse, that for that he had entertayned them afore the conclusion of the peace, they of *Genes* would not consent that they should be denied to him: he laboured secretly that the *Genoways* should not deliuer in their ostages to the King: And that which was of greater consequence for the losse of the castels of *Naples*, after the King had armed and manned the foure shippes, and that he had furnished him of the two for the which he was bound: he wrought so with the *Genoways*, that making semblaunces of feare, they gaue impediments that the Kings souldiers should not be armed, if first they receiued not of him sufficient caution, that he should not employ them against them selues, nor attempt with that force to chaunge the gouernment of *Genes*. For these cauillations, the King complayned by men expresse to *Lodowike*, who (according to his custome in euasions) answered him with exceptions, sometimes that he had promised to furnish him with the shippes, but without consent that they should be manned with french souldiers: And sometimes he alleadged that the iurisdiction which he had of *Genes* was not absolute, but limited and restrayned to such conditions, as he had no power of compulsion, and much lesse was his authority to enforce their willes to his desires, specially in things which they pretended to be dangerous for their estate, or to derogate the liberties of their city: wherein the better to iustifie his excuses, he wrought so, that the Pope commanded the *Genoways* and him vpon paine of the Church censures, that they should not suffer to be drawne from *Genes* by the french King, any vesselles of no sort or nature: In so much as the succours expected with so great desire by the french, which were wretched in the kingdome of *Naples*, sorted to no comfort or reliefe to them. No more did the aides and moneys promised by the *Florentines*: seeing after the accord made at *Thurin*, *Guinde Anthoine Vespucci* one of their Embassadours assistant at the conclusion, departing immediatly with all the necessary dispatches, and passing without suspicion through the Duchy of *Millan*, for that the common weale of *Florence* was not declared enemy to either part: he was retained in *Alexandria* by the Dukes commission: and all his papers and dispatches taken from him, he was led forthwith to *Millan*, where the capitulations and promises of the *Florentins* being bewraied, the *Venetians* and the Duke tooke counsell, not to suffer the *Pisans* to perish: who as soone as the french king was gone out of *Italy*, had by new Embassadors recommended their affaires to *Venice* and *Millan*. Their resolution to rescue the *Pisans*, was not without the consent of the Pope and the Embassadours of the other confederats, vnder pretence to hinder the money and aides which the *Florentins* (reentring into *Pisa* and their other places) were to send to the realme of *Naples*: and also for that being conioyned with the french King, and by the recovering of that city, made more mighty, they might in many sorts endamage the common safety of *Italy*: but the principal humor that fed that motion, was their ambition and great desire to make them selues Lords ouer *Pisa*: a sweet pray to entice ambitious mindes; and as it had bene afore time vehemently aspired by *Lodowike*, so the *Venetians* began now in like sort to looke into it with couetous eies; as people who seeing the auncient vnity of other Potentats broken, and one part of those weakened which had wont to oppose against them, embraced already with thoughts and hopes the Monarchy of all *Italy*: whereunto they esteemed the impery of *Pisa* a very conuenient instrument, to beginne with the commodity of his haven (which they thought could not be long kept by *Florence* not holding *Pisa*) to stretch out their limits euen to the inferiour sea: hauing withall by the oportunity of that city, an entry of great importance into *Tuscane*. The Duke of *Millan* shewed most readinesse to minister to their succors, who entertaining at the same instant the *Florentins* with diuerse practises, had ordained that *Fracasse*, vnder colour of his priuate business (for he had possessions in that countrey) should go to *Pisa*, & the *Genoways* to refurbish them with new supplies of footemen: The *Venetians* also forgot not to nourish them with promises and comforts of speedy succours, and accordingly dispatched one of their Secretaries to *Genes*, to make a leauy off footemen, and perswade the *Genoways* not to abandon the *Pisans*: yet they were long in sending their strength thither, perhaps by this opinion, that so long as the citadell was holden by the french King, and so long as he were in *Italy*, it was not conuenient to lay any great foundation of those things. On the other side, the *Florentines*, aduertised of the new coucnants made

*Shiftes of Lod.
Sforce to break
the peace.*

*The Venetians
in mind to rescue
the Pisans.*

with the King by the Embassadours at *Thurin*, had increased their army, to be the more able to constraîne the *Pysans* to receiue them, as soone as they saw the dispatches of the King. And albeit as you haue heard, they were restrained together with their Embassadours by the Duke of *Millan*, yet they forbore not to take the borough of *Palaye*, and so planted their campe afore *Vicopisan*: the besieging of which place was of no effect, partly for that the Captaines (eyther by ill counsell, or for that they iudged their strength not sufficient to bring their Campe on that side towards *Pysa*, the *Pysans* hauing erected a bastillion on a mount neare the towne) encamped on that side vnderneath towards *Bientina*: a place of little commodity to hurt *Vico*; and keeping it, the way of *Pysa* and *Casina* lay open to those that were besieged: partly for that *Paule Vitelli* hauing receiued three thousand duckats, went thither to defend it, entring with his companies and the bandes of his bretheren, vnder a fained colour to haue letters of the King, and commandement from the generall of *Langwedock*, brother to the Cardinall of Saint *Mallo* (remaining sicke at *Pietra Santa*) to protect *Pysa* and the appurtenance, vntill other order were taken. Certainly it is a thing right wonderfull in reason, and no lesse rare in experience and example, that the *Pysans* were at one time defended by the souldiers of the french King, and aided by the succours of the Duke of *Millan*; and nourished also with hopes by the state of *Venice*, notwithstanding that Senate and the Duke of *Millan* were in open warre with the french King. But such is the rage of ambition, and so sweet the insinuation of rule and impery, that in whom they haue kindled their infection, they cease not to inflame more and more their desires, without respect to fidelity, conscience, difficulty, or common obseruancy, holding all things lawfull that make for their purpose, and nothing vnseemly that may serue to satisfie their insatiable aspiring thoughts. With the rescue that came with the bands of *Vitelli*, *Vicopisan* defended it selfe easily, and gaue no little damage to the campe of the *Florentines*, the same being pitched in a place so open & discouered, that it receiued many harmes by the artilleries, which the *Pisans* had caried within *Vico*: in so much that hauing endured the harmes by many daies, the Captaines found it necessary to their safety, to leaue the siege to their reproach and shame. After this, the Kings dispatches being at last come (which written into copies, were secretly sent out by many waies) the towne, castell, and port of *Liberue* were immediately rendred to the *Florentines*, by *Salliane* Lieutenant to *Monsieur Beaumais*, to whom the King had giuen them in charge: when *M. D'Isle* Deputy Commissioner, to receiue of the *Florentines* the ratification of the accord made at *Thurin*, and to see the restitution executed, began to treat with *Entragues* Captaine of the Citadel of *Pysa*, and of the castels of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutton*, to resolute with him of the day and manner to resigne them vp: but *Entragues* inducèd either by the selfe same inclination common with the other french men that were then in *Pisa*, or by some secret commissions from *M. de Ligni*, vnder whose name, and as depending vpon him, he was preferred to that charge, or perhaps drawne by the loue which he bare to a litle *Graciana*, daughter of one of the citizens of *Pisa*, (for it is not credible that only the desire of money led him, since he might receiue a greater quantity of the *Florentines*) he began to oppose many difficulties: sometimes giuing to the Kings letters pattents an interpretation contrary to the true sence: and sometimes he alleaged, that at the beginning he had commaundement not to render them but by secret aduertisements from *Monsieur de Ligni*: vpon which impediments, after they had in vaine disputed certaine daies, it was necessary for the *Florentines* to make a new instance to the King, remaining yet at *Vercell*, to remedy that disorder expressed with so great an offence to his maiesty, & hurt to his speciall profit. The king became much moued with the disobedience of *Entragues*, & commanded *M. de Ligni* (not without indignation) to constraîne him to obey, determining to send thither a man of authority with new letters pattents and threats from the Duke of *Orleaes*, whose seruant he was: But the resolute obstinacy of *M. de Ligni*, and the fauours which he had in Court, being of more power then the slender counsell of the king, the dispatch was delaied certaine daies, and in the end sent not by a man of authority, but by *M. Launcepugno* a simple gentleman: with whom went *Camilla Vitelli* to lead his companies to the realme of *Naples*, and withal to conduct thither one part of the money to be defrayed by the *Florentines*, to whose army, as soone as the Kings letters pattents were arriued, were ioyned the men of war of both the *Vitellis*. This dispatch wrought no more effect then the first, notwithstanding the Captaine had receiued two thousand duckats of the *Florentines*, to entertaine (vntill the Kings aunswere came) the bands of footemen which were in garrison within the Citadell: And to *Camilla* were payed three thousand duckats, because

because otherwayes he would haue hindeted that the Kings letters should not haue bene presented: for the Captaine of the Citadell (to whom as was supposed *de Ligni*, had sent by an other way, Commissions quite contrary) after hee had many dayes abused their expectation, and iudging that the *Florentines* (for that there were within the towne besides the inhabitants, a thousand footemen forreyners) could not force the suburbes of *S. Marke* ioyned to the gate of *Florence*, leaning to the Citadell, where the *Pyfans* had made a great bastillion, and that so he might come to the end of his intention without manifest objecting against the Kings will: he sent to the other *Florentine* Commissioners, to present their army afore the sayd gate, (which they could not doe vnlesse they wonne the suburbes) for that if the *Pyfans* would not receiue them in by accord, he would force them to abandon it, the same gate being so subiect to the artillery of the Citadell, that it was not able to maintaine defence against the will of such as had it in gard. The *Florentines* inclining readily to this deuise, went thither with a great preparation, a courage resolute, and an inflamed disposition of all the campe then lodging at *Saint Remy*, a place neare to the suburbes: and with such valour they assailed the bastillion on three sides (in the forme, seate, and rampiers whereof, they had bene fully instructed by *Paule Vitelli*) that they brake and put to flight such as stood in defence, and pursuing the chase, they enter Pellmelle the suburbes by a draw bridge which ioyned to the bastillion, killing and making prisoners the most of them. In this fury there was no doubt, (without the ayde of the Citadell) but at the same instant they might haue made perfect the conquest of *Pyfa* by that gate, many of their men at armes being entred, for that the *Pyfans* put to flight, made no resistance: But the Captaine of the Citadell seeing things succede otherwayes then he looked for, began to discharge the artillery vpon the *Florentines*: with which accident vnlooked for, the Commissioners and leaders maruelling not a little, many of their souldiers slaine and hurt by the artillery, and *Paule Vitelli* wounded in one of his legges, they sounded the retraite, holding it impossible to take *Pyfa* at that time for the furious resistance of the Citadell: yea within few daies after, they were constrained for the harmes they receiued by the artillery, to abandon the suburbes which they had brought into their power, and so retired with great discouragement and no lesse discontented to *Cassina*, till the King had reformed so manifest a disobedience of his subiects.

In this meane while also, the *Florentines* were not without their perplexities, for new and dangerous practises stirred vp principally by the Potentates of the league: who to giue the more impediments to the conquest of *Pyfa*, and by some new necessities at home, to enforce them to leaue the alliance of the french King, incensed *Peter de Medicis* to make triall, with the aide of *Virginio Vrsin*, (fled from the french campe the day of the battell of *Taro*,) to returne to *Florence*: a matter of right easie perswasion both to the one and other: for that to *Virginio* it sortd to good purpose (what so euer came to the enterprise) to reassemble at the charges of others, his auncient bandes and partakers, and readresse him selfe estioones in the reputation of armes: And *Peter* according to the custom of men banished, had no want of diuerse hopes for the multitude of friends which he had in the city, by whom he had intelligence that the gouernment popular was displeasing to many of the nobles, and no lesse intollerable to many of his faction and followers, which by reason of the auncient greatnesse of his house, was almost vniuersall through the whole dominion of *Florence*: It was beleued that this plot tooke his first deuise and beginning at *Milan*, for that *Virginio* was no sooner escaped out of the hands of the french, then he made his first office to goe visite the Duke: but afterwards the resolution succeeded at *Rome*, where did negociat many daies with the Pope, the Embassadour of *Venice*, and the Cardinall *Ascanius*, who proceeded by Commission from *Lodowike* his brother. These were the grounds and hopes of this enterprise: that besides the bandes which *Virginio* should leaue of his old souldiers, and with ten thousand duckars gathered by *Peter de Medicis* of his owne, and by the liberalities of his friends, *Iohn Bentiuole* (being then in the pay of the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*) should at the same instant make war against them vpon the frontier of *Bologna*: and also that *Katherine Sforce*, whose sonne took pay of the Duke of *Milan*, should vex them by the cities of *Imola* and *Furlly*, confining vpon the landes of the *Florentines*. Lastly they made promise to them selues (not in vaine) to haue at their deuotion the *Siemoys*, no lesse inflamed with an old hatred against the *Florentines*, then desirous to embrace occasions to preferue *Montepulcian*, a towne which they distrusted not to be able to defend of them selues, for that hauing attempted not many moneths before with their owne.

Peter de Medicis at the instigation of the Confederates, determined to returne to *Florence*.

strength, and the bandes of the Lord of *Plombyn*, and *Iohn Sauelle* (whom the Duke *Ernest* joined in common with them) to make themselves Lordes of the countrey of the marriſh of *Chianes*, which marriſh had bene long time the limite or marke ſtone of that ſide betweene the *Florentines* and them, and to that end they had begunne to make neare to the bridge of *Valiane*, a baſtillion to beate a tower erected by the *Florentines* upon the point towards *Montpulcian*: things fell out contrary to their hopes and expectation: for that the *Florentines*, moued with the daunger of the loſſe of this bridge, which not onely took from them all meanes to moleſt *Montpulcian*, but alſo gaue entrie to the enemies into the territories of *Cortona* and *Arezzo* and other peeces, which on the other ſide of *Chianes* appertained to their iuriſdiction, ſent thither a ſtrong ſuccour, which forced the baſtillion begunne by the *Siennoyſ*: and for their full ſurety of that peece, they planted neare the bridge (but on the other ſide *Chianes*) a baſtillion conuenient to beſtow many ſouldiers in: by whoſe helpe and commodity they made roades euen to the gates of *Montpulcian*, vexing with like actions all the townes of the *Siennoyſ* on that ſide. To which ſucceſſe was ioyned this fortune, that a little after the paſſage of the french King, they had broken neare to *Montpulcian*, the bands of the *Siennoyſ*, and made priſoner *Iohn Sauelle* their Captaine. But *Virginio* and *Peter de Medicis* hoped to obtaine place of retraite with other commodities of the people of *Peruſia*, not onely for that the family of the *Bailions*, (who with armes and aides of their followers, were almoſt become Maſters of that city) were vnited to *Virginio* in a common fidelity to the name and faction of the *Guelfſſ*, and had withall familiar and ſtraight friendſhips with *Lawrence* and *Peter de Medicis* whileſt he ruled in *Florence*, by whoſe fauours and other miniſtrations they had ſpeciall countenance againſt all action of their enemies: but alſo being the ſubiects of the Church (but more in demonſtrations then in effects) it was beleeued that in things concerning principally their eſtates, they would yeeld to the will of the Pope, hauing community therein the conſent of the *Venetiſans* and Duke of *Millan*. *Virginio* then and *Peter de Medicis* departed from *Rome* with theſe hopes, and occupying amongſt them ſelues theſe perſwaſions, that the *Florentines* trauelled with ciuill diuiſions at home, and vexed by their neighbours abroad vnder the name of their confederates, could hardly make reſiſtance: and remaining certaine daies betweene *Terni* and *Todi* and theſe confines, where *Virginio* ſtudying by all meanes to plucke downe the *Gebelins* faction, leauied men and money of the *Guelfſſes*. At laſt they ſetled their campe in fauour of the *Peruſins*, before *Gualde*, a towne poſſeſſed by the communalty of *Fuligni*, but ſold before by the Pope for fixe thouſand ducats to the *Peruſins*, who were no leſſe inflamed with a deſire to haue it, then incenſed with the contention of the parties, by reaſon of whoſe dealings all the townes about inclined then to emotion and inſurrection: for not many daies before, the family of the *Oddies*, baniſhed from *Perouſa* and chieftaines of the faction contrary to the *Bailions*, hauing aides of them of *Fuligni*, *Arezzo*, and other peeces there adioyning, which embraced the part of the *Gebelins*, were entred *Corriciana*, (a ſtrong peece within ſiue miles of *Perouſa*) with three hundreth horſe, and ſiue hundreth footmen: for which accident, all the countrey being riſen (for *Spolette*, *Camerin*, and other places of the *Guelfſſes*, were fauourable to the *Bailions*) they of *Oddies* within few daies after entred by night within *Perouſa*, and that with ſuch aſtoniſhment to the *Bailions*, that hauing loſt hope and ability of defence, they began to put them ſelues to flight: but the *Oddies*, by a ſmall and vnlooked for aduenture, loſt that victory, which the power of their enemies could not deſtroy them of: for that being come without impediment to one of the entries of the principall place, and one of them who for that purpoſe caried a hatchet, offering to cut in peeces the chaine drawne ouer the way according to the cuſtome of cities in faction: and being ſo troubleſomely enuironed with the preſſe of his companies, that hee had no ſpace to liſt vp his arme to hew the chaine, cried with a loud voice, giue backe, giue backe, to the end that hauing more roome, his liberty might be more furthering to the action he went about. This voice being wrong vnderſtood, and repeated from hand to hand by ſuch as followed him, and ſo deliuered to others in a ſence ſounding to retire and flie, it was the cauſe that all the companies without other encounter or let, ſell ſodainely to flie, not one knowing by whom they were chaſed, nor for what occaſion they fled. This diſorder reſtored the aduerſaries to ſuch preſent courage, that re-aſſembling their ſtrength, they charged them in the chaſe, and made great ſlaughter, taking priſoner *Troylo Sauelle*, who for the ſame affection to the faction, had bene ſent to the ſuccours of the *Oddies*, by Cardinall *Sauella*: and applying their forces to the occaſion that was offered, they followed.

A voice miſtaken
deſeateth
an enterpriſe.

followed the chase enen to *Corciana*; which they recovered in this action and with the same fury: and lastly not contented with the death of such as they had slaine in the chase, they hanged many at *Perusia*, following the cruelty which for the most part other factions are wont to vse: of which tumults, many murders happening in the places bordering, for that in seasons doubtfull, the parties are carefull; and doe customably draw into insurrection, either for desire to cut off their enemies, or for feare to be preuented by them. The *Perusins* inflamed against the *Faligians*, had sent the campe to *Gualda*, and hauing given the assault to it in vaine, with no lesse distrust to cary it by their owne strength, they accepted the aides of *Virginio* who offered him selfe to them, to the end that at the brute of booty and spoile, the souldiers might runne with more readinesse to the warre; and albeit they were pressed by him, and by *Peter de Medicis* to minister openly to their enterprise, or at least to giue some peece of artillery or place of retraite for their people at *Chastillon du lac* confining vpon the territory of *Cortone*, with commodity of victuals for the army: yet they consented to neuer one of the demands, notwithstanding the Cardinall *Ascanius* made in the name of the Duke of *Mullan* great instance; and the Pope commaunding no lesse by writtes vehement and full of threats. All this was, for that since the taking of *Corciana*, the *Florentines* lending them money, and giuing yearely pension to *Guido* and *Radolpho* chiefe of the *Baillois*, and lastly, hauing taken into their pay *Iohn Paule sonne* to *Radolpho*, they were of their side and conioyned with them. Besides these, they were estraunged from the amity of the Pope, for that they feared he stood fauourable and inclined to the cause of their aduersaries, or at least, by the occasion of their diuisions, they suspected that he aspired to put absolutely that city vnder the obedience of the Church. In this time, *Paule Vrsin*, who with three score men at armes of the old company of *Virginio*, had remained many daies at *Montpulcian*, and afterwards was gone to the borough of *Pisna*, entertained (by the direction of *Peter de Medicis*) a practise in the city of *Cortone*, with intention to execute it at such time as the bandes of *Virginio* should approach, whose numbers not vertue aunswered not the first plots: but during that respite of time, the practise being discouered, which was builded vpon the foundation and meant of one of the exiles of base condition: one part of their generall groundes and demises began to faile, and withall many great impediments to appeare: for the *Florentines*, in whom was alwaies nourished a carefull pollicy to provide for dangers, leauing in the countrey of *Pysa* three hundred men at armes, and two thousand footmen, had sent to encampe neare *Cortone*, two hundred men at armes, and two thousand footmen vnder the leading of *Count Rinucca de Marciane*, whom they had made Mercenary in their pay. And to the end the bands of the *Siennays* should haue no oportunitie to ioine with *Virginio*, according to the practise betweene them, they sent to *Poggi imperiall* vpon the borders of the countrey of *Sienna* vnder the gouernment of *Guidobalde* of *Montfetre* Duke of *Vrbino*, (whom they had entertained into their pay a little before) three hundred men at armes, and fifteen hundred footmen, besides many banished from *Sienna* (with whom they adioined) to keepe the city in greater feare: But after *Virginio* had giuen many assaults to *Gualda*, where *Charles* his bastard sonne receiued a wound with a small shot, and hauing embraced the moneys sent secretly to him, as was suppoled by the *Faligians*, he raised his campe without mention or respect to the interestes of the *Perusins*, and marched to the tabernacles, and so to *Panicale*, in the countrey of *Peroufa*, making new instance that they would be declared against the *Florentines*: a thing which they did not onely deny to him, but also for the discontentment they had of his actions at *Gualda*, they compelled him almost with threatnings to depart out of their territories: In so much that *Peter* and he going first with foure hundred horse to *Orsina*, a towne neare to *Cortone*, hoping that in that city (which to auoyde the harmes of the souldiers had refused to receiue the men at armes of the *Florentines*) they should finde some tumult. After they saw all things in quiet and stability, they passed ouer *Chianes* with three hundred men at armes, and three thousand footmen, but the most part in confusion and ill order, because they had bene driuen backe, hauing but a very small proportion of money: They retired vpon the countrey of *Sienna* neare to *Montpulcian* betweene *Chianciana*, *Torre*, and *Asma longue*, where they remained many daies without other action then certaine incursions and pillages; hauing the bandes of the *Florentines*, (which passed *Chianes* at the bridge of *Valiance*) encamped directly opposite vpon the hill *Sansauin*, and other places thereabouts. Neither of the side of *Bologna* (as they hoped) was any insurrection, for that *Bentiuole*, not determining for the interestes and regards of an other, to enter

Faligians breed insurrection.

The Florentines ever pollicke.

Bentiuole refuseth to ioyne with the confederates.

warre with a common weale mighty and his neighbor, refused the quarrell and the defense, notwithstanding the perswasions of the confederates, to whom he made many excuses, and used no lesse delays, neither was he curious to consent, that many demonstrations should be made by *Lu- lian de Medicis*, who being come from *Bologna*, labored to sture vp the friends wh^{ch} they were accustomed to haue in the Mountaines of that countrey. Amongest the confederates there was not one consent of will and inclination, for that it was very acceptable to the Duke of *Millan*, that the *Florentines* should be vexed with those trauels; thereby to be lesse able for the matters of *Py- sa*; but it nothing pleased him, that *Peter de Medicis* (so greatly iniured by him) should returne to *Florence*; notwithstanding (to declare that hereafter he would wholly depend vpon his autho- rity) he had sent to *Millan* in solemne order his brother the Cardinall. And touching the *Veneti- ans*, they liked not to haue the burden of that warre imposed vpon them, and much lesse to em- brace alone the quarrell: besides, the Duke and they were busie to leauy prouisions to expulse the french out of the kingdome of *Naples*. In which respects, sayling in *Peter* and *Virgino* not onely the hopes which they expected, but also the moneys greatly diminishing to entertaine their bandes of footmen and horsemen, the necessities of their estates, and consideration of their pro- per safeties, caused them to withdraw to *Bagno Rapulano* in the countrey of *Chiusa*, a city sub- iect to the *Siemoy*: where not many dayes after (*Virgino* being drawne by his destiny) arriued

Virgino *Pr-*
sin in pay with
the french
King.

Camilla Vitelli and *M. de Gemel*, sent by the french King to entertaine him into his pay, and leade him into the kingdome of *Naples*, where the King desired to serue his purpose of him, hearing of the defection of the *Colonnys*. This offer (albeit many of his friends impugned it, aduising him ra- ther to follow the seruice of the confederates, who made great solicitation to him, or else to be- come for the *Aragons*) was embraced and accepted by him, either for that he hoped by that meane to be more able to recouet the landes and countrey of *Alba* and *F-alle coffe*, or else, re- membering eftsoones how things happened in the losse of the kingdome, and seeing the authority of the *Colonnys* his ancient aduersaries was so great with *Ferdinand*, that there was no confidence of reconciliation, and much lesse to be readressed into his former greatnesse: or lastly, for that he was moued, (as him selfe did assure) with a discontentment which he had of the Princes confede- rate, sayling to accomplish those promises which they made to him to minister fauors to *Peter de Medicis*: *Virgino* then entred pay with the french King, receiuing contract as well for him, as for others of the house of the *Vrsins* for sixe hundred men at armes: notwithstanding vnder this ob- ligation (such be the fruites of those that once haue made their faith suspected) to send his sonne

Virgino lea-
ueth his sonne
pledge to the
french.

Charles into *Fraunce* for the Kings surety: And being possessed of the kings money, he prepared him selfe to goe with the *Vitellies* to the kingdome of *Naples*, where both before the losse of the castels and after, was continuall insurrection in many places with diuerse accidents and fortunes.

For, after *Ferdinand* had in the beginning made head in the plaine of *Sarmy*, the french men that were retired from *Piedgrothe*, were incamped at *Nocere* within foure miles of the enemy, where their forces being equall, it appeared their dispositions did not differ, for that they consumed the time vnprofitably in skirmishing without any action worthy of memory: sauing that seuen hun- dred of the army of *Ferdinand*, as well footemen as horsemen, being led by a double intelligence to enter the borough of *Gisone*, neare the towne of *S. Seuerin*, remained almost all vpon the place either slaine or made prisoners. But the bandes of the Pope being come to the succours of *Fer- dinand*, and by that meane the french made more inferiour, they retired from *Nocere*, which by

Nocere taken
by *Ferdinand*.

that occasion, together with the castell, was taken by *Ferdinand* with a great slaughter of such as had followed the french quarrell. In this time *Monsier Montpensier* had forseene to furnish of horses, and other things necessary for the warre, such as were come with him from the new cas- tell: with whom, after he had remounted them in good order, he went to ioyne with the others, and after came to *Ariana*, a towne abounding with victuals: on the other side, *Ferdinand* seeing

wants the hin-
derance of the
french in *Nap-*
les.

him selfe lesse strong then the enemy, stayed at *Monfuskule* to temporise, without assaying of for- tune vntill the confederates had refurnished him with a greater succour: *M. Montpensier* tooke the towne, and afterwards the castell of *S. Seuerin*, and with that fortune had done farre greater things if the want present of money, and the difficulties to get some, had not bene impediments to his oportunity and vertue: for hauing no reliefe sent out of *Fraunce*, nor meane to leauy any in the kingdome of *Naples*, he could not pay the souldiers, by which reason the army inclining to discontentment, and the *Switzers* drawing into murmure, he had no possibilty to do things whole

whose effects might answer the forces he had: In such like actions were consumed by the one and other army, about three moneths: in which season, *Dom Federike* hauing with him *Cesar* of *Aragon*, made warre in *Ponilla*: he was ayded by those of the countrey, against whom made head the barons and peoples that embraced the french part: on the other side, *Gracian de Guerres* made valiant defence in *Abruzzo* against *Ferdinand*; and the Prefect of *Rome*, who had the kings pay for two hundred men at armes, vexed with his estates the landes of *Montefaso*, and the countrey thereabouts, where was somewhat declined the prosperity of the french, by the long sicknesse of *M. d' Aubigny*, the same breaking the course of his victory, although almost all *Calabria* and the principality remained at the deuotion of the french King: But *Consaluo*, who with a strength of the Spanish bandes, with such of the countrey as bare friendship to the *Aragons* (now well increased by the conquest of *Naples*,) had taken there certaine places, and made strong in that prouince the name of *Ferdinand*, where the french found the same difficulties which were in the army for want of money: Notwithstanding the city of *Cosenza* being drawne into rebellion against them, they recouered it and sackt it. But in these great necessities and dangers, appeared no succour at all out of the realme of *Fraunce*: for that the King staying at *Lyons*, amused the time about iustes, torneys, and other pleasures of Court, leauing there all his thoughts of the war: And albeic he assured his counsell alwayes, that he would estsoones consider of the affaires of *Italy*, yet the effects and actions that proceeded from him, discredited the promises he had made to haue remembrance of them: And yet *Argenton* brought him this answer from the Senate of *Venice*, *Cominyu* that they pretended to haue no disfriendship with him, for that they entred not into armes vntill he had gotten *Nocere*, and yet for no other cause then for the defence of the Duke of *Millan* their confederate: and therefore they thought it a thing superfluous, to ratifie estsoones the auncient friendship with a new peace: Besides they offered him, that by the mediation of persons indifferent, they would induce *Ferdinand*, to giue him presently some summe of money, with constitution of a tribute of fifty thousand duckats by yeare, and to leaue in his handes for his security, *Tarenta* vntill a certaine time. The King, as though he had had a prepared and puissant succour, refused to open his eares to these offers, notwithstanding, (besides these perplexities of *Italy*) he was not without vexations vpon the frontiers of *Fraunce*: seeing *Ferdinand* King of the Spanish (come in person to *Parpignian*) had made incursions into *Languedock*, where they did no small harmes, adding to their present fury, other demonstrations of far greater emotions. Besides it was not long since the *Dauphin* of *Fraunce*, the onely sonne of the King, died; all which things (if he had bene capable to make wise election of peace or warre) ought to haue brought him with more facility to condescend to some accord.

The King neglecteth his warres in Naples.

Cominyu

Offers made vnto the King by the Venetians for Ferdinand.

The death of the Dauphin.

About the end of this yeare, were determined the controuersies happening by reason of the Citadell of *Pyas*: for the french King vnderstanding by good information the obstinacy of the capitaine, sent thither at last *Monsieur Gemel*, with threatnings and commaundements rigorous, not onely addrest to him, but generally to all the french appertaining to the charge and seruice of the sayd Citadell: And a little after, he dispatched thither expressly *M. Bonne* cosin to the Capitaine, to the end that being informed by a person whom he might trust, both of the kings message, and also the meane to satisfie with present obedience his former faults and contumacy: and of the other part, the daunger wherein he stood continuing in disobedience: he might with more readinesse proceede to the execution of his Maiesties commandement and iust will. All these could not remoue the Capitaine from his first resolution, who abiding in his transgression, made no reckening of the message of *Gemel*, staying there a few dayes according to his Commission to goe with *Camilla Visello* to finde *Virginio*. And much lesse was the comming of *Bonne* (who was hindered many dayes, for that by direction of the Duke of *Millan* he was retained at *Serezana*) to any purpose to turne the Capitaine from his obstinacy. But hauing wrought *Rome* to his consent and opinion, he made a contract with the *Pyasans* (*Luke Maluozze* commaunding in the name of the Duke) by vertue whereof he deliuered to the *Pyasans* the first day of the yeare 1496, their Citadell, receiuing of them twenty thousand duckats, whereof twelve thousand to remaine to him selfe, and eight thousand to be deuided in shares amongest the particular souldiers. This money was not leauied of the stores or wealth of the *Pyasans*, in whom was no meane to entertaine their proper condition, and much lesse to refurnish expences extraordinary; onely not to lose the opportunity of the Citadell, they prayd the aides of their friends, hauing foure thousand of the *Venetians*,

1496.
The Citadell deliuered for twenty thousand duckats.

four thousand of the *Genoways* and *Luckoyes*, and four thousand of the Duke of *Millan*: who vſing at the ſame time his ordinary ſhiftes and practiſes (whereunto was giuen little faith) he ſollicited faintly to enter with the *Florentines* into firme intelligence and amity, & was already agreed of conditions with their Embaſſadours.

It can not in any conſtruction carry likelihood of truth, that *Monſier de Ligni*, the Captaine, or any other would haue vſed ſo great tranſgreſſion without the Kings will and liking, ſeeing chiefly the matter was ſo much to his diſaduauntage: for that albeit the Captaine had capitulated, that the city of *Pyla* ſhould continue in the obedience of the crowne of *Fraunce*, yet it remained manifeſtly at the deuotion of the confederates: and for that the reſtitution tooke not effect, the french men that were left in the realme of *Naples* were naked of the ſuccours of men and money, promiſed in the contract of *Thurin*: The *Florentines* obſeruing diligently the action of all things, (albeit in the beginning they made great doubt) were poſſeſt at laſt with this opinion, that all was done contrary to the will of the King: a thing which might ſeeme incredible to all others that knew not what was his nature, nor what were the conditions of his wit and cuſtomes, nor how little authority he bare amongſt his people; and laſtly, how eaſily men are emboldened againſt a Prince that is falſe into indignity and contempt.

The King con-
demned by his
owne ſubiectts.

Reasons why
the Pyſans of-
fer themſelues
to the Duke of
Millan.

After the *Pyſans* were entred by heapes into the Citadell, they razed it flat with the earth: and knowing their owne ſtrength not ſufficient to beare out the defence and protection of their cauſe, they ſent at the ſame inſtant Embaſſadours to the Pope, to the King of *Romaines*, to the *Venetians*, to the Duke of *Millan*, to the *Genoways*, to the *Siennoyes*, and to the *Lucquoys*, praying ſuccours of euery one by particular ſute and diſcourſe, but with greater inſtance of the *Venetians*, and Duke of *Millan*, towards whom they nourished a francke inclination to tranſfere the iuriſdiction of their city: wherein they had this cogitation and ſeeming, that they were conſtrained not ſo much to looke to the preſeruation of their liberty, as to eſchew the neceſſity to returne eſtsoon into the power of the *Florentines*. Their hopes alſo were more partiall in him, then in any of the reſidue, for that beſides he was the firſt ſturrer of them to rebellion by reaſon of neighbourhoode, yet reaping from the other confederates no other thing then generall hopes, they had alwayes receiued from him preſent and ready ſuccours: But the Duke (notwithſtanding his deſire and ambition were importunate) ſtoode doubtfull whether he ſhould accept it, for feare leaſt the other confederates would grow diuided by it, in whoſe counſels was now begunne to treat of the affaires of *Pyla*, as of a common cauſe. By reaſon whereof, ſometimes he would deſire the *Pyſans* to deferre, and ſome times aduiſed them that it might be done in publicke action, and in the name of the *Sainct Seuerins*, and he to diſcloſe that all was done to his profite, when he ſhould ſee his time: But in the end (deſire of dominion is troubleſome till the appetite be ſatiſfied) when he ſaw the french King was gone out of *Italy*, and finding withall that his neceſſities and occasions with the confederates were not now ſo great, he determined to embrace it.

But this inclination of the *Pyſans* began to grow cold, for the great hopes they had to be ſuccoured by the Senate of *Venice*: and withall, they had this counsell of others, that more eaſily might they defend their eſtate with the aide of many, then to ſtand vpon the ſuccors of one alone, finding by this meane a more greater hope to maintaine their liberty with full protection: according to theſe conſiderations, after they had obtained the Citadell, they laboured to bring to their defence and ſtrength, the fauours and ſuccours of euery one, for the furtherance of which intention, the diſpoſition of the eſtates of *Italy* ſerued to good purpoſe: for the *Genoways*, for the malice they bare to *Florence*, and the *Siennoyes* and *Lucquoys* for hatred and feare, were alwayes to miniſter ayde to them in ſome ſort, wherein to proceed with more reſolution & order, they ſollicited to make a contract with obligations reſolute for that effect: To the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, entertayning one deſire to be their ſoueraigne Lords, it could not but be intollerable that they returned to the rule of the *Florentines*: and with the Pope and the Embaſſadours of the Spaniſh, much helped them, their common deſire to plucke downe the *Florentines*, as being too much inclined to the doings of *Fraunce*: So that hauing bene graciously heard in euery place, and obtrayned of the elect Emperour the priuiledge of confirmation of their liberty: they brought from *Venice* and *Millan* the ſame promiſes, to preſerue them in their liberty which they had made afore with one common conſent, to helpe to deliuer them from the french. And the Pope in the name and conſent of all the Potentates of the league, encouraged them by a ſpeciall ſignature, with

The Pope en-
courageſh the
Pyſans in their
rebellion.

promiſe

promise that they should be mightily defended of every one: But in these great promises and hopes, the most apparant succours came from the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, the Duke augmenting the number of men that were there first, and the Senat refurnishing them with a proportion sufficient: an action wherein if they had both continued, the *Pisans* had not bene constrained to sticke more to the one then to the other of them, and by that meane also, the common benefite had bene more easily preserved: But as in all things not followed with the same industry wherein they are begunne, the end is lesse then the expectation: so it happened to the Duke of *Millan*, who (fearing alwayes great expences, and being inclined of nature to proceed in all actions with apparances and shifts) made his accompt that the iurisdiction of *Pisa* could not but fall into his handes, and therefore began with small proportions to furnish things which the *Pisans* demanded of him: In which distrust and incertainty of dealing, they tooke occasion to transfer all their inclinations to the *Venetians*, in whom they found a plentiful reliefe in all their necessities without any sparing: from whence proceeded, that a few moneths after the french had redeliuered the Citadell, the Senate of *Venice* required by the generall and importunat suites of the *Pisans*, determined to take the city into their protection, the Duke of *Millan* rather perswading them to it, then making any shew of misliking. This was done without the priuity of the other confederates, not once communicating with them either generally or a part, notwithstanding in the beginning they had giuen them comfort to send bandes of men to their succours: but now they alledged that they were no more bound to their promises, for that without their consent, they had particularly couenanted with the *Venetians*.

Lodowike inclined to shifts

The Venetians in mind to take upon them the defence of Pisa. Pisa denied succours by the confederates.

It is most certaine, that neither the desire to preserve the liberty of their neighbours (which in their owne countrey they loue much) nor any regard to the common benefite and safety (as they did alwayes publish with honourable wordes) but the onely desire to get the iurisdiction of *Pisa*, were the causes that the *Venetians* made this resolution: By the meane whereof they doubted not in short time to reap a sweete fruite of their ambitious desire, euen with the will of the *Pisans* themselves, in whom was a willing election to liue vnder the rule of *Venice*, the better to be alwayes assured, not to be repassed eitsoones into the seruitude of the *Florentines*. And yet notwithstanding this inclination to protect the *Pisans*, it was often times and with long discourse debated in the Senate, the generall disposition being almost hindered, for the authority of some of the most auncient and esteemed Senators, who impugning it with mighty reasons, assured the residue, that to appropriate the gouernment and defence of *Pisa*, was a matter full of difficulties, for that by land it was a state farre from their confines, and by sea much farther removed from all their good opportunities, hauing no meane to goe thither, but by the dwellings and hauens of others, fetching a compasse about both the seas that enuiron *Italy*, for which reasons they could not defend it from the continuall vexations of the *Florentines*; but with intollerable expences. They could not deny, but such an enlargement would be very honourable for the state of *Venice*: but they withheld there might be made aduised considerations of the difficulties to keepe it, and much more conference of the conditions of the time present, together with that which might happen by such a deliberation: for that all *Italy* being suspicious of their greatnesse, such an increase of Lordship could not but be extreemly iealous and displeasing to all, wherein would be bred easily more great and dangerous accidents then happily were looked into of many: such were greatly deceived in whose perswasions was this surety, that the other Potentats would suffer without gainsaying, that to their Lordship and impery so redoubted through all *Italy*, should be ioyned so great opportunities by the demeane of *Pisa*: wherein if they were not (as they haue bene) so mighty to withstand it of their proper strength, they were not (seeing the way was taught to them on the other side the mounts to passe into *Italy*) without great occasion to oppose against them forraigne force, to the which (no doubt) they would haue ready recourse, as well for hate as for feare (this being a vice common to all men, to seeke rather to serue straungers, then to giue place to their owne.) And touching the Duke of *Millan*, how can it be beleeued, that he accustomed to be carried sometimes by ambition and hope, sometimes by suspition and feare, and now being stirred no lesse with disdain then iealousie, to be transferred to the *Venetians*, that pray which he had sought by so many meanes and studies for him selfe: will not rather be ready to bring new troubles vpon *Italy*, then endure that *Pisa* should be occupied by others then him selfe: And albeit with words and counsels he declared the contrary, yet let it be an opinion absolute, that those apparances were

The Senate of Venice debated upon the action of Pisa.

Lodowike
feared of
the Veneti-
ans.

but disguised and farre from the intention and truth of his heart, contayning no other thing, then ambulches and counsels full of art tending to an ill end: in fellowship & company of whom it were a necessary wisdom to support that city, if not for other respect, at the least to let that the inhabitants should not transfer it to him; But to make it a cause proper or particular drawing after it so great enuy and no lesse charges, were a counsell neither wise nor well ruled: That they ought to consider how much contrary would be those thoughts, to the workes and actions wherein for so many moneths, they were so much trauelled and yet vexed continually: for that no other occasions did moue the Senate to take armes with so great expence and danger, then the desire to deliuer and reasssure as well them selues as the other regions of *Italy* from the rule of strangers: wherein hauing giuen a beginning with a successe so glorious, and yet the french King scarcely repassed the Mounts, and the most part of the kingdom of *Naples* following his faction with a strong army: what indiscretion, what infamy, what stained reputation would it be, (at a time needful to confirme the liberty and surety of *Italy*) to replant and sow againe seedes of new calamities: which might easies make speedy and easie the returne of the french, or else the descending of the king of *Romans*, to whom (pretending as euery one knoweth against their estate) could happen no greater occasion nor more strong desire then this: That the common weale of *Venice* was not brought to those tearmes, to embrace counsels dangerous, nor to go before occasions, and much lesse take them whilst they were greene: No, rather no estate in all *Italy* stood vpon better tearmes to expect the opportunity of times, and with lesse perill could tary till occasions were ripe: that deliberations headlong, rash, or doubtfull, became well those that suffered hard or sinister conditions, or such as being pushed forward with ambition and desire to make their name famous, feared to haue want of time: That such resolutions were altogether dangerous to a common weale, who rayled into so great power, dignity, and authority, stood redoubted and enuid of all the residue of principalities in *Italy*: and who in regard of other Kings and Princes almost immortall and perpetuall, retaining alwayes one self and settled name of a Senat of *Venice*, had neuer occasion to hasten their deliberations afore the time: that it appertained better to the wisdom and grauity of that Senate (considering according to the property of men truly wise, the dangers that lay hidde under those hopes and ambitions, & looking more into the ends then beginnings of things, to reject those counsels, and to abstaine as well in the occasion of *Pisa*, as others offering to altonish or kindle the spirits of others, vntill at the least, *Italy* were better assured of the suspitions and dangers of those

All *Italy* followed the authority of the Venetians.

on the other side the Mounts, forbearing in any wise to giue them new occasion of tearmes: for that experience had shewed in very few moneths, how *Italy* when she was not oppressed by strange nations, followed almost the authority of the Senat of *Venice*, but so long as the forraigne forces occupied place in this empire, in place to be followed and redoubted of the others, they with the others had reason to feare power of strangers. These and like reasons conformed to the desires of the greatest number, were surmounted and caried ouer with the perswasions of *Augustus Barbarin* Duke of the same city, whose rule was become so great and general, that exceeding the modesty of the Dukes past, he aspired rather to a power absolute, then authority limited or regulated: for that, besides that he had many yeares managed that dignity with happy successe, and besides his many excellent gifts and graces of the mind, he had so preuayled with singularity of cunning dealing, that many Senators (willingly opposed against such, as in a name to be wise for long experience, and for that they had obtrayned supreme dignities, were of greatest reputation in that common weale) linked to him, and followed commonly his opinions, rather in a manner of confederates and partakers, then with that forme of grauity and integrity, which duly is requisite in the office of Councillours. He desirous to leaue with the encrease of the state, a worthy memory of his name, not putting any end to his appetite after glory, and much lesse contented that during his rule, the Ile of *Cipres* (sayling the Kings of the house of *Lusignan*) should be annexed to the Empire of *Venice*: was importunar to embrace euery occasion to make great their estate: in which inclination, opposing him selfe against those who for the regard of *Pisa*, councelled the contrary,

The Duke of Venice reasoneth in fauour of the Pisians and preuaileth.

The Florentines by loanes of money, considered the affaires of *Italy*.

he shewed with round discourse of words and reasons, how much it imported the Senate in villity and conueniency to haue *Pisa*, and how much it concerned them to repress by this meanes the arrogancy of the *Florentines*, who in the death of *Phillip Maria Visconti* had made them lose the occasio to be Lords of the Duchy of *Millan*, and of late in their action of loanes of money during the french wars, had done more harme then any one of the other Potentates: he declared that

seldome

kingdome are offered so goodly occasions, what infamy to lose them, and afterwards what repentance would follow for not embracing them: That the conditions of *Italy* were not such, that in the other Potentates was power of them selues to oppose against the enterprise, and much lesse was there doubt, that for this indignation or feare, they would haue recourse to the french King: for that neither the Duke of *Millan* hauing so highly offended him, durst estsoones trust him, neither such thoughtes moued the Pope: And the King of *Naples*, when hee had requeered his kingdome, would heare no more speaking of the french men. Besides, their entry into *Pisa* (albeit grieuous to others) was not an accident so furious, nor a perill so neare, as in regard of that, the other Potentates should runne rashly into those remedies which are vsed in the last dispaire, no more then the Physition makes hast to giue strong medicines in sleight diseases, esteeming that the patient hath time enough to take them: That if in this weakenesse and separation of the other *Italians*, they were fearefull to make reckening of so goodly occasion, it were an expectation vaine, to tary to be able to do it with more surety, the other Potentates being returned into their former strengths, and no lesse assured from the feare of them on the other side the Mountes: That for a remedy of too great a feare, they had to consider, that all worldly actions were ordayned to many perils: But wise men knew that there falles not alwayes in question all the ils that may happen: for that either by the benefite of fortune, or by aduenture, many daungers are dissolued, and many auoyded with industry and helpe of the time: And therefore it is no office in men deliberating vpon enterprises, to confound (as many affirme, considering little the property of names and substance of things) feare with discretion, and much lesse are to be reputed wise, those sorts of people, who making certaine all perils that are doubtfull, (and therefore haue feare of all) do rule their deliberation as if they should all happen, seeing in no manner can merite the name of wise or discrete, such men as feare more then they ought, things that are to fall: That such title and praise was farre more conuenient for men valiant and couragious, for that looking into the state and nature of daungers (and in that regard different from the rash sort, in whom is no impression of offence or iudgement of perils) they doe notwithstanding discouer how often men, sometime by aduenture, and sometimes by vertue, are deliuered from many difficulties: So that those that in deliberating call not into counsell as well hope, as feare, doe most commonly iudge for certaine, the events that are vncertaine, and reiect more easily then others, occasions profitable and honourable: In imitation of whom, and withall setting afore our eyes, the weakenesse and separation of the other Potentates, the great power and fortune of the common weale of *Venice*, the magnanimity and glorious examples of our elders, we may embrace with a francke resolution, the protection of the *Pisians*, by whose meane, we may in short time see our selues absolute Lords of that city, a ladder most conuenient to rayse vs to the Monarchy of all *Italy*. Thus the Senate receiued the *Pisians* into protection by decree publike, and speciall promise to defend their liberty: which deliberation was not in the beginning considered by the Duke of *Millan* as was conuenient: for by this meanes being excluded to entertaine any bands there, he held it very acceptable to be deliuered of such expences: he esteemed it also not out of the way of his profite, that *Pisa* at one time should be the occasion of great charges both to the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*. Lastly he perswaded him selfe that the *Pisians*, for the greatnesse and neighbourhood of his estate, and for the memory of things done by him for their deliuey, would be so dedicated to him, that they would alwayes preferre him before all others.

*Pisa in the
protection of
Venice.*

He tooke delight to feed the humour of these deuises and deceitfull hopes, with a perswasion wherewith (litle remembring the ordinary inconstancy of humaine things) he nourished him selfe, to haue as it were vnder his feete, fortune, whose sonne he would not sticke with publicke vaunting to say he was: so much was he puffed vp with vaine glory, by the prosperous succeeding of his affaires, and no lesse ouerruled with singular weening, for that by his meanes and his conncelles, the french King first passed into *Italy*, appropriating to him selfe the chace giuen to *Peter de Medici* by the *Florentines* with losse of his estate, the rebellion of the *Pisians*, and the flying of the *Aragonians* from the realme of *Naples*: and afterwards with a counsell chaunged, he was the cause by his deuises and authority, of the confederation of so many Potentates against the french King, of the returne of *Ferdinand* into the kingdome of *Naples*, of the departing of the french out of *Italy* with conditions vnworthy such a greatnesse. And lastly, in the action of the Captaine, who had in charge the Citadell of *Pisa*, wherein his industry or his authority had more power then the

*Lodowike
vaunts him
selfe to be the
son of fortune.*

The wisdom
of Lodowike
celebrated in
versis.

will and commaundments of his King: with which rules measuring things to come, and indig-
the wisdom and pollicy of all others to be farre inferiour to the excellency of his spirite, he har-
red him selfe to be alwaies able to addresse and gouerne the affaires of *Italy* as he would, and with
his industry to turne and winde the mindes of euery one. This fond perswasion he could not dis-
semble neither in him selfe, nor in his peoples, and no more in words and gestures, then in demon-
strations and actions, making it a thing acceptable to him, that euery one beleueed and spake so
by him: in so much that *Millan* day and night was replenished with voices vaine and glorious,
celebrating with verses latine and vulgar, and with publicke orations full of flattery, the wonder-
full wisdom of *Lodowike Sforce*, of the which they made to depend the peace and warre of *Ita-
ly*: they magnified his name euen to the third heauen, and the surname of *More*, (imposed vpon
him from his youth, for that he was of complexion browne, and for the opinion of his crafts which
now were manifest) hee was contented to retaine willingly so long as he remayned Duke of
Millan: Then no lesse was the authority of this *More* in the other castelles of the *Florentines*,
then it had bene in the Citadell of *Pisa*, so that in *Italy*, it seemed that as well enemies as friends,
were ruled by the measure of his will, so cloaking his subtelties with apparaunces of friendship,
that his intentions were not discerned, till his purposes were executed: For albeit the King of the
french, hearing the grievous complaints made to him by the Embassadours of *Florence*, was not
a little discontented, and to the end at least wise that their owne places might be rendred, had dis-
patched *Robert de Veste* his Chamberlaine with new commissions, and letters speciall from *Mon-
sieur de Ligny*: yet his authority bearing no more power with others, then with him selfe, the au-
dacity of *Monseigneur de Ligny* was so great (assuring many that he proceeded not but by the Kings
will) that his Maiesties commaundments bare small reputation, by meane of his new commissi-
ons ioyned to the froward will of the castell keepers: In so much that the bastard of *Vienna* Lieu-
tenant to *Ligny* in *Serezana*, after he had drawne his companies thither with the commissioners
of the *Florentines*, to receiue possession of them, he gaue them to the *Genoways*, for the price of
fue and twenty thousand duckats. The Captaine of *Serezanella* did the like for a summe of mo-
ney, of which the author and onely meane was the *More*, who hauing opposed against the *Flo-
rentines* (but vnder the name of the *Genoways*) *Frecasse* with a hundreth horse and foure hundreth
footemen, gaue hinderance that the *Florentines*, who by meane of their bands sent to receiue *Se-
rezana*, had recouered certaine peeces in the countrey *Lunigane*, should not recouer all their pla-
ces they had lost there. And a little after, *Entragues* late Captaine of the Citadell of *Pisa*, vnder
whose gard also remained yet the castels of *Pietra Santa*, and *Mutron*, together with that of *Li-
brafrate*, which not many moneths after he gaue to the *Pisans*, sold the residue to the *Lucquoys*
for six and twenty thousand duckats, as precisely was directed to him by the Duke of *Millan* who
first wished they might fall to the *Genoways*, but afterwards chaunging aduise, he thought it bet-
ter to gratifie them of *Lucquo*, to the end they might haue occasion to minister ready aides to the
Pisans, and to reduce them more to his deuotion by this benefite. All these things were caried in-
to *Fraunce*, for the which albeit the King shewed him selfe much discontented with *Ligny*, and
pronounced *Entragues* banished out of all his realmes, yet at the returne of *Bonne* (who not par-
ticipating with the money of the *Pisans*, had treated at *Genes* the sale of *Serezana*) his iustificati-
ons were accepted, and graciously receiued an Embassadour of the *Pisans*, sent with him to per-
swade the King that the *Pisans* would remaine faithfull subiects to the crowne of *Fraunce*, and to
protest their fidelity by oath, albeit a little after, his commissions not being liked, he had francke
leau to depart: to *Monseigneur de Ligny* was imposed no other paine, then (to shew that he had no
more the Kings fauor) the grace to lie in his Maiesties chamber as he was wont, was taken fro him,
to the which he was immediatly restored: and *Entragues* remayned onely in contumacy, but no
long time: to which things gaue good aide (besides the Kings nature with other meanes and fa-
uours) a true perswasion that was made, that such were the necessities of the *Florentines*, that
they could not endure separation from him: for that the ambition of the *Venetians* and Duke of
Millan being manifest, it was a certaine probability in discourse and reason, that if they were not
repossessed of *Pisa*, they would neuer accord to be confederate with them for the defence of *Ita-
ly*, whereunto they sought to enduce them by threatnings and meanes rigorous, and did not for
the present, assay any other thing against them, but relied sufficed; (with the bandes they had
put into *Pisa*) to support that city, and not suffer her wholly to lose her iurisdiction (the daunger
of

of the kingdome of *Naples* drawing them from all other care) for *Virgimo*, who had gathered at *Casino de Rapotano* and in the countrey of *Perusin*, many companies of souldiers, marched with the *Orsini* towards *Abruzze*, holding also the same way with their bands, *Camilla* and *Paule Vitelli*, by whom the borough of *Montion* (refusing to giue them victuals) was put to the sacke: which so amazed the other places of the Church by the which they should passe, that notwithstanding the expresse defences of the Pope, they were receiued in all townes and relieved with victuals. By the reapport of those marchings, but much more for the brute of an assured succour comming by sea out of *Fraunce*, by which the French affaires seemed to stand vpon good termes in the kingdome of *Naples*: *Ferdinand* no lesse destitute of money, then enuironed on all sides with aspectes of daungers and difficulties of warre, and not able without great succours, to sustaine so great a burthen, was constrained to study for new remedies to his present defence. It is so, that in the beginning the other Potentates had not comprehended him in their league: and albeit since he had recouered *Naples*; the king of *Spaine* made instance to haue him admitted to the confederation, yet the *Venetians* would neuer agree to that point, perswading them selues that his necessities would be a ready meane to aduance the expectatiō of their plot, that one part of that Realme might fall into their obedience: So that *Ferdinand* left to the miseries of many aduersities, and made naked of all hopes (for he expected no new succours from *Spaine*, and the other confederates would not intangle them selues with so great expences.) was constrained to couenant with the Senate of *Venice*, (promising with all obseruances to the Pope and the king of *Spaine*:) That the *Venetians* should send to his succours into the Realme of *Naples*, the Marquis of *Mantua* their Captaine with seuen hundred men at armes, fīue hundred light horsemen, and three thousand footemen, maintaining still their armie by sea which was there already: with this condition notwithstanding, to reuoke those aydes at all times when they should haue neede to imploy them in their proper affaires: That they should lend to him fīftee thousand duckats to serue his necessities present: And for the securitie of these expences, *Ferdinand* to assigne vnto them *Oprante*, *Brundusa*, and *Trane*, with consent that they might still retaine *Monopoli* and *Puligniana*, which then were in their hands, vnder this couenant to render them, when their expences should be restored and satisfied: provided alwayes, that neither by reason of the warre, nor for the garding or fortifications which they should make, they should not redemaund of him aboue two hundred thousand duckats. Those portes being in the sea superiour, and therefore of great oportunitie to *Venice*, augmented much their greatnesse: which (no man now opposing against them, and since they embraced the protection of *Pysa*, not hearing more of the counsels of such, as wished that to windes so fauourable, they had giuen lesse sayles) began to be stretched through all the partes of *Italie*: for besides the things of the kingdome of *Naples* and *Tuskane*, they had of new takē to their pay, *Astor* Lord of *Faenza*, &c. accepted the protectiō of his estates: a man very conuenient to keepe in feare the *Florentines*, the Citie of *Bologna*, with all the residue of *Romagnia*.

Couenants betweene *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* and the *Venetians*.

To these particular aydes of the *Venetians*, were added other succours of the confederats; the Pope, the Duke of *Myllan*, and they, sending to *Ferdinand* a ioynt supply of bands of men at armes intertained at their common pay: and albeit the Duke of *Myllan*, in whom remained as yet many semblances to keepe the accord at *Vercell*, (notwithstanding the most part of those things were directed by his counsels) would not either in the leauies of men or money, or other demonstrations, that his name were vsed: yet he agreed secretly to contribute euery moneth ten thousand duckats for the succours of the kingdome of *Naples*.

The marching of the *Orsini* and the *Vitellies* assured greatly the affaires of *Abruzze* (which were in no small confusion) against the French men: seeing *Terame* and the Citie of *Chiera* were drawne into rebellion, with great doubt that *Aquilea* the principall towne of that region, would do the like: which they at their comming hauing reconfirmed in the deuotion of the French, and recouered *Terame* by composition, and sacked *Iulianoue*, almost all *Abruzze* was with one fortune esloones so reestablished, that the affaires of *Ferdinand* began to shew manifest declination through the whole kingdome: for that almost all *Calabria* was in the power of *M. d' Aubigny*, notwithstanding his long sicknesse, for the which he stayed in *Terace*, gaue oportunitie to *Consalno* to keepe the war kindled in that prouinee, with the *Spanish* bands, &c. strength of some

Lordes of the countrey: Besides, *Caietta* with many places assisting followed the obedience of the French: The Prefect of *Rome*, with his companie and the forces of his estate, after he had recovered the peeces of *Montcasin*, invaded the land of *Lauro* on that side: and *Monsieur Montpensier*, albeit by the want of money he was much restrained to vse his forces, yet he compelled *Ferdinand* to inclose him selfe in strong places; being vexed with the same necessitie of money, and many other wants, but wholly reapposed vpon the hope of the succours of *Venice*, which for that the contract betweene the was made not long before, could not be aduanced with readinesse and expedition equall with the expectation of his affaires. *Montpensier* laboured to betray *Beneuent* by intelligence, but *Ferdinand* either hauing doubt or some aduertisement of the practise, preuented the execution by his suddaine entring the towne with his bands. The French notwithstanding came neare to *Beneuent*, and lodging vpon the bridge of *Fynoch*, they tooke *Sinnezana*, *Apice*, and many other townes bordering: but these places bearing no fauour to their armie for victuals, they discamped, hauing also regard to the time drawing on to gather the tribute of the cattell of *Powylla*, one of the greatest reuenues of the kingdome, for that it was wont to amount euery yeare to foure score thousand duckats, which were all gathered almost in the space of a moneth. *Monsieur Montpensier* to depriue them of this commoditie, and no lesse for the extreme necessities of his people, turned his way to *Powylla*, whereof one part was holden by him, and the other at the deuotion of *Ferdinand*, marching after him by the same way, with intention rather to hinder by art and diligence the actions of the enemy vntill his succours were arriued, then to fight with them in plaine battell.

The French
naue arrived
at Caietta.

About this time arriued at *Caietta*, an armie by sea of the French, of fifteene great vessels, & seuen other of lesser burden, in which were imbarcked at *Sanone* eight hundred Launceknights, leauied in the countreys of the Duke of *Gueldres*, and those *Swyzers* and *Gascoines* appointed before by the king to be sent with those great shippes which were to be armed at *Genes*. To this naue the armie of *Ferdinand* which were aboute *Caietta* to stoppe the passage of victuals (being indeede for want of money ill appointed) gaue such place, that they entred the haue without impediment, set their footemen on land, and with the same fortune tooke *Itry* with other places assisting: and after they had made a great pray through the countrey, they hoped to haue *Sesse* by the meane of *Dom Baptista Caracciol*; by whom they had promise to be put secretly within it: but *Dom Federyke* (who with his bands that followed him being withdrawne to the borders of *Tarenta*, was afterwards sent by *Ferdinand* to the gouernement of *Naples*) being aduertised of the conspiracie, marched thither with speede equall to the daunger, and made prisoner the Bishop with certaine others consenting to the treason.

In *Powylla*, where was the force and strength of the warre, the affaires succeeded with diuersitie of fortunes to both the one and the other armie, which were dispersed into the townes, aswell for the sharpnesse of the season, as straitnesse of the place not sufficing to receiue one of the armies wholly: their exercises were to make incursions and roades on horsebacke to pill and pray the cattell, vsing rather industrie and agilitie, then vertue or force of armes. *Ferdinand* was lodged in *Fogge* with one part of his people, and had bestowed the residue, partly in *Troye*, and partly in *Nocere*: where vnderstanding that betweene *S. Seuera* (within which towne was lodged *Virginio Vrsin* with three hundred men at armes come to be vnited with the armie of *Montpensier*) & the towne of *Porcina* (where was *Marian Saueila* with a hundred men at armes) was brought almost an infinite quantitie of Muttons and other natures of cattell: he marcheth thither with six hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horsemen, and fifteene hundred footemen: and comming by the breake of the day afore *S. Seuera*, he planted him selfe there with his men at armes to giue resistance to *Virginio* if he made any eruption, and making his light horsemen to scoure abroad, they ouerspread forthwith the whole countrey, and led away almost three score thousand head of cattell: whereto *Marian Saueila* offering to make resistance, and issuing forth of *Porcina*, they constrained him to retire with the losse of thirty men at armes. This losse and shame procured *M. Montpensier*, (reassembling all his forces) to march towardes *Fogge*, for the recouerie of the pray and honour lost: where being fauoured with a succour aboute his hopes or expectation, he encountered betweene *Nocere* and *Troye*, eight hundred Launceknights newly arriued by sea, and entred into the pay of *Ferdinand*: these Launceknights departing from *Troye* where they were incamped, went to *Fogge* to ioyne with *Ferdinand*: a journey more vpon their owne brayne

and

and rathnesse, then by the kings commaundement, and altogether against the counsell of *Fabrice Colonne*, incamped likewise at *Troye*. And albeit they saw by the extremitie of their perill and place, that their fortune had left them no possibilitie of safetie, either by flying or fighting, yet they were obstinate and refused the libertie of the law of armes to be made prisoners, but were killed every creature of them, exchanging their liues with a great death and slaughter of the enemy. After this, *Montpensier* presented him selfe before *Fogge* in aray of battell: but *Ferdinand* not suffering others to go out then light horsemen, the French men went to incampe in the wood of *Nicoronata*, where after they had remained two dayes with no small difficulties for victuals, and hauing recouered the most part of the cattell, they appeared elswoones afore *Fogge*, and abiding there a whole night, they returned the day following, to *S. Senera*, but not with all the pray they had recouered, for that in their retraite, the light horsemen of *Ferdinand* tooke a great part from them, in so much, as the cattell being harried by the one and the other, neither part drew any great profit of the reuenues of that tribute. Not many dayes after the French men made wearie with want of victuals, went to *Campobasso* which was holden by them, and tooke by force *Cogloneffa* or *Grigonssa* a towne salt by, where the *Swyzers* against the will of the Captaines, vsed such execution and crueltie, that albeit it brought great astonishment vpon the countrey, yet it estranged from them the affections of many: and *Ferdinand* laying to defend his estate as well as he could, whilest he yet expected the Marquis of *Mantua*, he reordained his bands, by the meane of sixteene thousand duckats which the Pope had sent him, and with such other proportions as he could leauy of him selfe.

About this time, did ioyn with *Montpensier* the *Swyzers*, and other footebands which were come by sea to *Casetta*, as also on the other part, the Marquis of *Mantua*, now entred into the kingdome of *Naples* by the way of *S. Germyn*, taking in his marching, partly by force, partly by composition, many places, albeit of small importance: about the beginning of Iune, he vnited his forces with the king at *Nocere*, whither *Caesar* of *Aragon* led the bands that had lyen vpon the borders of *Tarenta*: and so by reason of the places, the forces of both the factions being almost made neighbours, the French more strong in footemen, and the *Italians* more mightie in horsemen, the event of things seemed very doubtfull, being not possible to discerne to whether of the parties the victorie should incline.

The Marquis of Mantua for the Venetians in the kingdom of Naples.

In this meane while, the French king made care for prouisions to rescue his people, and vnderstanding of the losse of the Castels of *Naples*, and that his bands were not succoured by the *Florentines* neither with men nor money, for that they had not restitution of their fortresses: seemed to draw to him a new spirite, and awaking out of that slumber of negligence with the which he seemed to haue returned out of *France*, he began elswoones to turne his thoughts to the actions of *Italie*: wherein to be more at libertie from all things that might retaine him, and (shewing to acknowledge the benefites receiued in his daungers) that he might with more confidence haue recourse againe to the aydes celestiall, he takes a journey in post to *Tours*, and after to *Paris*, to satisfie to the vowes he made to *S. Martin*, and *S. Denis* the day of the battell of *Furmonai*: and returning from those places, with the same diligence to *Lyons*, he kindled more and more in those desires and thoughts, whereunto of his owne nature he was most inclined: for he interpreted it as an action much to his reputation and glorie, to haue made a conquest of such a kingdome, being the first of all the French kings, in whose person haue bene renewed in *Italie* these many worlds, the memorie of the armes and victories of the French: he made perswasion to him selfe that the difficulties which he encountered in his returne from *Naples*, proceeded more by his proper disorders, then by the powers or vertue of the *Italians*, whose name (concerning the action of warre) caried no reputation with the French. To his inclinations to descend elswoones into *Italie*, were not a litle furthering the inticements of the Ambassadors of *Florence*, of the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vincula*, and of *Trinulce*, who was come to the Court for the same occasion, with whom were assistant in that instance *Vitellezzo* & *Charles Vrsin*, together with the Count *Montoisie*, sent to his Maestie in that negociation by the Barons of *Naples* holding part with the French: as also there came to him at last by sea, the Seneshall of *Beaucaire*, by who were declared many hopes of the victory, in case his Maestie did not deferre to send a sufficient succour: as of the contrary to delay a relieffe so necessary, were to abandon the kingdome & be guilty of the death of so many noble Captaines & souldiers: To these were ioyned the fauorable perswasions of many the great Lords

The French king makes a pious pilgrimage to Tours and S. Denis.

The French
king determi-
neth to send
Triuulce into
Italie as his
Lieutenant.

of *Fraunce*, euen such as afore had giuen counsell against the enterprise of *Italie*: they aduised the king to giue a new life to that expedition, to auoyd the dishonour that would fall vpon the crown of *Fraunce*, to lose by cowardize that which they had conquered with so great felicity & fortune, but much more to preuent the spoyle of so great a part of the Nobilitie, as lay open to destruction in the Realme *Naples*: Neither were these counsels hindred by the emotions which the king of the Spanish made on the frontier of *Parpignian*, seeing the preparations being greater in brute thō in effect, and the forces of that king more mightie to defend his proper Realmes, then meete for the inuasion of an other, it was iudged sufficient to send to *Narbone* and other townes vpon the frontiers of *Spaine*, bands of men at armes with conuenient companies of *Swyzzers*: So that in the presence of the counsell of the king, wherein were assembled all the Lords & persons notable then at the Court: it was determined that *Triuulce* should returne to *Ast* with as much diligence as he could vnder the title of the kings Lieutenant, leading with him eight hundredth launces, two thousand *Swyzzers*, & two thousand *Gascoyns*: That after him the Duke of *Orleans* should passe the Mounts with other bands: and lastly should march the kings person with all other prouisions: and passing with a power royall, there was no doubt but the states of the Duke of *Sauoy*, of the Marquis of *Moniferat* and *Saluce*, (very fit instruments to make warre vpon the Duchy of *Myllan*) would be for him: Like as also it was beleued, that except the Canton of *Berne*, who had promised the Duke of *Myllan* not to moue against him, all the other *Swyzzers* would resort to the kings pay with no lesse readinesse then full numbers. These resolutions were made with consents so much the more generall, by how much was great the desire of his Maiestie, who afore they entred into counsell, had much coniuured the Duke of *Bourbon* to set forth with vehement & liuely speeches, how reasonable and necessary it were to make a strong warre: and of him selfe in open counsell, with the same affection he refuted the Admirall, who (not so much in impugning directly, as propounding many difficulties) assayed to qualifie indirectly the wills of the counsell, hauing but a few fauourers of his opinion: the king aduancing his particular desire about all counsell, assured them publikely that it was not in his power to make other resolution, for that such was the will of God that he should in person march eftsoones into *Italie*: it was agreed in the same counsell, that a nauie of thirtie shippes, (whereof was one most huge carracke called the *Norman*, and an other grosse carracke of the region of the *Roads*) should passe along the coast of the Ocean into the hauens of *Pronence*, where should be armed thirtie galleys and gallions with a mighty succour of men, money, munition and victuals for the seruice of *Naples*, which was supposed to stand vpon such conditions of necessities and wantes, that afore this nauie could be digested into order and point, it was determined to send forthwith certaine vessels charged with victuals and souldiers: it was ordained also in this counsell, that *Rigault* the kings Steward should go to *Myllan*, for that the Duke, (notwithstanding he had not redeliuered the two carrackes, nor suffered to rigge a nauie for the king at *Genes*, but onely restored the vessels taken at *Rapale*, and not the twelue galleys restrained in the port of *Genes*) laboured to excuse him selfe vpon the disobedience of the *Genoways*, and had alwayes with sundry practises interteined some of his people about the king, to whom he had newly sent *Anthoine Maria Paluosisin*, both to assure his Maiestie that he was disposed to obserue the accord past, and to demaund prolongation of terme to pay to the Duke of *Orleans* the fiftie thousand duckats promised in the same accord: of which deceits and subtilties, albeit he reaped but a very litle fruit, the king being well informed of his intention, as well by the examples of his actions past, as for that by his letters and instructions which were surprisid, it came to light that he stirred vp with continuall solicitation the king of *Romaines* and king of *Spaine* to make war in *Fraunce*: yet hoping that feare perhaps would induce him to things whereunto his will was estranged, *Rigault* was charged, that (without speaking of the disobedience past) he should signifie to him that it was in his power to deface the memorie of offences; in beginning to obserue, as to restore the galleys, to redeliuer the carrackes, and by giuing sufferance to arme a nauie at *Genes*: And that he should adde to these aduertisements, that the king was determined to returne into *Italie* in person, which should be to his great harmes, if whilst he was offered the meane, he would not reenter into that amitie, whereof his Maiestie was perswaded, that he had vndiscreetely made account, rather by vaine suspitions, then for any other occasions. This brute of these great prouisions being come into *Italie*, much troubled the mindes of the confederates: but about all *Lodomyke Sforce* standing in the mouth of the daunger, and to be the first opposed

opposed to the furie of the enemie, suffered no lesse perplexities than the consideration of his perill required, specially vnderstanding that since the departure of *Rigault*, the king had dismissed and given leave to all his agents with hard wordes and bitter demonstrations: by reason whereof, looking deeply into the greatnesse of his daunger, as vpon whose estate would fall the substance of the warre: he had easily accorded to the kings demaundes, had it not bene for the suspicion and conscience of the offences he had made to him, the same causing on all sides such a distrust, that it seemed more hard to finde a meane to assure both the one and the other, then not to accord to the articles: for taking from the suretie of the one, that which was consented to assure the other, the one would not referre to the faith of the other, that which the other refused to referre to his owne: So that necessitie compelling *Lodowike* to take the counsell that was most grievous, he thought (at least to make slow his daungers) to intertaine *Rigault* with the same cunninges which he had vsed to that present, assuring him with great firmenesse, that he would bring the *Genoways* to obey whensoever the king would giue into the Citie of *Anignon* sufficient securitie for the restitution of the shippes, and that both parties would promise (giuing mutually othes for all obseruations) not to enterprise any thing preiudicially one to the other: which practise continuing many dayes, had lastly for many cauillations and difficulties obiected, the same effect which others had had before. But *Lodowike* to whom it belonged not to wast time vnprofitably, dispatched during these reasonings, Ambassadors to the king of *Romains*, to induce him to passe into *Italie* with the ayde of him & the *Venetians*, to whom also he sent messengers, to require that Senate (to the end to prouide for the common perill) to contribute to that charge, and to send into *Alexandria* a sufficient proportion of force to make head against the French. To this they offered a ready action: but they shewed not such facilitie to assist the passago of the king of *Romains*, bearing litle friendship to their common weale for those peeces which they possessed in the firme land appertaining to the Empire and house of *Austrich*: neither were they content, that at a common expence, should passe into *Italie* an armie, which should wholly depend vpon *Lodowike*. Notwithstanding *Lodowike* continuing still to sollicite and make instance, for that besides the other reasons that moued him, the onely forces of the *Venetians* in the state of *Mylan* were suspected to him: the Senat also fearing lest he, in whom they knew was no litle feare, would suddenly draw to reconcilment with the French king, gaue in the end their consents, and for the same occasion, sent Ambassadors to the king of *Romains*: Besides these coniectures the *Venetians* and the Duke feared, lest the *Florentines*, as soone as the king were passed the Mounts, would make alteration or insurrection in the riuer of *Genes*: To meete with which accident, they sent to *Iohn Beniuole* (intertained in the pay of the cofederates with three hundred me at armes) to make war vpon the *Florentines* in the frontier of the countrey of *Bologna*, promising that at the same time they should be vexed by the *Siennys*: wherein as to giue him more courage to this actiō, they offered to be bound, that if he tooke the town of *Pistoia*, to keepe it for him: so albeit he fed them with hopes, yet his minde was farre remoued from that seruice, and fearing not a litle the comming of the French, he sent secretly to the king, to excuse him selfe for matters past vpon the necessitie of the place wherein *Bologna* was seared, and to offer a good will to depend vpon his Maiestie hereafter, and for his sake, to abstaine from vexing the *Florentines*.

But touching the prouisions for *Naples*, the will of the king (albeit very vehement and forward) was not sufficient to put in executiō the resolutions of the counsell, notwithstanding as well for his honour, as for the daungers of the kingdome, there needed a most readie expedition: for the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, in whose directiō, besides the managing of the treasure, rested the substance of the whole gouernement, albeit he impugned not these doings apparantly, yet he made so slow all expeditions with delaying the necessary payments, that not one prouision was aduanced in due time: it was thought that he did thus, either for that he iudged it was a better meane to perpetuate his greatnesse (not making any expence which appertained not to the present profit or pleasures of the king) not to haue occasion to propound euery day the difficulties of the affaires & necessities of money: or else for that (as many doubted) being corrupted with presents and promises, he had secret intelligence with the Pope, or with the Duke of *Mylan*: To which dilatorie and ialous dealings, the expresse commaundements of the king full of disdain redoubled with wordes reprochfull, could giue no remedie: for that according to the experience he had of his nature, he satisfied him alwayes with promises contrary to the effects: In so much as the execution of

things determined, hauing bene begun to be lingred by his meane: there hapned an accident by the which they became more subiect to delayes, and almost desperate altogether: for the king in the end of May, and when was generall expectation of his speedie passage into *France*, determined to go to *Paris*, alledging these reasons, that following the custome of the auncient kings of *France*, it was necessary afore he parted out of *France*, to take leaue of *S. Denis* with all the ceremonies vsuall, and likewise of *S. Martin* in passing by *Tours*; and that being determined to march into *Italie* with a great prouision of money, it was needfull (to auoyd the necessities wherein he had falne the yeare before) that he induced the other Cities of *France* to contribution by the example of *Paris*, by whom he should not obtaine that he desired, vnlesse he went thither in person: That being in those quarters, he should make to march in greater diligence the men at armes that came from *Normandie* and *Picardie*: he assured them that afore he departed from *Lyons*, he would dispatch the Duke of *Orleans*, & would make his returne thither again within one moneth: But it was supposed that the most true and principall cause of his going, was for that he was amorous of one of the Ladies of the Queenes chamber, being gone a litle before to *Tours* with her Court: wherein he was so resolute, that neither the counsels of his peoples, nor the importunate humilities followed with teares of the *Italians*, could withdraw him from a voyage of such deuotion: They shewed him, how hurtfull it would be to wast time proper for the warre, specially in so great necessitie of his seruice in the kingdome of *Naples*: to what slaunder he should be subiect in the mouthes of all *Italie*, to draw backe when he ought most to go forward: That the reputation of enterprises chaunged for euery litle accident and light brute: That it was hard to recouer it, after it began once to decline, yea though he should make greater offers, then afore were either promised or needfull: That of all worldly things, nothing was more voluble then renowme, which falling once into a cloud of shadow, shines neuer after with a cleare light. These perswasions much lesse that they could draw his wauering minde from wandring, seeing with an obstinacie vnruled he vtterly deiected them, esteeming it perhaps a breach in his Religion, to go out of *France* afore he had gone on pilgrimage to the Sainct he so deuoutly worshipped: In so much that after he had yet taried a moneth longer at *Lyons*, he tooke his way to go to *Tours*, not hauing otherwayes dispatched the Duke of *Orleans* then onely by sending *Trunche* into *Ast* with a verie slender companie, not so much prouided for the warres, as instructed to confirme in his friendship and deuotion, *Phillip* new succeeded to the Duchie of *Sauoye*, by the death of the Duke his Nephew: And touching the prouision for *Naples*, all that was done afore his departure, was the dispatch of six ships loaden with victuals to *Caietta*, carying many hopes that the mayne armie by sea should follow with speede: And to set order with the Marchants (but very late) to aduaunce fortie thousand duckats to *Montpensier*, to whom the *Swyzers* and the Launceknights had protested, that if they were not payed before the end of Iune, they would passe to the campe of the enemies. The Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, and all the counsell, remained at *Lyons*, with commission to hasten the prouisiōs, wherein if the Cardinall proceeded slowly in the presence of the king, it was nothing to the lingring he vsed in his absence.

But the affaires of *Naples* could not attend such slow remedies, the daungers being drawne into those termes (both for the assembly of armed bands on euery side, and many difficulties disclosed by both the parties) that if the delayes were long, the warre would determine by necessity: for *Ferdinand* after he had ioyned to his peculiar force, the bands of the *Venetians*, tooke the towne of *Castelfranke*, where arriued at his campe accompanied with two hundreth men at armes *Iohn Sforce* Lord of *Pesere*, and *Iohn Gonsague* brother to the Marquis of *Mantua*, Captaines of the confederates: In so much as the proportion of his campe amounted to twelue hundreth men at armes, fifteene hundreth light horsemen, and foure thousand footemen. At the same time the French men were incamped at *Circelle* ten myles from *Benenent*, towards whom *Ferdinand* marched, and approaching them within foure myles, he pitched his campe before *Frangette de Montfort*, a place of so good prouision, that it was not taken at the first assault: The French raised their campe from *Circelle* to rescue it, but they came not in time, for that the Launceknights which were within yielded them selues for feare of the second assault, and left the place to discretion: which occasion knowne to the French, had bene the cause of their felicitie, if either by indiscretion or ill fortune, they had not suffered it to be lost: for (as was confessed generally) they had at ease that day broken the whole armie of the enemy, so vniuersally confused in the sacke of *Frangette*.

Perse that they gaue no regard to the directions of the Captaines, who seeing no other distance between the French & them then a valley, laboured with all diligence to reassemble them: *Montpensier* saw well enough into the occasion, and *Virginio* was not ignorant in the oportunitie offered, the one commaunding, and the other perswading the victory to be certaine, desired with teares in their eyes, to march ouer the valley, whilest in the campe of the *Italians* all things were in tumult, some of the souldiers busie in the pillage, & some labouring to packe away the things they had pilld, no one within rule or commaundement of his Captaine: *Monsieur de Perse* one of the Chieftaines of the armie next to *Monsieur Montpensier*, ouerruled either with the naturall lightnesse of a young man, or else enuying the glorie of the Duke *Montpensier*, perswaded vehemently against the passage ouer the valley, alledging that they should rise euen vnder the feete of the enemye, which waighed with the strong situation of their campe, he made an argument to the souldiers of no small danger, and therefore wishing openly that they should not fight, he was the onely hinderer of so good a counsell, and ioyned to their misfortune a perpetuall dishonour: the rather for that the *Swyzers* and *Launceknights* receiuing courage by him, drew into mutinie and demaunded money. For this cause *Montpensier* compelled to retire, returned to *Circelle*, where, as they were they day after in the action of the assault, *Camillo Vitells*, whilest about the walls he did the office of an excellent Captaine, was stricken in the head with a quarrell, whereof he dyed: for which accident the French men leaying the inuasion of the place, brake vp from thence, and marched towardes *Argana*, disposed to assay the hazard of battell if occasion were offered: To which resolution was flat contrary the counsell of the armie of the *Aragons*, with whom specially the Commissioners of the *Venetians* consented in opinion, for that seeing into the condition of the enemies, they iudged that to their present want of victuals was ioyned a generall lacke of money, and waighing withall that the succours out of *Fraunce* were intrangled with delayes and respites, they hoped that their misaduentures and necessities would rise dayly growing and increasing, standing subiect to as great displeasures in other parts of the kingdome: for that in *Abruzzo*, *Annyball* naturall sonne to the Lord of *Camerin*, being voluntarily gone to the succours of *Ferdinand* with foure hundred horsemen leauyed at his proper charges, had newly broken the armie of the Marquis of *Bitonte*: besides there was expectation of the comming of the Duke of *Urbino* with three hundred men at armes lately entred into the pay of the confederates, whose fortune and greater conditions hauing determined to follow, he had abandoned the alliance of the *Florentines* (to whom he was yet bound for more then a yeare). vnder this excuse, that being feodarie of the Church, he was bound in reason and equitie of office to obey the commandements of the Pope: And *Graciano d'Aguerre*, who had taken the field to encounter him, was charged in the plaine of *Sermone* by the Count of *Celano* and the Count of *Popoli*, with three hundred horses and three thousand footemen, whom he put to flight. But with the losse of the occasion of the victorie about *Frangette*, the fortune also of the French began manifestly to decline, concurring in them at one time these natures of difficulties, extreme want of money, scarcitie of victuals, hate of the people, disagreement of the Captaines, disobedience of souldiers, and the stealing away of many from the campe, partly by necessitie, and partly by will: They had no meane to draw out of the kingdome any great proportion of money, neither had they receiued from *Fraunce* any summe notable, since the fortie thousand ducats leauyed for their reliefe, were too late sent from *Florence*: in so much as no lesse for that cause, then for the neighbourhood of many townes supported by the armie of the enemye, they could not raise prouisions necessary for their food and sustenance: and in their armie was nothing but disorder: as well for that the courages of the souldiers were abated, as for that the *Swyzers* and *Launceknights* drawing into tumult, demaunded importunately their payes. And touching the discord of the Captaines, that which most hurt all their deliberations, was the continuall contradiction of *Perse* against *Montpensier*: to be short, such were their necessities and disorders, that the Prince of *Bisignian* was compelled to depart with his people to go to the gard of his owne estate, for feare of the bands of *Consaluo*, by whose examples, the particular souldiers of the countrey abandoned the campe by troupes, wherein they had reason, for besides they neuer receiued pay, yet the French and *Swyzers* vsed them very ill, as well in the diuision of booties, as in distribution of victuals. These difficulties, but chiefly the extreme want of victuals, constrained the French armie by little and little to retire and wander from one place to another, which diminished greatly

*Camillo Vitell-
laine,*

*The French be-
gin to decline
in Naples.*

their reputation with the people : And albeit the enemies followed them as it were in a continuall chase, yet they had no hope to be able to fight, as was specially desired by *Montpensier* & *Verginio* : for that not to be enforced to battell, they incamped alwayes in places of strength, & where no impediment could be giuen to their commodities. At last, the French being incamped vnder *Moncaluole* and *Casalarbore* neare to *Arriana*, *Ferdinand* overtaking them within the shoote of a crosbow (but alwayes keeping him in strong places) brought them into great necessitie of victuals, taking from them in like sort the vse of fresh water : in so much as by the aspect and consideration of these perils, they thought it best to draw towards *Powylla*, where they hoped to find commoditie of victuals, and fearing by reason of the nearnesse of the enemies, the difficulties that ordinarily follow armies that retire, they raysed their campe in the beginning of the night, not making any brute to bewray their going, and marched five and twentie myles afore they rested. *Ferdinand* followed them in the morning, but dispayring to make that speede to ouertake them, which they did to go from him, hauing so much lesse time, as they had more, he incamped before *Gesualdo*, a towne which heretofore had sustained a siege of foureteene moneths, and now taken by him in one day, greatly to the disappointing of the French: for that determining to put them selues within *Venoufa*, a towne strong by situation, and most plentifull with victuals, the opinion they had that *Ferdinand* could not so easily take *Gesualdo*, was the cause that they amused them selues about the sacke of *Attella* which they had taken, and for the time they lost there, afore their departure, they found the armie of *Ferdinand* at their backes, who as soone as he had taken *Gesualdo*, dispatched way : And albeit they repulsed diuerse scoutes and foreriders, yet seeing the mayne armie marched after with such speede, as they had no meane nor ablenesse to recouer *Venoufa* which was eight myles distant, they remained in the towne of *Attella*, with intention to expect if succours would come from some part, hoping that for the nearnesse of *Venoufa* & many other peeces thereabout holding yet for them, to receiue fauours with many commodities of victuals and reliefe. *Ferdinand* with a speede according to his fortune, incamped before *Attella*, labouring onely (for the hope he had to obtaine the victorie without perill & blood) to cut them from victuals : for the better aduancement whereof, he cast many trenches about *Attella*, and lost no oportunitie to make him selfe Maister of the places adioyning, forgetting no diligence, trauell, or action of a Captaine pollicite and valiant : and as in warres, there is no further assurance of the souldier Mercenarie, then he findes suretie of his pay, and lesse confidence in his faith and seruice, by how much he is so straunge of his owne nation, that he feareth not the discipline of his patron : So the difficulties of the French, made euery day all things more easie to *Ferdinand*, for that the Launceknights in the French campe, hauing receiued but two moneths pay since they departed from their houses, and seeing by so many disappointments of dayes and termes past, all further expectatiō was vaine, they drew into counsell, & went wholly to the campe of *Ferdinand* : In so much that hauing meane so much the more to grieue the enemy, & to enlarge his army with more scope, he suffered a more hard passage of victuals which came from *Venoufa* & other places about to *Attella*, wherein was not refreshing to suffice to feede the French numbers a very few dayes : for besides, that come bare a very scant proportion, yet the *Aragons* pluckt down a mill standing vpon the riuier which runneth neare to the wals, wherby they wated meane to turne their litle store of come into meale: neither were their discomforts present, comforted by hoping in any good to come, seeing that from no part appeared so much as one signe of succours: extremities so much the more intollerable to the French, by how much their felicities in the conquest had sayled with so full gales, that they neuer looked backe to those reuolutions which naturally do follow all humane actions : not that fortune doth so prouide (a reason which many vaine men occupy) but that so it is set downe in the eternall counsell of God, who by the same power doth dispose and gouerne all things on the earth, by the which he created them of nothing. But the cause of their full ruine, was the misaduētures that fell in *Calabria*: for by occasion of the sicknesse of *M. d. Aubigny*, in which infirmitie many of his people went to the armie of *Montpensier*, *Consaluo* seruing his turne of his sicknesse, tooke many peeces in that prouince, incamping at last with his Spanish bands and strength of popular souldiers of the countrey, at *Castrouillares* where hauing aduertisement that the Count *Melete*, & *Albert de S. Senerin*, with many other Barons were at *Laine* with bands of souldiers almost equall to his, & that increasing their nūbers daily, they made their plot to assaile him, when their whole strength was assembled: he determined to preuent

Mercenarie
souldiers for
the most part
unfaithfull.

The declinatio
of the French
in the kingdom
of Naples.

preuent them, hoping to surprize them vnprouided, by the confidence they had in the situation of their place, the castell of *Lame* standing vpon the riuer *Sabry*, which diuideth *Calabria* fro the principall: and the borough is on the other side the riuer, wherein being intrenched, they were garded by the castell against all inuasions by the high way. Lastly, betweene *Lame* and *Castronillare*, was *Murana*, with certaine other peeces of the Prince of *Bisignian* which held for them: but *Consaluo* with a counsell all contrary, departed a little before night from *Castronillare*, accompanied with all his bands, and leauing the high way, he tooke the large way, notwithstanding it was both more long and hard, for that he was to march by certaine mountayns: and being arrived neare the riuer, he commaunded the footemen to take the way to the bridge, which is betweene the castell of *Lame* and the borough, which bridge was but negligently garded for the opinion of the surety of the place: and him selfe with his horsemen passing the riuer at a foord two miles higher, was at the borough before day, where finding the enemies without warch and gard, he brake them in a moment sleeping in the security of the place: he made prisoners xj Barons, and almost all the souldiers, for that flying to the castell, they fell amongst the footemen, which now were posselt of the passage of the bridge. By this honorable victory being the first which *Consaluo* had got in the kingdome of *Naples*, his strength was so increased, that hauing also with the like vertue and fortune, recouered certaine other places in *Calabria*, he determined with fixe thousand men to go and ioyne with the campe of *Ferdinand*, which was before *Attella*: and in that campe was arriued a little before, an hundreth men at armes of the Duke of *Candia*, Captaine of the confederates, but him selfe with the residue of his bands remained in the towne of *Rome*.

Consaluo surpriseth the french.

By the comming of *Consaluo*, (caused by the surprize of those which were for the french in *Calabria*) they that were besieged were brought into hard straights, their towne being enuironed on three sides, the *Arragons* occupying one, the *Venetians* an other, and the *Spaniards* the third: In so much that there was almost left no entrey for victuals, specially the *Venetian* stradiots running ouer the whole countrey, and taking many french men which brought reliefe from *Venoufa*: they also that were within, had no meane to go on forraging but at houres extraordinary, and that with a strong gard: and *Paule Vitells* making a sally at midday, with a hundreth men at armes, was drawne by the Marquesse of *Mantua* into an ambush, where he lost part of his company.

And being thus deprived of all commodities without, they were at last reduced to that extremity, that they could not with gard and strength, serue their vse of the riuer to water their horses: and within the towne their necessities were no lesse of fresh water, for the refreshing of their persons: So that being ouerweared with so many aduersities, and no lesse abandoned of all hopes, their perils more generall and present, then their succours likely or assured: after they had endured the siege two and thirty dayes, and being now left to the last remedy in warre, they demaunded a safe conduct, which was granted, vnder the protection whereof, they sent to capitulate with *Ferdinand*, *Monseieur de Perse*, *Bartholomew d'Albiano*, and one of the *Swizzer* Captaines: amongst whom were agreed these couenants following: That there should be no enterprize attempted by either part one vpon an other for xxx. daies: That during that time, not one of the besieged, (to whom should be ministred day by day by the *Arragons* necessary victuals) should depart out of *Attella*: That it should be suffered to *Montpensier*, to aduertise his King of the accord: That if he were not rescued in the sayd tearme of thirty dayes, he should leaue *Attella*, and all that he had in his power in the kingdome of *Naples*, together with all the artilleries that were there: That the souldiers should be in safety for their persons and iewels, and with them it should be lawfull to euery one to go into *France*, either by land or sea: and to the *Vrsins* & other *Italian* Captains, to returne with their bands whither they would out of the kingdome: That to the Barons & others, which had followed the factio of the french (in case they would return to *Ferdinand* within xv. daies) all punishments should be remitted, & restitution of al the goods they possessed when the warre began. The tearme of this abstinence expired, *M. Montpensier*, with all the french, and many *Swizzers*, together with the *Vrsins*, were conducted to the sea castel of *Stabby*, where they bega to dispute, if *Montpensier* as lieutenant general vnder his king, & by that means about al others, were bound (as *Ferdinand* said) to make to be rendred all that was possessed in the kingdome of *Naples* in the name of the french king: for that *M. Montpensier* pretended, that he was bound to no more, then was in his owne power to render, & that his authority stretched not to command other captains & castel keepers which were in *Calabria*, *Abruzze*, *Caietta*, & many other towns & peeces

The french send to capitulate with Ferdinand.

which the King had giuen them in charge, and not to him: The argument being trauesed by many reasons on both sides for certaine dayes, they were at last conducted to *Bari*, *Ferdinand* making semblance that hee would let them go: and there (vnder colour that the vessels wherein they should be embarked, were not yet ready) they were so long retayned, that being dispersed betweene *Baia* and *Pozzola*, they fell into such diseases by the ill aire and many other incommodities, that both *Monsieur Monipensier* died, and of the residue of his company which were more then fife thousand bodies, there scarce returned into *Fraunce* safe and sound, fife hundred. *Virginio* and *Paule Vrsin* (at the request of the Pope, who was now determined to take from that family their estates) were sent prisoners to the egge castell, and their companies conducted by *John Jordan* sonneto *Virginio*, and *Bartholomew d'Aluiano*, were by the appointment of the Pope, stripped in *Abruzz* by the Duke of *Vrbis*: *John Jordan* also and *Aluiano*, leauing their people in the way, and returning to *Naples* by the commaundement of *Ferdinand*, were made prisoners: but *Aluiano*, either by his industry, or by the secret sufferance of *Ferdinand* (who loued him much) had meane to escape.

Montpensier
dieth.

Virginio Vrsin
prisoner.

The Prince of
Bisignian com-
poundeth for
himselfe and
others.

Monsieur d'Aubigny con-
sents to depart
the kingdome
of *Naples*.

After *Ferdinand* had taken *Attella*, he made diuision of his army into many parts, for the more easie recouering of the residue of the kingdome: he sent before *Caietta*, *Federike* of *Aragon*, and *Prosper Colonne*: and to *Abruzz*, where the towne of *Aquila* was already reuolted to his deuotion, he dispatched *Fabrice Colonne*: and him selfe taking by force the rocke of *Saint Senerin*, and cut off the heads of the castell keeper and his sonne, the more to terrifie others, went to encampe before *Salerna*, where the Prince of *Bisignian* had parley with him, and compounded for him selfe, for the Prince of *Salerne*, for the Count of *Capaccie*, and for certaine other Barons, with condition that they should remaine possessed of their estates, but that *Ferdinand* for his surety should keepe in his handes the fortresses for a certaine time. After which accord they went to *Naples*: In *Abruzz* was not made any great resistance, for that *Graciano*, who was there with eight hundred horsemen, hauing no more meane of defence, and lesse expectation of succours in a fortune so declining, retired to *Caietta*: Into *Calabria*, of which the greatest quantity held yet for the french, returned *Consaluo*, against whom, albeit *Monsieur d'Aubigny* made some resistance, yet being in the end driuen to take *Groppoly*, after he had lost *Manfredonia* and *Cosensa*, which had bene sacked before by the french: and lastly, seeing all hopes became desperate, and no apparaunce of succours from *France*, he consented to deliuer vp all *Calabria*, vpon sufferance to returne by land into *Fraunce*.

It is certaine that many of these reuolts and changes, happened by the negligence and indiscretion of the french: for albeit *Manfredonia*, for the situation of the place was strong, for the fauors of the people there, free from suspition, and for the fertility of the countrey, full of plentifull means and prouision of victuals: and that the King had left for the gard of it *Gabriell Montsalcon*, esteemed a Captaine valiant: yet after it had endured a very short and easie siege, they were constrained to render it for famine: Like as also (in misfortunes examples doe much) other peeces of good ability to defend them selues, became recreant, and yeelded, either for feare, (which is proper to cowards) or for impatience of the incommodities, which such must suffer as are besieged: some Castell keepers finding their rocks well prouided for, sold the victuals at their first entry, and so as soone as the enemy appeared, made their willing necessities and wants a slanderous detection of their infidelity and cowardise. By these disorders, ioyned to the negligence of the King, the french lost in the kingdome of *Naples* that reputation, which the vertue of that man had wonne vnto them, who holding many yeares after the victory of *Ferdinand*, the castell of the Egge, which *John* of *Aniow* had left in his charge, could neuer be brought to render it, but by compulsion of victuals altogether consumed.

Thus no more remayning for the recouery of the whole realme, then *Tarenta* and *Caietta*, with other peeces holden by *Charles de Sangwyn*: and *Mont Saint Ange* kept by *Dom Iulian di Lorraine*, who with great merite and praise, made his vertue knowne in all the places thereabouts: it happened that *Ferdinand*, rayfed into great glory, and no lesse hopes to be equall in greameffe with his predeceffours, went to *Sommo*, a towne seated at the foote of the hill *Vesune* to see the Queene his wife, where he became very sicke, either for his trauels past, or by new excessive disorders: and feeling by his disposition no hope of recouery, he caused him selfe to be caried to *Naples*, where he died not many dayes after, somewhat before the end of the yeare after the death

Ferdinand
dieth.

of

of his father king: *Alphonso*: he left behind him; not onely in his kingdome but also thorough all *Italy*, a singular opinion of his valour, not so much for his victorie obtayned, which in times and conditions so deuided merited much; as by the life and readinesse of his spirit; wherein he was found resolute in both fortunes, with many other royall vertues, wherein he became a worthy example to many: he dyed without issue and therefore his Vncle *Dom Federike* succeeded him, being the fift king seene to succede in that kingdome in three yeares time.

As soone as *Federike* was aduertised of the death of his Nephew; he leauied his siege from before *Caietta*, and went to *Naples*, where was the old Queene his mother in law, who put into his hands New castle, albeit many were of opinion that she would retain it for her brother *Ferdinand* king of the Spanisli. In this accident were most singular towards *Federike*, not onely the wils of the peoples, but also the inclinations of the Princes of *Salerno*, and of *Bisignan*, together with the faith of the Count *Capaccio*, all which were the first that pronounced his name within *Naples*; & going to meete him saluted him as king at his disceending from the ship: They were farre better content with him; then with the last king; no lesse for the mildnesse and moderation of his mind (which they honored with great reuerence and humilitie) then for the suretie of their owne estates, hauing no small suspicion that *Ferdinand* as soone as he had addresse his affaires, had intentions to call to answere all those that in any sort had bene fauourers of the french.

Federike made king of Naples

But these alterations and disorders hapning with so great dishonor and damage to the french faction, had no power to giue a new life to the king; and much lesse hasten his prouisions; who standing intangled with the delights & pleasures of the court, made it foure monethes afore he returned to *Lyons*. And albeit in this amorous negligence, he oftentimes recommended to such as he had left there, the solicitation and dispatch of all prouisions as well for sea as land, and the Duke of *Orleans* was prepared to depart: yet by the duncient cunninges of the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, the men at armes which were slenderly payed; marched as slowly towards *Italy*, and the nauie by sea which was to be assembled at *Marseilles*; aduanced so slackly, that the confederates had leasure enough, to send first to *Ville Franche* a large hauen neare to *Nice*, and afterwards euen to the roades of *Marseilles*, an armie by sea leauied at their common charges at *Genes*, to giue impediments to the vessels of *France* that were to go to the realme of *Naples*: and to these great & generall delayes proceeding principally from the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, wise men doubted, that there was ioyned some other cause more secret, intertayned in the kings mind with a singular art & diligence of such as with many reasons laboured to turne him from the enterprises of *Italy*, for that they thought, that for his proper regard and interest, he ought to be ielous ouer the greatnes of the Duke of *Orleans*, on whom (if the victorie succeeded) the Duchy of *Myllan* shold fall. Besides, they occupied with him this discourse of perswasions; that it was farre from pollicie and his proper suretie to go out of *France*, afore he had made some contract with the king of *Spaine*, who expressing a desire to be reconciled, had sent Embassadors to his Maiestie to induce a truce; & insinuate an agreement. Many counselled him to tarie till the Queene was brought to bed, for that it agreed not with his wisdom, & was contrary to the loue he ought to beare to his peoples, to obiect his person to so many perils, afore he had a sonne & heire to receiue so great a succession: A reason which made the deliuerie of the Queene more painefull, and her fruit more wretched & vnfürfortunate, seeing that not many dayes after, the masculine issue which God had giuen him, died. So that partly by particular negligence in the king, but more by the errors and vices of his simple counsell, and partly by the difficulties which others suggested, the prouisions waied so long in delayes, that the ruine of his people, & whole losse of the kingdome, made lamentable vnto them the operations of their owne indiscretion: yea the like had hapned to his friends and confederates in *Italy*, if of themselues they had not constantly defended their proper estates.

Negligence in the french king.

It hath beene set downe before, how for feare of the french prouisions, and more for the contentment of *Lodomyke Sforce*, then any thing agreeable to the *Venetsians*, there was a plot laid to make passe into *Italy* *Maximilian Caesar*, with whom whilest that feare indured, it was agreed that the *Venetsians* should giue him for three whole moneths twenty thousand duckats for euery moneth, to the end he should bring with him a certaine proportion of horsemen & footmen, vpon the which passing of accord, *Lodomyke* accompanied with the Embassadors of the confederats, went to *Manza* (a place on the other side the Mounts vpon the confyns of *Almasne*) to communicate with his Maiestie: where after they had vsed great conference; *Lodomyke* came backe againe

Lodowyke will
aswel serue his
turne of the
king of Ro-
maines for his
ambition, as he
had done of the
french king in
his necessitie.

the same day to *Bormy*, a towne of the Duchie of *Myllan* on this side the Mounts, whither came *Maximilian* the day following vnder colour of going on hunting: and after in that enteriue of two dayes, they had set downe the time and maner of his marching into *Italy*. *Maximilian* returned into *Germany* to solícite the execution of things that were contracted. But the brufe of the prouisions of *France* inferiour to all expectation, growing now so cold, that for that regard it seemed not necessarie that the king of *Romaines* should march: yet *Lodowyke* determining to serue his ambition of that which afore he had procured for his proper suretie, continued still to solícite him to descend into *Italy*, wherein to remoue all impediments that might hinder his desire, albeit the *Venetians* would not be concurrant in the promise of thirtie thousand duckats which he demaunded ouer and aboute the lx. thousand that were accorded to him: yet he forbore not to bind himselfe alone to that demaund: Insomuch that in the end *Maximilian* marched and passed into *Italy*, a litle afore the death of *Ferdinand*: of the which when he was aduertised, being neare to *Millan*, he entred into thoughts and deuised so to handle things, as by his meane the kingdome of *Naples* might comie to *Iohn* the onely sonne of the king of *Spaine*; and his sonne in law. But that being farre from the purpose of *Lodowyke* and his secret ambition, he told him that in that action he should discontent & trouble all *Italy*; and be the cause to dissolue the vnitie of the confederats, and consequently to make easie the enterprises of the king of *France*, occupying such other cunning perswasions, that his subtleties so vanquished all the intentions of *Cesar*, as he did not onely giue ouer and denounce his first cogitation; but also fauoured and ratified by letters the succession of *Federike*: he descended into *Italy* with a very small companie of men, but the brute ranne, that there marched after euen to the proportion and quantitie which he had promised. And being come to *Vigenena*, where he sojourned, *Lodowyke* & the Cardinall of *Santa Croce* (sent vnto him as Legat by the Pope) together with the Embassadours of the confederats, assembled with him in counsell to resolute what were best to be done: therein this was thought the first and most necessarie action, that he should march into *Piemont* to take the towne of *Ast*, & separat from the french king the Duke of *Sauoy*, & Marquis of *Montferat*, as members depending of the Empire: to them he addressed aduertisements to come to speake with him in a towne in *Piemont*: but his forces being inferiour to his title & dignitie, and by that occasion the effects not answering the authority of the name imperiall, they shewed contempt, not one of them consenting to go to him: like as also for the enterprise of *Ast*, there was no apparance that it should happily succeed: he made like instance to come to speake with him, to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who vnder name of *Feodary* of the empire, possessed the towne of *Modena* & *Reggio*: And albeit he offered him for his surety, the faith of *Lodowyke*, his son in law, yet he refused to go to him, alleaging that the action were not couenient for his honor, for that he held as yet in deputatiõ, the castle of *Genes*. Finally *Lodowyke* (led still with humors of his ancient couetousnes, and no lesse discontented that *Pysa* so ambitiously desired of him, should fall with the danger of all *Italy* into the power of the *Venetians*, sought wonderfully to hinder such a matter) & coulselled the Emperour to go to *Pysa*, perswading him with discourses full of deceits, that the *Florentines* being not mighty enough to resist him & the strength of the confederats, would depart by necessity from the alliance of the french king, and could not refuse to refer the accord & arbitration of all their controuersies to the person of *Maximilian*, to the end, that if not by reconcilement, at least by way of iustice, might be determined the differences between them & the *Pysans*. In which regard as *Pysa* should be put into the hands of *Cesar*, & all the appurtenances appertaining to it: So he hoped by his authoritie to make the *Pysans* consent, & that the *Venetians* (being concurrant in this action the wils of all the other confederats) would not oppose themselves against a conclusion so conducible to the common benefit, and no lesse iust and honest of it selfe: for *Pysa* being anciently a towne of the Empire, the reknowledging of the rights of such as aspired to it, apperteyned to no other then to *Cesar*: & so being committed of trust into the hands of *Cesar*, *Lodowyke* hoped that he should easily come by it, either by money, (which makes way into great kingdomes) or for the grace and authoritie which he had with him, the same seruing as an instrument to aduance his ambition. This deuise was propounded in the counsell vnder colour, that seeing for the present, the feare of the french warres ceased, the comming of *Cesar* might be used to induce the *Florentins* to knit with the other confederats against the french king, a deuise not displeasing to *Maximilian*, who was not a litle discontented that his descending into *Italy* bred no effect, hoping withall, that where by reason of his infinite plots and inuentions and

Lodowyke per-
swades Cesar
to go to Pysa.

and no lesse for his disorders and vnbridled prodigalities, he had alwaies want of money, *Pysa* would be an instrument conuenient, to gather some great quantitie either of the *Florentines*, or others. The deuise also was approued by all the confederats as a thing very profitable for the suretie of *Italy*: The Embassador of *Venice* not impugning it, for that that Senate, perceiuing well enough to what ends tended the thoughts of *Lodowyke*, doubted not to beguile him easily, and hoped that by meane of the presence of *Cæsar* might be gotten the hauen of *Lyuorne*, which being vnited once to *Pysa*, the *Florentines* had no further hope to recouer that citie.

It hath bene declared how the confederats afore made many meanes and requests to the *Florentines* to enter vnitie and league with them, and at the times when most they feared the descending of the frenchmen, they gaue them hopes so to worke and trauell in things, that *Pysa* should effsoones retorne vnder their iurisdiction: but the couetousnesse of the *Venetians* and *Lodowyke* being suspected to the *Florentines*, who would not lightly deuide themselves from the amitie of the french king, bare no readie deuotion to those suggestions: wherein as one thing that kept them backe, was a hope to recouer by the comming of the french king, *Pietra sancta*, & *Serezana*, places which they could not expect by any working of the confederats: so that which turned the and drew them quite away, was an ouerweening no lesse vnprofitable to the condition of their affaires, then contrary to the course of the time: they measuring rather their owne merits, and that which they endured for the king, then his nature, or his customes, promised to themselves by the meane of his victory, not only the city of *Pysa*, but almost all the residue of *Tuskane*. In which perswasion they were nourished by the opinion and words of *Ieronimo Sauonarole*, who in his sermons pronounced many felicities & augmentation of imperie appointed to that common weale after so many trauels & afflictions, publishing in like stile most grieuous calamities & euils to happen to the court of *Rome*, and all the other Potentates of *Italy*: wherein albeit this fond Preacher was not without his aduersaries scorning at this particular doctrine, yet what for his own authoritie, & the simple inclinations of many, there was no litle faith giuen to his holy aduertisements, no lesse by most part of the popular multitude, then by many of the principall citizens, wherof, some of innocent deuotion, some by ambition, and some for feare, reapposed such religion in his vaine forewarnings, that the whole estate of *Florence* caried such generall disposition to continue in the french amitie, that the confederats thought it not vnreasonable to labor to reduce them by force, to that whereunto their wils were so strange & contrary. They supposed the enterprise to inuade them could not containe many difficulties, for that they were hated of all their neighbours, & had no expectation or hope of succors from the french king, who abandoning the safetie of his owne people in *Naples*, could not in any reason be thought carefull to minister to the wants of others. Besides, their great expenses for these three yeares, with so generall diminution of their reuenues, had so drayned them, that it was not credible that they were able to sustaine long trauels: seeing withall they had for this yeare past continually followed the warres against *Pysa*, wherein the accidents haue bene diuerse and notable, more for the resolution of courage shewed in many valiant actes, and factions of warre by either part, and by the desperate obstinacie wherewith such things were done, then for any huge proportion or greatnesse of armies, and much lesse for the qualitie of places for the which they fought, being but villages and boroughes not famous, and therefore of themselves of no great consequence: for (to vse more large discourse) a little after the citadell was giuen to the *Pysans*, and afore the succors of *Venice* arriued there, the bands of *Florence* hauing taken the borough of *Buty*, & from thence encamped at *Calcy*, and before they tooke it, beginning (for their better suretie of victuals) to build a bastillion vpon the Mount of *Dolorosa*: the bands of footmen that were there for the gard of the place, were broken by their own negligence, by the enignes of the *Pysans*: and a little after, as *Francisco Secco* was encamped with a great troupe of horsemen in the borough of *Buty* to see to the safe conuoy of victuals to *Hercules Beniuole*, incamped with the footbands of the *Florentines* about the litle castle of the hill *Verrucola*: he was so charged at ynwares by the footmē that came out of *Pysa*, that by th'incoueniency of the place to apply the seruice of his horsemen, he lost a great part of the: for which succesles the affaires of *Pysa* sening to rise increasing in fortune, & that with hope of greater prosperity for that the succors of the *Venetians* began to arriue: *Hercules Beniuole* lodging in the borough of *Bientina*, hearing that *John Paul Monfijn* Captaine of the *Venetians*, was with the first part of their companies come to *Vicopisan* 2. miles frō *Bientina*, fayned to haue feare, insomuch that presently he raised his

companies and went into the field, and immediatly as soone as the *Venetian* bandes were discouered, he esloones retyred into *Bientina*. But after he saw his enimie full of boldnesse and securitie, he trayned him one day with great pollicie into an ambush, where he put him to the worst, with the losse of the most part of his companies, giuing him the chase euen to the yuals of *Vicopisan*. In which encounter the victorie was not in all points happie, for that *Francisco Secco* come to the campe that morning to ioyne with *Hercules*, in the retyre was slaine with a shot of harquebuze: After these followed the other bandes of the *Venetians*, amongst whom were eight hundreth stradiots led by *Iustinian Morosin*: by whose comming the *Pyfans* being now farre superior, *Hercules Bentiuole* to whom the partes of the countrey were well knowne, neither willing to put himselfe in daunger, nor altogether disposed to abandon the field, encamped in a very strong place, betweene the borough of *Pontadere*, and the riuer of *Ere*: with the oportunitie of this place, he restrayned much the importunitie of the enemies, who in all that time tooke no other place or peece then the borough of *Buty* which yeelded to their discreffion: And as they sent out their stradiots to make pillage of the countrey, there were three hundred of them running vp euen to *Valdere*, charged and broken by certaine bands which *Hercules* sent after them. The *Florentines* were in the same seasons vexed by the *Sienna*, who by the occasion of the harmes they suffered in the countrey of *Pyfa*, and at the incensing of the confederats, sent to incampe afore the bastillion of the bridge of *Valiane*, the Lord of *Plumbin* & *John Sauelle*: but hearing that *Riuuccio de Marciano* arriued with succors, they retyred in great hast from before the bastillion, leauing behind them one part of their artillerie: by reason whereof the *Florentines* seeing themselves assured on that side, caused *Riuuccio* to turne his force to the quarter of *Pyfa*: In so much that their strength being almost equall, the warre was now brought to the boroughs about the hils: But for that they were at the deuotion of the *Pyfans*, things fell out more to the disaduantage of the *Florentines*: for that the *Pyfans* entring by intelligeñce into the borough of *Pont de sac*, stripped a whole company of men at armes, and tooke prisoner *Lodowike Marciana*, yet they abandoned forthwith the said borough for feare of the *Florentine* bands which were not farre off: But the better to command and gouerne the hilles, which were of great importance to them, as well for the victuals brought from thence to *Pyfa*, as for that they gaue impediments to the *Florentines* in the traffike of the hauen of *Lyuorne*: they fortified the most part of those boroughs, amongst the which *Sotiana* was made noble by one accident by chance: for the campe of the *Florentines* being marched thither with intention to take it the same day, and for that cause, hauing spoyled all the passages of the riuer of *Cascina*, and put their men at armes in battell vpon the banke, to cut off the succors of the enimie: it hapned that *Peter Capponi* a chiefe commaunder amongst the *Florentines*, as he was about to plant the artilleries, was stricken in the head by a bullet out of the towne, whereof he dyed presently: An end vnworthy of his vertue, as well for the ignobilitie of the place, as for the litle importance of such an enterpryse: By the chance of this accident, they raysed the campe without attempting any further action: Besides, the *Florentines* euen in those times were compelled to send bands of men into *Lunigiana* to the succors of the castle of *Verroncòle* which the Marquis of *Malestina* held besieged, by the aide of the *Genoways*; from whence he easily gaue them the chase: So that the strength of the *Pyfans* was mighty for certaine monethes, for that besides the townesmen and popular souldiers leuied of the countrey became bodie's warlike by long experience, the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan* had there many bandes of horsemen & footmen, the *Venetian* numbers being greatest: But for that afterwards the Dukes copanies began to diminish because they were not paid as appertained, the *Venetians* vsing that defect to their aduantage, sent thither a new supply of a 100. men at armes, and 6. gallics laden with prouision of victuals, wherein they spared no necessary expences for the suertie of that citie, the same hapning in good season to winne, and draw to them the affections of the *Pyfans*, who euery day more and more estranged their mindes from the deuotion of the Duke of *Myllan*, as neither contented with his nigardise in the expence and prouision of things necessary, nor with his incertainties and variations, expressing rather a mind neuter, then affection resolute, for that sometimes he would be forward in the succor of their affaires, and esloones carelesse & cold, leauing all to aduventure: in so much as beginning almost to doubt of his will, they imposed vpon him by imputation that *John Bentiuole* did not aduance to endamage the *Florentines* according to the commission he had of the confederats, the rather for that they knew he had payled him in a great part of his payments, either through

Peter Capponi.

The Pyfans begin to disclaime the Duke of Myllan.

his quietnesse, or else, that the displeasures of the *Florentines* were acceptable to him, but not their whole ruine and oppression. By meane of which operations, he had laied of himselfe (touching the state of *Pysa*) foundations contrary to his chiefe ends and intentions, for the advancement whereof he onely induced the councill of the confederates to determine that *Maximilian Caesar* should go to *Pysa*.

But now returning from whence we came: after it was resolved that *Caesar* should march to *Pysa*, he dispatched two Embassadors to *Florence* to aduertise them, that by reason of an enterprise which he intended with a mightie army against the Infidels, he iudged it first an action chiefe and necessary to passe into *Italy*, the better to pacifie and assure the controuersies there, for which cause he exhorted the *Florentines* that they would communicate together with the other confederates in the comon defence of *Italy*, or at least if they had an other inclination, that they would make manifest their will and intention: That for the same occasion, and for that it appertained to the authoritie imperiall, he would know the controuersies that were betweene them and the *Pisans*, requiring them, till he had taken knowledge of the reasons of both the one and other, that they would surcease the warre, which he assured would not be refused by the *Pisans*, to whom he had imparted the like significations: lastly, he gaue them great suretie with sweete and familiar words, that he would be ready to administer iustice indifferently. To which message (receiuing the offers of the Emperour with reuerence and recommendation, and expressing no lesse shewes of singular confidence in his iustice and pietie) was answered by the *Florentines*, that they would giue him particularly to vnderstand of their intention by speciall Embassadors to be addressed to his Maiestie with speede.

But in the meane while the *Venetians*, not to leaue to *Maximilian* or the Duke of *Myllan*, any meane to be Maisters ouer *Pisa*, sent thither with consent of the *Pisans* a new supply of a hundred and fiftie men at armes, some stradiots, and a thousand footmen vnder the leading of *Amiball Bentiuole*, signifying to the Duke that they had sent those succors thither, for that their common weale, which loued to chearish free cities, was vniuersally inclined to aide the *Pisans* to recover their countrey, as indeed by the succour of those bandes, they went thorow with the recovery of almost all the boroughes of the hills. In regard of which benefits, and for the franke readinesse of the *Venetians* to gratifie their demaunds which were in great number, sometimes wanting men, sometimes lacking money, and most commonly suffering necessities of victuals and munitions, the will of the *Pisans* was become so conformable to the desires of the *Venetians*, that all that office of deuotion & confidence which they were wont to owe to the Duke of *Myllan*, being now transported into them, they greatly desired that that Senat would continue their protectors, defenders, and patrons: And yet they solicited still the comming of *Caesar*, for hoping that what with the strength they had already within *Pisa*, and the bands which his Maiestie would lead with him, they should with more facilitie get *Liuorne*. On the other side, the *Florentines*, who besides other encombrances, were at that time pressed with a great scarcitie of victuals, were occupied with no small feares, being left alone to resist the power of so many Princes: for that in *Italy*, there would not rise one in their aide & fauor, & from their Embassadors in *France*, they were certified by letters, that they could hope for no reskue in the king, to whom they had recommended their dangers with many futes & humilities, though not to haue of him a full succour, yet to be releued with some quantitie and proportion of money. But their petitions were in vaine, and all their requests embraced with the same coldnesse of care wherewith he comforted the perplexities of his peculiar peoples in the kingdome of *Naples*. *Peter de Medicis* alone did not molest them, because it was an article in the councill of the confederates, not to vse in this action, either his name, or his fauor, knowing by experience, that the *Florentines* for that feare, did the more increase their vnyty for the preservation of their libertie: and *Lodowike Sforce*, vnder colour to be ielous of their safetie, but more discontented with the greatnes of the *Venetians*, ceased not to apply all his discourse of wit and perswasion, to induce them to referre all things to the arbitration of *Caesar*, wherein he alleaged many great and sensible dangers, and insinuated with arguments & reasons, that this was the onely meane to drawe the *Venetians* from *Pisa*, and so consequently to accomplish their full reintegration: A thing verie necessary for the vniuersall stabilitie of *Italy*, and no lesse (for that occasion) desired by the king of *Spaine*, and all the other confederats: But the *Florentines* not suffering themselues to be carried with faire & deceitfull apparances, and much lesse amased with the

*The Florentines
have small
hope to be suc-
coured by the
franch king.*

The Florentines send answer to the Emperour.

contemplation of so many dangers and difficulties, determined to make no declaration with *Cesar*, neither to referre their rights to his arbitrement, if first they were not restored to the possession of *Pisa*, for that they were not assured either of his will or of his authoritie, being manifest that hauing not of himselfe any forces, or monney, he proceeded as it best seemed to the Duke of *Millan*. Neither did they discern in the *Venetians*, any disposition or neede to leaue *Pisa*: Therefore they prepared with a franke and liberall resolution of courage, to fortifie and refurbish *Livorno* as well as they could, and to draw all their strength into the countrey of *Pisa*: And yet, for that they would not appeare estranged from the league, laboring withall to appease *Cesar*, they sent Embassadors who found him at *Genes*, where he was then arriued: Their commission was (for answer of the things propounded by his Embassadors at *Florence*) to aduertise him and perswade him, that it was not necessary to proceede to any declaration, because, for the reuerence they bare to his name he might promise to himselfe of the common weale of *Florence*, euen as much as he would desire. And to beseech him to thinke, that for his most holy resolution to reduce *Italy* to peace, there was nothing more conuenient then immediatly to restore *Pisa* to the *Florentines*, for that it was the roote and riuer from whence sprong all their deliberations so discontenting to his Maiestie and the confederates; and *Pisa* also being in that regard, the cause that made some to aspire to the Empire of *Italy*, who to that end laboured to keepe it in continuall trauels of warre, by which words (notwithstanding it was not otherwayes expressed) was signified and ment the ambition of the *Venetians*: That also it was not agreeable to his iustice, that such as had bene dispoyled by force, should be constrained contrarie to the disposition of the lawes imperiall, to referre their rights to compromise, if first they were not restored to their possession: concluding that the common weale of *Florence* obteyning this beginning of him, and by that meane, remaining no cause to desire any thing but peace with euery one, they would make all such declarations as he should thinke conuenient, and reappoyning wholly in his iustice, would with ready humilitie recommend vnto him the knowledge of their rights.

This answer satisfied not *Cesar*, who desired aboue all things that they might enter into the league vnder faith and promise to be restored to the possession of *Pisa* within a tearme conuenient: notwithstanding after many discourses and debating of reasons, they could draw no other answer from him, then (vppon the platforme of *Genes* as he entred the sea) he told them they should vnderstand further of his will by the Popes Legat which was at *Genes*, by whom, being sent backe againe to the Duke, who from *Zippone* (whither he had accompanied *Cesar*) was returned to *Millan*, they went into the same citie, where, as they were demanding audience, they receiued Commissions from *Florence*, (alreadie vnderstanding the frute of their legation) commaunding them without seeking other answer, to returne home: So that being come to the houre appointed for their audience, they turned their demaund to haue answer, into a signification of their office, that returning to *Florence*, they were bold to lengthen their way, to come to do him reuerence afore they parted out of his countrey, as well appertained to the friendship which their common weale had mutually with him. The Duke thinking they would demaund answer according to their direction from the Legat, had assembled all the Embassadors of the confederats, and the whole maiestie of his owne counsell, to make shew (according to his manner) of his eloquence, and his arte, and to take pleasure in the calamities of others: but being not a little confused with the nature of their proposition altogether disappointing his expectation and looking, he asked them suddenly what answer they had of *Cesar*: to which demaund they answered, that according to the lawes of their common weale, they might not communicate nor treat of their commission, with any other Prince, then with him to whom they were assigned Embassadors: he replied somewhat troubled: If we giue you answer, for the which we knowe that *Cesar* hath referred you to vs, would you not heare it? It is not forbidden to heare (say they) and much lesse can we let an other to speake: He answered, we are content to giue you the answer, but that cannot well be done, if you pronounce not that which you haue said to him: The Embassadors estoones answered, that besides they had no power for the selfe same reasons allcaged before, yet it would be superfluous, for that it was necessary that *Cesar* had imparted their proposition with those, to whom he had giuen the immediat charge to make the answer in his name. For these resolute dealings of the Embassadors, he could not, neither in words, nor in gestures dissemble his indignation, and with moodes full of variation and discontentment he dismissed the Embassadors with all the residue

residue which he had assembled, receiuing in himselfe one part of the mockerie, which he ment to haue giuen to an other.

In the meane while, *Caesar* departed from the haueu of *Genes* with fixe gallies which the *Venetians* had in the sea of *Pisa*, and with many other vessels of the *Genoways* very well furnished with artillerie, but not with fighting men; for that there was no other men of warre, then a thousand launceknights: with whom he sayled to the haueu of *Spetia*, and from thence went by land to *Pisa*. *Caesar is come to Pisa.* and there hauing ioyned to his armie fise hundreth horsemen, and a thousand other lanceknights which had marched by land, he determined to incampe before *Lyuorne*, hauing for his backe the companies of the Duke of *Myllan*, and one part of the *Venetian* bands: his intention was to charge it both by sea and land, sending the other *Venetian* companies to *Pont de suoy*, to the end the *Florentine* Campe which was not strong, should not be able to molest the *Pisans*, nor giue succours to *Lyuorne*. But there was no enterprise which lesse astonished the *Florentines*, then that of *Lyuorne*, sufficiently furnished with men and artillerie, with daily expectation of succours from *Prouence*; for that a litle before, to augment their forces with the reputation wherein were at that time in *Italy*, the armies of the french, they had with the consent of the french king, intertained to their pay, *Monfier d'Albigois* one of his captaines with a hundreth launces, and a thousand footmen, as well *Smyzers* as *Gaskoins*, which were to come by sea to *Lyuorne* vpon certaine ships, which by their directions were loden with graine, to releue the generall want of victuals raigning in all the lands of their obedience. This deliberation, made with other thoughts, and for other ends, then for their defence against *Caesar*, albeit it was full of difficulties, for that both *Monfier d'Albigois* with his company already conducted to the ships, refused to take the sea, only fixe hundreth footemen being imbarked: yet it found such plentifull fauours of fortune, that there could not be desired a prouision, neither more great nor more conuenient: seeing that the same day that a Commissioner of *Pysa*, (sent before by *Caesar* with a great strength of horsemen and footmen to make bridges and planks for the army which was to follow) arriued before *Lyuorne*, the naue of *Prouence* conteyning fise ships and certaine gallions, together with a great carracke of *Normandie* which the king appointed to reuietual *Caietta*, were discouered aboue *Lyuorne* with so fauourable gales & tydes, that without any resistance of the flecte of *Caesar* (for they were constrained by the time to spread abroad about *Melorie*, a rocke very famous, for that in a sea battell made there in times past betwene the *Genoways* and the *Pysans*, the *Pysans* were ouerthrowne) they entred the port without other losse, then of one gallion loden with corne, which was taken, as being strayed from the other naue.

This succour gaue no lesse life and courage to those that were within *Lyuorne*, then much assured the minds of the *Florentines*, who interpreted this suddaine comming of the ships to a signe, that though earthly and worldly forces would faile them, yet God beholding their calamities, would not abandon them, according to the assurance which oftentimes *Sauonarola* had preached to the people, euen when euery one was most astonished. But notwithstanding these discouragements of victuals and succours, the King of *Romains* ceased not to march with his campe to *Lyuorne*, *Caesar marcheth to Lyuorne.* whither hauing sent by land fise hundreth men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, he passed vpon gallies euen to the mouth of the poole which is betwene *Pysa* and *Lyuorne*: and hauing appointed the one part of the place to be inuaded by the Count *Caietta* whom the Duke of *Myllan* had sent with him, he presented himselfe afore the other wherein albeit the first day he had no small a do to settle his campe there for the perillous impediments which the artilleries of *Lyuorne* gaue to him: yet after he had approched his armie before day on that side to the fountaine, and hauing a chiefe desire to be first maister of the haueu, he began to batter with the cannon, *Magnane*, which was well fortified by them within; who seeing the campe drawne on that side, had on the other side ruined *Polazzotte* and the tower standing on that side to the sea, as a thing not onely not gardable, but also conuenient to make them loose the new tower. He caused at the same time to come neare the haueu, his armie by sea, to beat the parts on the sea side: for the french ships, after they had landed their men, and ynladen one part of their corne as they were bound, returned into *Prouence*, and the *Normans* set sayle to *Caietta*, notwithstanding many importunities and requests to haue them tary, thinking to haue made them to the seruice of this defence. The battery that thundred against *Magnane*, nourishing an intention to assault the towne afterwards by sea, profited very litle: for that the defence was sufficient against

all assaults, and had little regarde to the fury of the shot, the defendants also very often making sallies to entertaine skirmish with the enimie. But as the hopes of the *Florentines* began by the fauor of the winds, so it was a destinie that in the benefit of the windes should be wrought their whole perfection: for by a great storme rising vpon the sudden, the windes and all the ill disposed weathers agreeing, the nauie of *Cesar* was greatly crushed, and the great ship *Grymawda Genoway* which had caried his Maisties person, after she had long endured the conflict of the weather and waues, and wrought against the rage of the storme, she was drowned right against the newe tower of *Lynorne* with all the men and artillerie that she bare within board: the like hapned at the point towards *S. Iacques*, to two gallies of the *Venetians*, and all the other vessels so disperfed and shaken by this calamitie, that they became vnprofitable for the present enterprise, specially the defendants following the fauour of this accident, issued out and recouered the gallion, which before had falne into the power of the enemies. The consideration of the losses and miseries hapned by this shipwracke, procured *Cesar* to returne to *Pisa*, where after many counsels, euery one distrusting the possibilitie of the enterprise of *Lynorne*, it was agreed to leauy the campe from thence,

*Cesar leaueth
his campe from
Lynorne.*

and transferre the warre to another part: And therefore *Cesar* went to *Vicopsan*, and caused to be built a bridge vpon *Arne*, betwene *Casene* and *Vico*, and an other vpon *Cilecchio*: but whilest he occupied men with expectation that he would passe ouer, he departed vpon the suddaine, and returned by land the right way to *Myllan*, hauing brought forth no other action in *Tuskane*, sauing that foure hundred of his horsemen sackt *Bolgheri*, a towne almost vnknown in the shores of *Pyfa*: he excused his sudden departure vpon the difficulties that increased vpon him euery day, as well for that they supplied him not with money as often as he demaunded, as for that the *Venetian* Commissioners would not consent that the greatest part of their bandes should issue out of *Pyfa* for the suspition they had of him, besides that they had not fully satisfied him of their portion of the threescore thousand duckets, for which iniuries (extolling greatly the Duke of *Myllan*) he made many grieuous complaints against them: he passed by *Pania*, where was taken a newe counsell: And albeit he had published that he would esstoones returne into *Almanie*, yet he agreed to reappose in *Italy* all the winter with a thousand horsemen, and two thousand footemen, so that they would make pay to him for euery moneth, of xxij. thousand florins of *Rhene*: wherein whilest the action of this plot was solicited, with expectation of answere from *Venice*, he went from thence to *Lomelline*, at the time when there was looking to receiue him at *Myllan*, being a thing fatall and ordained to him (as was well approued by the experiences following) not to enter into that citie: from *Lomellina*, with a mind chaunged, he turned his way to *Cusagne* fixe miles from *Myllan*, from whence contrary to all opinions, and vnweeting to the Duke and his Embassadors which were there, he went to *Coma*: where vnderstanding as he sate at dinner, that the Popes Legat, to whom he had sent that he should not follow him, was arriued: he arose from the table, and embarked with so great hast, that there was scarce leasure to the Legat to deliuer to him a few words within the barke: to whom he answered in short, that he was constrained to go into *Almanie*, but that he would returne with speed. And albeit, after he was brought by the lake of *Coma* to *Uellafie*, he was aduertised that the *Venetians* would condescend to all things that were agreed vpon at *Pania*: yet he continued his voyage, and gaue them newe hopes to returne to *Myllan*: But a very few dayes after, according to the inconstancie and variation of his nature, he left one part of his horsemen and footbandes, and sayled directly into *Almanie*, hauing shewed (with a very litle honor to the name imperiall) his weaknesse in *Italy*, wherein long time before had not beene scene any Emperors armed. *Lodowyke* dispayring now by the going away of *Cesar* (without new remedies for new accidents) to be able any more to draw *Pyfa* to himselfe, & much lesse to keepe it out of the hands of the *Venetians*, withdrew from thence all his people, making it some consolation to his displeasures, that the *Venetians* onely should remaine intangled with the warre against the *Florentines*: wherein also he nourished this perswasion, that the long trauels and perplexities of both the one and other part, might with time raise vp some occasions fauourable to his desires. By the departure of the bandes of *Lodowyke*, the *Florentines* whose power was strongest in the countrey of *Pyfa*, recouered againe all the boroughes about the hilles: by reason whereof the *Venetians*, constrained to leauy new prouisions to hinder their further proceedings, adioyned so many bandes more to the companies they entertayned already within *Pisa*, that in all, their armie contained foure hundred men at armes, seuen hundred light horsemen, and more

*Cesar excuseth
his suddaine
departure.*

*Cesar fleeth
in haste into
Germany.*

*The computa-
tion of the Ve-
netian armie
within Pyfa.*

then

then two thousand footmen. In this meane while in the kingdome of *Naples*, there was almost an end put to all the residue of the warre against the french: for that the towne of *Tarente*, pressed with famine, was rendred with her castles to the *Venetians*, who had besieged it by sea, and who, after they had kept it certaine dayes, growing into suspition that they would appropriate it to themselves, rendred it at last to *Federyke*, by the the great instance of the Pope and the King of *Spaine*: And as it was vnderstood at *Caietta*, that the great ship *Normain*, hauing fought aboute the port *Hercules* with certaine *Genoway* ships which she encountred, & sayling afterwards in her course, was ouerbeaten with the rage of stormes, and drowned: So the french men that defended *Caietta*, whither the new king was eftsoones marched with his campe, albeit the brute went that there were victuals and munitions enough to beare out the siege certaine monethes: yet entring into the examples and actions of their king, in whom they iudged would be as slowe disposition to minister to their succours, as he was carelesse of so great a part of his nobilitie, and to reskew so many places holding for him: they accorded with *Federyke*, by the sollicitation of *Mansr d'Aubigny* (who for some difficulties hapning in the assignement of the fortresses in *Calabria*, was not yet departed from *Naples*) to leaue the towne and castle, and returne by sea into *France* with safety and protection of their liues and goods. By reason of this agreement, the french king seeing himselfe deliuered of so many cares and thoughts to minister succors to the kingdom of *Naples*, and on the other side, being indifferently grieued with the harmes & infamies of those warres, determined to set vpon *Genes*: wherein he hoped much in the faction of *Baptistin Fregosa* (aforetimes Duke of that citie) and in the traine and followers which the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad vincla* had in the towne of *Sauone*, and in those riuers: he applyed also to the fauor of his deuise, the occasion and consent of the time, for that in those seasons *Iohn Lowys de fiesco*, and the familie of the *Adornes*, were in discord, and all the *Genowayes* generally ill contented with the Duke of *Myllan*, both for that in the sale of *Pietra Sancta*, he had preferred the *Lucquoys* before them, and also, hauing promised to reduce it eftsoones to their hands, vsing in that action (the better to appease the indignation conceiued against him) the authoritie of the *Venetians*, he had nourished them many moneths with vaine hopes: But for feare of this determination of the king, *Lodowyke* (who for the occasion of *Pysa* was almost estranged from the *Venetians*) was compelled to knit of new with them, and to send to *Genes* the horsemen and footmen of the *Almaines* which *Cesar* had left in *Italy*, for whom (if this necessitie had not happened) there would haue bene neither employment nor prouision made.

Tarente and Caietta are rendred to Federyke new king of Naples.

The french king determineth to set vpon Genes.

Whilest these things were thus in deuise and sollicitation, the Pope (finding now a great oportunitie to occupy the estates of the *Vrsins*, for that the principals of that family were restrayned in *Naples*) pronounced rebels in the consistory, *Virginio* and the residue of that race, and confiscated their estates, for that contrary to his commaundement they had taken pay of the french. After which beginning he proceeded in further action to assaile their lands, hauing ordred that the *Colonnays* should do the like in all those places where they confyne with the *Vrsins*. This enterprise was much comforted by the Cardinall *Askanius*, no lesse for the auncient amitie he had with the *Colonnays*, then for a settled dissention and disagreement intertaind of long against the *Vrsins*. The Duke of *Myllan* also gaue readily his consent, but it displeased not a little the *Venetians*, in whom were secret desires to winne that familie, and draw them to their deuotion: and yet not being able with any iustifications to hinder the Pope from pursuing his rights, and withall holding it nothing profitable in that time to alienate him from them: they consented that the Duke of *Vrbino*, Mercenary in common to the Pope and to them, should march to ioine with the bands of the Church, ouer whom was Captaine generall the Duke of *Candia*, and in the office of Legat, the Cardinall *La luna* borne at *Pauia*; a Cardinall wholly depending vpon *Askanius*: to this army also, king *Federyke* of *Naples* sent *Fabricius Colonne*: This army now drawne into a campe, after it had compelled many peeces to be rendered, marched to incampe at *Trinignan*, which towne maintayning a valiant defence for certaine dayes, yeilded at last to discretion: But during the defence of that towne, *Bartlemew d'Aluiano* issuing out of *Bracciane*, put to flight within eight myles of *Rome*, foure hundredth horsemen that guided the attilleries to the campe Ecclesiasticke: And an other day running with the same fortune euen to the crosse of *Monsmarie*, he lacked not much of taking the Cardinall of *Valence*, who comming out of *Rome* to the chace, found his best safetie in the swiftnesse of his horse. After the rendring of *Trinignan* the campe drew to the Ile,

1497.

The Duke of Candia generall of the Popes army.

where after they had battered one part of the rocke with the artillerie, they obtayned it by composition. At length all the warre was reduced to *Bracciana*, where the *Vrsins* had layed vp all the hope of their defence: for that the place which had bene made strong before, was of new reformed with munitions and rampiers, and the suburbs reenforced, hauing at the entry thereof erected a bastillion, and bestowed within it a sufficient strength of men vnder the gouernment of *Aluiano*, whose youth gaue him a body disposed, and his wit no lesse quicke and resolute, then his diligence incredible, increased in him (with exercise in armes,) those hopes and expectations to the which in times succeeding, his actions were nothing inferiour: The Pope ceased not to increase dayly his armie which he had of new refurnished with eight hundred launceknights of those that had bene employed in the warres of *Naples*. There were daily skirmishes and tryall of armes on both partes, and that with great contention, the campe without planting their artillerie in many seuerall places, and they within, not forgetting to repaire and fortifie with present diligence and assurance: And yet within few dayes, the defendants were constrained to abandon the suburbs, which being taken, the Ecclesiasticks gaue a furious assault to the towne, wherein albeit their fortune made them able to aduance their ensignes vpon the wallés, yet by the vertue of the defendants they were estoones forced to retyre, suffering a great losse, in which action was hurt *Anthony Sauelle*: The defendants expressed the like valour in an other assault, repulsing the enemy with a furie more resolute and a losse more generall, for that two hundred of them were eyther slaine or very fore wounded, wherein appeared with great merit the particular valour of *Aluiano*, to whom was iustly giuen the principall glory of that defence: for that within, he was of a liuely readinesse to all offices necessary, and without, with continuall eruptions and sallies, he kept the army of the enemy day and night in alarums. In this speciall action, he added much to his reputation, that by his disposing, certaine light horsemen issuing out of *Cernette* (which the *Vrsins* held) should make incursions euen to the campe, and he himselfe taking the occasion of this tumult, charged them out of the towne, and put to flight the footbands that garded the artilleries, of which, he carried into *Bracciana* certaine small peeces: and albeit at length, rather ouerlayd with numbers, then overcome in valour, he and his companies were ouerwearyed with the continuall trauels and perplexities of that warre, hauing neither the day nor the night fauourable to their quietnesse: yet they beganne estoones to readdressse themselves with hope of succors, for that *Charles Vrsin*, & *Vitellozze*, who was knit to the *Vrsins* by a bond of the faction of *Guelffes*, and being now (passed into *Italy* vpon the vessels of *Prouence*) come to *Lynorne*, with money of the french king to reerec their bands dispersed in the kingdome of *Naples*: they prepared to succour them in so great a daunger: for which cause *Charles* went to *Soriana*, to reassemble the old souldiers, friends and followers of the *Vrsins*: and *Vitellozze* in *Citta de Castello* made the like leaue of the souldiers and footmen of the countrey, adioyning with great diligence his whole strength to *Charles* at *Soriana*, hauing in his regiment two hundred men at armes, and xviij. hundred footmen of his owne, with proportion of great artillerie vpon wheeles after the manner of *France*. By reason whereof the Captaines ecclesiastick, foreseeing that if they marched forward, it could not but be daungerous to be inclosed in the midst of a circle, betweene the new succours, and the old enemies within *Bracciana*; and withall, holding dishonorable to the renowne of merit and valour, to leaue them in pray all the countrey thereabouts, wherein he had sackt and made hauocke of diuerse borowghes: they leauied their campe from before *Bracciana*, and retyring all their great artilleries within *Anguillare*, they marched directly to that quarter where the enemies were: and encountering them betweene *Soriana* and *Bassan*, they fought together with great furie for certaine houres: But in the end (the successe of wars depending chiefly vpon the innocencie of the quarrell) albeit at the entry into the encounter, the ecclesiasticks tooke prisoner *Franciot Vrsin*, yet their whole campe was put to flight, with the losse of their baggage and artilleries: They lost, what in the slaughter, and by taking prisoners, more then fise hundred men, amongst which prisoners were the Duke of *Vrbis*, *Iohn Peter* of *Gonsague* Count of *Nugolare*, with many other bodies of marke: the Duke of *Candia*, lightly hurt in the face, and with him the Popes Legat, and *Fabrice Colonne* found safetie by flying into *Roncillon*. Aboue all the residue, *Vitellozze* carried the honor and merit of this victorie, for that the bandes of footemen of *Citta de Castello*, who had bene afore trained and managed by him & his brethren, with the orders and disciplines of the french, were that day greatly ayded by his industry, and hauing armed them with

The encounter
of Soriana.

pykes

pykes longer by an arme length then those which were customably vsed, they had so much advantage when they came to the shooke with the footmen of the enemies; that wounding them with the oddes of length in their pykes, they put them easily to the chafe, so much the more to their greater honor, by how much in the contrary battell, there were eight hundred footemen of the *Almaines*, of which nation the infanterie of *Italy*, haue had a continuall feare euer since the discending of king *Charles*. After this victorie, the victors beganne to runne without resistance ouer all the countrey on this side *Tyber*; and afterward hauing passed part of their companies ouer the riuer beneath the hill *Regione*, they still inuaded those wayes where they supposed was any retrait for the enemye. In regard of which daungers, the Pope applying his wits to the necessities of his affaires, studying to make a new leauie of men of warre, called to his succours from the kingdome of *Naples*, *Consaluo*, and *Prosper Colonne*. And yet not many dayes after, what by the diligence of the Embassadors of *Venice*, to do pleasure to the *Vrsins*, & the solicitation of the king of *Spaine*, fearing least these beginnings would draw some ill consequence or innouation to the league, a peace was made, with a most readie inclination aswell of the Pope, who naturally hated expences, as of the *Vrsins*, who being no lesse poore in money, then naked in friends, knew that their necessitie in the end would compell them to yeeld to the power of the Pope: The articles of the Pope were these; That it should be suffered to the *Vrsins* to continue in the pay of the french till the end of the time for the which they were hyred by the king, with expresse mention that they should not be bound to take armes against the Church; That all the places which they had lost in this warre should be restored, paying to the Pope fiftie thousand duckats, of the which thirtie thousand to be paid assoone as *John Iordan* and *Paule Vrsin* should be set at liberty, (for *Virgilio* not many dayes before died within the castle of the egge, either of an ague, which was naturall, or by poyson which was violent, & therefore much suspected) and the other twenty thousand duckats within eight monethes: for assurance of which payment, *Anguillare* and *Cernierre* should be committed of trust into the keeping of the Cardinals *Ascanius* and *S. Scheriu*. That all the prisoners taken in the iorney at *Soriana*, should be redeliuered, except the Duke of *Vrbino*, for whose libertie, albeit the Embassadors of the confederats made great trauell, yet the Pope would sollicite nothing: for that he knew the *Vrsins* had no meane to raise the money they were to pay to him but by the ransome of the Duke, for whom a litle after, was agreement made for xl. thousand duckats, but with this adiection, that he should not be deliuered afore *Paul Viselli* (who remained prisoner to the Marquis of *Montana* at the rendring of *Atella*) had obtayned his libertie without paying any ransome.

*Capitulations
betwene the
Pope and the
Vrsins.*

The Pope hauing thus to his litle honor dispatched his hand of the warre against the *Vrsins*, made distribution of money to the companies which *Consaluo* brought with him, whom ioyning to him his owne bandes, he sent to take *Ostia* as yet holden in the name of the Cardinall of *S. P. ad uincula*: wherein his successe communicating with his common fortune, was no lesse easie then speedy, for that assoone as he had braked his artilleries, the castle keeper rendred all to discreffion: After which victorie, *Consaluo* made his entry into *Rome* almost in manner triumphant, with a hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, and fiftene hundred footmen, all souldiers of the Spanish, leading before him as prisoner the castle keeper, whom a litle after he set at libertie. There came to meete him many Prelats of the Popes houlhold, with Cardinals, followed with much people, and almost all the Court running with great desire to see a Captaine whose name bare so great fame and merit in *Italy*: By those Prelats he was led to the presence of the Pope sitting in the consistorie, who receiuing him with great honor, gaue him in testimonie of his valour, the rose which Popes are wont to bestow euery yeare. After this, *Consaluo* returned to reioyne eftsoones with king *Federike*, who had inuaded the estate of the Prefect of *Rome*, and resumed all those places, which taken from the Marquis of *Piscaine* in the conquest of the kingdome, were bestowed vpon him by the french king. And hauing taken *Sore* and *Arce* (but not the castles) he lay incamped before the rocke *Guillaume*, for that he had had by accord the estate of the Count *d'Olyuer*, before he sold his Duchy of *Sora* to the Prefect of *Rome*.

*Consaluo en-
tred Rome.*

But as there is no earthly blisse so perfect, which hath not his alea with some bitterness or bale, nor no prosperitie so well assured, which draweth not with it his proper aduersitie: So notwithstanding these felicities heaped vpon *Federike*, yet he was not without his perplexities, not only by his friends, seeing *Consaluo* kept one part of *Calabria* in the name of the king of *Spaine*, but

also of his enemies reconciled : for that the Prince of *Bisignian*, being one euening fore hurt by a certaine Greeke, as he went out of the new castle of *Naples*, the Prince of *Salerno* was in such feare that the blow was giuen by the kings commaundement in reuenge of the offences passed, that immediatly (not dissembling the cause of his suspition) he went from *Naples* to *Salerno*. And albeit the king sent to vse at his will, the Greeke deteyned in prison, to iustifie (as the truth was) that he had giuen the blow for an iniurie to him done by the Prince of *Bisignian* in the honor and person of his wife : yet (in auncient and great grudges it is hard to establish a faithfull reconciliation, for that it hath his proper impediments either by suspition, or desire of reuenge) the Prince of *Salerno* could neuer after dispose himselfe to trust him : which ielousie, giuing yet some hope to the french (keeping still the *Mont S. Ange*, and other strong places) of some new innouation or insurrection in the kingdome of *Naples*, procured them with more constancie to stand to their defences.

The french
prepare new
enterprises a-
gainst Italy.

In these seasons, were tokens and demonstrations of farre greater daungers in *Lombardie*, by the emotions of the french, assured for the present by the threatnings of the Spanishe for that passing betweene them, rather light incursions and apparances of warre, then any thing of notable action, sauing that the french burned the towne of *Sausser* : they had begun a parley of accord, and for the more easie negotiation of it, had made a surceasing of armes for two moneths : By meane whereof the french king, hauing a more facilitie to harken after the affaires of *Genes* and *Sanona*, dispatched to *Ast* an armie of a thousand launces, three thousand *Swyzers*, and a like number of *Gascoyns*, aduertising *Triunlso* his Lieutenant in *Italy*, to apply aydes to *Baptistin* and the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vnclā* : his intention was to send after, the Duke of *Orleans* with a strong armie, to execute in his proper name the enterprise of the Duchie of *Myllan*. And to make more easie the action of *Genes*, he sent *Othavian Fregose* to require the *Florentines* to inuade at the same time *Lunigiana* and the riuier of the East, ordeining also that the southerne riuers should be troubled by *Paule Baptista Fregose* with seuen gallies. This enterprise was begun with such astonishment to the Duke of *Myllan*, not prepared sufficiently of himselfe, and lesse suretie of the aydes promised by the *Venetians* : that if it had proceeded with the same directions and counsels, it could not but haue brought forth some effect of importance, and more easily in the Duchy of *Myllan*, then in *Genes* : for at *Genes* *Iohn Lowys de flesques*, and the *Adornes*, who were entred into reconcilment by the meane of *Lodowyke*, had leauied many bandes of footmen, and rigged at the charges of the *Venetians* and *Lodowyke* an armie at sea, to the which were ioyned fixe gallies sent by *Federyke* : But the Pope intertayning the name of a confederate, more in counsels and demonstrations, then in workes and meanings, would not in those daungers contribute to any expenses, neither by sea nor land. The proceedings of this expedition were that *Baptistin*, and with him *Triunlce*, marched to *Nony*, of which towne *Baptistin* had bene despoiled afore by the Duke of *Myllan*, but not of the castle, which he had alwayes kept, and held yet. But by reason of their coming in such strong order, the Count *Catazze*, which was there in garrison with threescore men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, and five hundred footmen, distrusting much to be able to defend it, retyred to *Saranall*. The conquest of this towne augmented greatly the reputation of the banished : for besides that, the towne is capable of many people, it stops the passage from *Myllan* to *Genes*, and by reason of the oportunitie and seate of the place, it is very conuenient to endamage the countrey assilting. After this, *Baptistin* made himselfe Lord of certaine other peeces neere to *Nony*, and at the same time the Cardinall with two hundred launces, and three thousand footmen, hauing taken *Ventimille*, coasted ouer to *Sanona*, where finding no insurrection by the inhabitants, and hauing espiall that *Iohn Adorne* approched with a strong band of footmen, he retyred to *Altare*, a place of the Marquis of *Montferat* distant eight miles from *Sanona*. But *Triunlce* in the beginning, did an action of greater importance, for that hauing a desire to giue occasion to kindle the warre in the Duchie of *Myllan*, notwithstanding the kings commission was to execute first the affaires of *Genes* and *Sanona*, he tooke *Bosco* a borough of great importance in the countrey of *Alexandria* : wherein this was his pretext and couler, that for the suretie of the bandes which were gone to the East riuers, it was necessary to take from those of the Duke, the meane to go into *Alexandria* vpon the lands of the *Genowayes*. But tempring his desire, with regard to the kings commaundement, which he thought not reasonable to impugne manifestly, he forbore to passe further, loosing a most faire occasion, for that all the countrey there about drew

into

into great sturre and tumult for the taking of that place, some for feare, as the multitude popular, some for desire of innouation, which commonly is familiar with the condition of wits least moderate: And of that side, there was no greater strength for the Duke, then fūe hundred men at armes, & six thousand footmen: besides, *Galeas de Saint Senerin*, who being within *Alexandria*, began to distrust his defence without greater forces: and *Lodowyke* himselfe, being vexed yet but with apparancēs and threatnings, shewing himselfe no more timorous in this aduersitie, then by the propertie of his nature he expresse in all other accidents, solicited the Duke of *Ferrara* to worke some accord betweene the french king and him. But the sojourning of *Trynulce* betweene *Bosco* & *Nony*, gaue sufficient time to *Lodowyke* to furnish himselfe, and good respite to the *Venetians* (who seeming most readie & prepared for his defence, had sent afore to *Genes* fūteene hundred footmen) to send into *Alexandria*, bands of men at armes & light horsemen: yea the *Venetians* appointed the Count *Petillane* generall of their regiments, (for that the Marquis of *Mantua* was withdrawne from their pay) to march with the most part of their companies to the succors of that state. Thus things begun with so great hope, now growing cold, *Baptistin* hauing nothing profited at *Genes* (for the citie was quiet for the prouisions that were made) returned to ioine with *Trynulce*, publishing that his exployts brought forth no successe of seruice, for that the riuer of the leuant was not assayed by the *Florentines*, who iudged it not a councill wise to enter into warre, if first the things of *France* appeared not more prosperous and more puissant. In like sort came and ioined with *Trynulce*, the Cardinall *ad uincta*, by whom was done no other execution, then that he had taken certaine places of the Marquis of *Finale*, for that he declared himselfe for the defence of *Sauone*. The french arnie drawne now all into one strength, made certaine offers to *Castellat*, a place neare to *Bosco* which had bene aforetime fortified by the Captaines of the Duke. But the army of the confederats which reassembled in *Alexandria*, increasing daily in quality of soldiers & quantitie of prouisions: and of the contrary, both money and victuals beginning to faile amongst the french, & their Captaines not a litle impatient to obey *Trynulce*, it was necessary for him to leaue *Nony* and *Bosco* to garrison, and retyre neare the towne of *Asst*.

It was beleued that the distribution of the bands into seuerall places, brought great harme to the enterprise, as often times hapneth in the like examples: and that if they all ioined into one strength, had bene at the beginning addressed to *Genes*, the expedition perhaps had drawne some better successe: seeing that besides the inclination of factions, and indignation conceiued for *Pietra Santa*, one part of the horsemen and footmen of the *Almaines*, which the Duke sent thither, reuolted from the seruice, and returned vpon the sudden into their countrey, it might be also, that euen those who the yeare before had hindered the kings descending into *Italy*, and the succors of the kingdome of *Naples*, applying now the same meanes, did giue impediments to the present enterprise by the difficultie of prouisions. This likelihood of truth was iustified with a brute that ranne, that the Duke of *Millan* (to the oppression of his subiects) made great presents to the Duke of *Burbon*, and others that had grace and fauour with the king; in which infamy the Cardinall of *S. Mallo* had not the least interest. But whatsoeuer was in it, it is most certaine that the Duke of *Orleans* appointed to passe to *Asst*, and called vpon by the vehement solicitation of the king, made all his preparations necessary for the expedition. But he lingred, either for that he distrusted the continuation of the prouisions, or, (as some interpret) he had no forwardnesse to depart out of *France*, the king being continually ill disposed of his health, and (in case of sterilitie) the succession of the crowne appertayning to him.

But the king reaping no frute of his hope for the mutation of *Genes* & *Sauona*, continued with more diligence his practises begun with the King and Queene of *Spaine*, which hitherto had benelingered for this only difficultie, that the french king desiring that he might be in libertie to prosecute his enterprises on this side the Mountes, would not that in the truce then in negotiation, should be comprehended the things of *Italy*. And the kings of *Spaine*, shewing that they made no difficultie to consent to his will for other respect then in regard of their honor, solicited much that the Italian actions might be comprehended, alleaging that the common intention of them both being to make a truce, to the end a peace might more easily succede, they might afterwarde with greater libertie of honor and honestie, depart from the confederation which they had with the *Italians*. In so much that after many meetings & discourses of the Embassadors of both sides, (the Spanish subtilities in th'end carying it) they made a truce for thē, their subiects, & dependants,

and also for such as either of them should name: which truce beginning betweene them the fift day of march, (but betweene such as should be nominated, fifty dayes after) should last vntill the end of the next October. Every one of the named those estates & Potentates of *Italy* which were their confederates and adherents, but the kings of *Spaine* named moreouer king *Federyke* & the *Pisans*. After this they agreed to send me to *Montpellier* to sollicite a peace, where were to assemble the Embassadors of the confederats. In this practise the kings of *Spaine* gaue hope to vnite themselves with the french king against the *Italians* vnder a certaine occasion iustificable, & from that time, they commoned of factions & meanes to deuide the kingdome of *Naples*. The truce, albeit it was made without the participation of the confederates of *Italy*, yet it was agreeable to them all, but specially acceptable to the Duke of *Millan*, to whom nothing was more welcome then the meane to make cease the warre in his quarter. But the power remayning free to offend one another in *Italy*, vntill the xxv. of Aprill, *Trynulce*, *Baptistin*, and *Sereuon* taking the aduantage of that article, returned with fife thousand men to the riuier of the South, where they assaulted the towne of *Albenge*, which albeit they had almost caried at the first assault, yet they suffered repulse by a very small strength of the enemy, for that their entry was in disorder. Afterwards they fell vpon the Marquisdome of *Finale*, to giue occasion to the *Italian* army to make to their succors, hoping by that meanes to draw them to battell: which not succeeding according to their expectation, they did no further action of importance, the discord of the Captaines continuing in increasing, and their payments sayling daily more and more by reason of the truce. In which times, the confederats had recouered all their places lost before (except *Nony*) which also they obtained at last by composition, notwithstanding the Count *Caiazzo* which had besieged it, had bene repulsed. There remained in the power of the french no other thing of the places conquered, then certaine little townes in the Marquisdome of *Finale*: during all which emotions and stirres, the Duke of *Sauoy*, who had bene solicited on all parts with no small promises, and the Marquis of *Moniserrat* (whose gouernment had bene confirmed by the king of *Romaines* to *Constantine* of *Macedonia*) stood newtters, declaring neither for the king nor for the confederats.

In this yeare was nothing done of importance betweene the *Florentines* and the *Pisans*, notwithstanding the warre continued without intermission: sauing that the *Pisans* led, vnder the direction of *Iohn Paul Mantfron* foure hundred light horsemen, and fiftene hundred footmen, to recouer their bastillion vpon the bridge of the poole, which they lost when the Emperour went to *Lyornes*. The Count *Rinuence* hauing espiall of this enterprife, put himselfe vpon the way of *Lyornes*, to reskew the bastillion with a good troupe of horsemen: the *Pisans* not looking to be charged but by the way of *Pontadere*, were set vpon as they began to assault the bastillion, & being easily put to the chase, many of them were made prisoners. But at last, armes and actions of warre ceased also betweene them, by reason of the truce, notwithstanding it was with an ill will accepted of the *Florentines*, who iudged it very inexpedient for their affaires to giue leasure to the *Pisans* to take breath, seeing withall, that notwithstanding the truce, necessitie compelled them to continue the same expences, both for doubt of *Peter de medicis*, alwaies conspiring against them, and for feare of the *Venetian* bands within *Pisa*, aspiring to the soueraigne imperie of the whole.

The Duke of
Millan pra-
ctiseth against
the Venetians
someting Pisa.

Thus armes being laide aside on all parts, or at least at point to cease from all action, the Duke of *Millan*, albeit in his latest dangers, he had expressed with what great contentment he embraced the Senate of *Venice*, for the ready and full succors he had receiued from them: no lesse exalting with publike and heroicall words the vertue & power of the *Venetians*, then greatly commending the prouidence of *Iohn Galeas* first Duke of *Millan*, for that he had committed to the faith of the same Senate the execution of his Testament: yet hauing no patience to endure that the pray of *Pisa*, followed by him with so many paines and practises, should be transferred to them, as was likely in manifest apparance of reason, And therefore assaying to obtaine with industry & counsell, that which he could not win with armes & force: he so wrought, that the Pope, and the Spanish Embassadors (to both which such a greatnesse of the *Venetians* was displeasing) should set downe, that to leaue to the french no foundation in *Italy*, as also to reduce all into one concord, it were necessary to induce the *Florentines* to enter into the common league, causing *Pisa* to be restored to them, seeing otherwayes they could not be brought to it: for that so long as they were separated from the residue, they would not cease to stirre vp the french king to discend into *Italy*, to whom in such an action, they might (hauing their scituation in the midst of *Italy*) with their money,

money, and with their forces, do things of great importance. But this prouision was impugned by the Embassadour of *Venice*, as very preiudiciall to their common safetie, alleaging withall the inclination of the *Florentines* to be such to the french king, that not with this benefit, it was not reasonable to trust them, if they deliuered not sufficient securitie to obserue the things they should promise: and that in a matter of so great estate, there was no other suretie, then to put *Lynorne* into the hands of the confederats. This was very artificially alleaged by him, to the end to haue alwaies a greater meane to gaine say the proposition, knowing well they would neuer consent to commit to deputation a place of such respect for their estate: wherein, the matter drawing afterwards such succeſſe as he looked for, he still opposed against it with such vehemencie, that the Pope and the Duke of *Millans* Embassador, not daring to obiekt against him for feare to estrange the *Venetians* from their friendship, the deuise rested there. And there began betweene the Pope and the *Venetians* a new plot, to turne away with violence the *Florentines* from the amitie of the french: (the ill conditions of that citie giuing courage to whom so euer would offend it.)

For from the beginning that the authoritie popular was founded, there was not introduced those temperatures, which assuring the libertie with due & reasonable meanes, might haue bene the let, that the common weale should not haue bene disordered by the ignorance and licence of the multitude. In so much that the Citizens of greatest qualitie and condition, being lesse esteemed then seemed conuenient, and on the other side, their ambition being suspected to the people, and many oftentimes intruding into deliberations waighty who were but little capable, and the soueraigne Magistrat to whom was referred the summe of the most waightie affaires, being changed from two moneths to two moneths, the common weale was gouerned with a great confusion: To this was added the great authoritie of *Sauonarole*, whose auditories were almost entred into secret intelligence. And albeit there were amongst them many honorable Citizens, & they surpassing in number such as were of the opinion contrary, yet it seemed Magistracies and publike honors were distributed rather to those that followed him, then to others of better merit: and therefore the citie being manifestly deuided, in th'assemblies & counsels publike, one faction charged another, no man making conscience (which hapneth in states false into diuision) to hinder the benefit publike, to imbase the reputation of his aduersaries. These disorders were so much the more dangerous, by how much, for the long trauels & great expenses suffered by the said citie; there was that yeare a generall dearth and want of victuals of all natures; by reason whereof it might be presumed that the people vexed with hunger, would be desirous of new things.

This ill disposition of the ciuill affaires of *Florence*, gaue hope to *Peter de Medicis*, (who besides those occasions was pushed on by certaine particular Citizens) to be able with ease to be Maister of his long and iust desire: and therefore applying industry and diligence to the oportunity of the time, he communicated his intention with the Cardinall *Saint Seuerin* his auncient friend, and with *Aluiano* in whom he much reapposed for the merits of his valour and long familiarity. And herein being also secretly encouraged by the *Venetians*, to whom it seemed that by the trauels of the *Florentines*, the affaires of *Pisa* would be assured: he determined to surprisethe towne of *Florence*, the rather being aduertised that they had created their suprenie Magistrat (which they call *Gonfaloniere* of iustice) *Bernardin de Nero*, a man of auncient grauitie and authoritie, and had bene of a continued friendship with his father and him: hauing in the same election ioyned to him in assistance of that Magistracie certaine others, in whom (for auncient merit and benefits) he supposed was no small inclination to his greatness. The Pope fauored this plot with his full liking & consent, desiring to deuide the *Florentines* from the french king with iniuries, seeing he could not separate them with benefits. Neither was the Duke of *Millan* against it, to whom it seemed that albeit he could not make a foundation or intelligence stable with that citie, because of the disorders of the present gouernmēt: yet, on th'other side, he tooke no delight in the returne of *Peter*, as well for the wrongs he had done him, as for doubt least he should depend too much of the authority of the *Venetians*. But as soone as *Peter* had leauied, what by his own meanes, & with the aide of his friends & fauorers, as much treasure as he could possible, hauing receiued (as was beleueed) some smal quantity in prest of the *Venetians*, he went to *Sienna*, & after him *Aluiano* with the horsemen & footmen, marching alwaies by night, & by wayes particular, to the end his coming might be concealed from the *Florentines*. At *Sienna*, by the fauour of *Iohn Iacques*, and *Pandolphe Petrucci* principals in that gouernmēt, & assured friends to his house, he was secretly refurnished with

*Disorders in
Florence for
the Govern-
ment.*

*P. de Medicis
determineth
once againe
to returne to
Florence.*

*P. de Medicis
ayded by them
of Sienna.*

*P.de Medicis
faileth of his
enterprife.*

*The Cardinall
of Valence kil-
leth his brother
the Duke of
Candia, being
both the Popes
sonnes.*

*The Pope ab-
hominable in
the lust of his
daughter.*

bandes of souldiers: So that with sixe hundred horsemen, & foure thousand footmen of choise, two dayes after the truce was begun (wherein they of *Sienna* were comprehended) he put him on the way to *Florence*, hoping that ariuing there by the breake of the day, and at vnwares, he should find his entry easie, either for the generall disorder or speciall tumult, which he expected would rise in his fauour: a plot which happily had drawne some good issue for him, if fortune had not supplied the negligence of his aduersaries: for, as in the beginning of the night, he was lodged in the tabernacles (certaine small houses vpon the high way) with intention to march the residue of the night, so he was so hindred by wonderfull raynes & stormes continuing long, that he could not present himselfe before *Florence*, till long space after the sunne rising: a chaunce which gaue leasure to such as made profession to be his particular enemies (for the communitie & all the rest of the Citizens stirred not, expecting quietly what would be the issue of things) to take armes with their friends and followers, and to prouide that the citizens suspected should be called and restrayned in the publike pallace by the Magistrates. And lastly to make themselves strong at the gate which leads to *Sienna*, was at their request *Paul Vitelli*, ariuing there the night before, in his returne from *Mantua*: In so much as no commotion appearing in the citie, and *Peter* not strong enough to force the gate (which he had approached within a bow shoot:) and after he had remayned there foure houres, fearing with his danger the suddaine comming of their men at armes, whom he thought (and his conceit was true) the *Florentins* had sent for from the seruice of *Pyssa*: he returned to *Sienna* where *Aluano* parting from him, & let into *Tody* by the *Guelfes*, he sacked almost all the houses of the *Gebelyns*, and put to the slaughter 53. of the principall bodies of that faction. According to which example, *Anthonie Sanelle* entred into *Terny*, & *Gattefquies*, by the fauor of the *Colonnys*, and let into *Vuerby*, did the like executions against the *Guelfes* in both the one & th' other place, and all the peeces thereabouts: without that the Pope provided for so great disorders in the state ecclesiasticke, because he abhorred all expences in like cases, and hearing by the propertie of his nature, no compassion to the calamities of others, he was nothing troubled with those things that offended his honor, so that his profits or pleasures were nothing hindered: yet he could not auoide the secret iustice of God, expressed in domesticall miseries, troubling him: but with examples tragicall, and a whoredome and crueltie horrible about all the barbarous regions: for where he had determined from the beginning of his election pontificall, to appropriate all temporall greatnesse to the Duke of *Candia* his eldest sonne, the Cardinall of *Valence* (who altogether estranged from priestthood, aspired to the exercise of armes) hauing no patience to suffer that place to be vsurped by his brother, and enuying withall that he had better part then he in the loue of *Madonne Lucrecia* their comon sister: inflamed with lust, and with ambition (mightie ministers to all mischiefes) caused him to be killed one night as he rode alone in the streetes of *Rome*, casting his bodie secretly in the riuer of *Tyber*. The brute was (if such an enormitie be worthy to be beleueed) that in the loue of *Mad. Lucrecia* were concurrant, not only the two brethren, but also the father, who when he was chosen Pope, taking her from her husband being inferiour to her degree, he married her to *Iohn Sforce*, Lord of *Pesere*: and afterwards, not able to suffer her husband to be his cortiuall, he made dissolution of the mariage already consummated, hauing made proofe, before Iudges & delegats of his owne creation, by witnesses subborned, & afterwards confirmed by apostolicall sentence, that her husband was imperfect in the operation of nature, and vnable to cohabitation. The death of the Duke of *Candia*, afflicted not a litle the Pope burning about all other Popes in a vebement loue to his children. And as it is the greatest tryall of wisdom & courage of men, to be temperat in mortall chances: so, such as are not accustomed to aduersities, haue least rule ouer their passions, & they that neuer felt but prosperitie, can litle iudge of the worthines of patience. This Pope was so vnacquainted with the accidents of fortune, & much lesse enured with earthly losses & priuations, that from his infancy to that age all things had happily succeeded to him: the same making this affliction so grievous and intollerable to him, that in the consistorie, after he had with a great compassion of mind, and publike teares, grievously bewayled his miserie, accusing many of his proper actions, and maner of liuing which he had vsed till that day: he assured with wordes full of efficacie, that hereafter he would gouerne his life with other thoughts, and with a forme of liuing more moderate and ruled: and for a beginning he assigned presently certaine of the number of Cardinals, to ioine with him in the reformation of manners and orders of the Court: wherein after he had employed certaine dayes, at what time beganne to be manifest the

author

author of the death of his sonne, (for the which at the first, he had the Cardinall *Ascanius* and the *Kyrins* in strong suspition) he left there his former holy intention, his teares, and all his complaints, and returned more disorderly then euer, to those thoughts and operations, wherein he had consumed his age till that day.

There hapned in those seasons new trauels within *Florence*, by reason of the enterprise of *Peter de medicis*: for the intelligence and faction which he had with certaine particulars in the citie, was disclosed: by reason whereof many noble Citizens were imprisoned, and some fled. And after the Magistrates had vsed meanes iudiciall to verifie the order of the conspiracie, not only many were condemned to death which had solicited him to come and giuen him reliefe of money: but also *Bernardine de Nero*, to whom was imputed no other thing, then that knowing the practise, he had not reuealed it, which fault (of it selfe punishable by the head by the statutes of the *Florentines*, and by the interpretation which most part of lawyers giue to the comon lawes) was found so much the more haynous in him, by how much he was chiefe Magistrate when *Peter* came to *Florence*, as if he had bene more greatly bound to do the office rather of a person publike, then priuate: but the parents and kindred appealing from the sentence, to the great councell of the people, & that by vertue of a law made when the popular gouernment was establisht, those that had bene authors of the condemnation, fearing least the compassion of the age, of the nobility, & of the multitude of parents, would moderate in the minds of the people, the straitnesse of the iudgement, wrought so much that they obtained, that to the lesser number of the Citizens, should be referred the resolution, whether the appeale should be suffered to be prosecuted or restrained: wherein, being more strong the authoritie and number of them which held it a thing dangerous, and no lesse drawing to sedition, seeing that the lawes themselues suffered, that to auoide tumults, the statutes in like cases might be dispensed withall: some of those that held the chiefe offices, were with great importunities, and almost by force, and with threatnings, constrained to consent, that notwithstanding the appeale interposed, execution was done the same night. To which extreame iustice, appeared more affectioned then the others, the followers of *Sauonarole*, not without his proper authority, forbearing to dissuade (euen his auditors) the violation of a law published a few yeres before by himselfe, as a statute conuenient and necessary for the preservation of the common libertie.

The faction & intelligence which *Peter de medicis* had in *Florence* is discovered.

In this year, *Federike* king of *Naples*, hauing obtained of the Pope the inuestiture of the kingdom, & making his coronation perfect with all solemnities, recovered by accord, *Mont Saint Ange*, which had ben valiantly defended by *Dom Iulian de Lorraine*, whom the french king left there: he reconquered also *Cinita*, with other peeces holden by *Charles de Sanguyn*. And as soone as the truce was ended, he chased out of the realme the Prefect of *Rome*, conuerting his forces to execute the like action vpon the Prince of *Salerno*, who being at last besieged, in the rocke of *Diana*, and abandoned of all succors, had permission to go his way in safetie with his goods, leauing that part of his estate which he had not yett lost, in the hands of the Prince of *Bisignian*, with condition to passe it ouer to *Federike*, as soone as he vnderstood that he was conducted in safetie to *Sinigale*.

The Pope inuesteth *Federike* in the kingdom of *Naples*.

About the end of this year (the diet which had bene transferred from *Montpellier* to *Narbonne*, being afore interrupted by the immoderat demands of the king and Queene of *Spaine*) the french king and the said king of *Spaine*, returned eftsouones to new practises, wherein were found the same difficulties that before: for that as the french king had determined not to consent to any accord wherein *Italy* should be comprehended: so it was against the pollicie of the *Spaniard* to leaue him a libertie free, & a way open to subdue the iurisdiction of it. And yet it was farre from the desires of the Spanish to intertaine wars with him on the other side the Mounts, because it was a warre full of troubles & expenses, and no hope of honor or profit. At last the truce was concluded betweene them, to indure (without limitation) till it were reuoked and two monethes after. There was no Potentate of *Italy* comprehended in it, to whom the king of *Spaine* gaue signification of the truce and the articles and capitulations of the same, alleaging that in him was no lesse power to resolue the contract without the knowledge of the other confederats, then the Duke of *Millan* made it lawfull (without their consent or priuite) to conclude the peace of *Vercell*. And albeit (according to the forme and couenants of the league) he had begun the warre in *France*, and continued it many moneths, without receiuing one portion of the money promised by the confederats, wherein he had iust occasion not to make care of them that had consented to his disappointing: yet he had by many meanes and times aduertised them, that if they would make payment of the

New practises betweene the kings of *France* and *Spaine*.

hundreth and fiftie thousand duckats, which they ought to him for the expenses of the warre he had made, he was contented to accept that payment, in reckoning of all other actions and enterprises hereafter (hauing determined to enter *France* with a strong armie:) whereunto as the confederats would shew no will or inclination, and much lesse keepe faith, or be carefull ouer the common safetie: So he in that regard, and seeing withall that the league made for the libertie of *Italy*, was turned into an vsurpation and oppression of the regions of the same, for that the *Venetians* not contented with so many ports false to their share in the kingdome of *Naples*, had made themselues Lords ouer *Pysa* without any right, he could not but hold it indifferent, reasonable, and iust, seeing by others, the affaires common were disordered, to prouide for his owne particular with a truce, bearing notwithstanding such a forme and manner, that it may rather be called an admonition, then a will to separate fro the league: for that it was alwaies in his power to dissolue or reuoke it, which he would do, when he should discerne an other intention, with other prouisions, in the Potentates of *Italy*, for the stay of the common benefite. About this time dyed *John* Prince of *Spaine*, onely sonne to the King and Queene, to whom the accident brought no small forowes and heauinesse, for that, besides disappointing of the succession, his death gaue no litle impediments to the sweet delights and pleasures which they reckoned to reape in their new tranquillitie and rest.

*Philip Duke of
Sawoy dyeth.*

To this was also ioyned the death of *Philip* Duke of *Sawoy*, leauing for a posteritie, one sonne of litle age, and therefore of no iudgement touching his expectation or towardnesse. This late Duke, after he had wauered long time in suspence and newtrality, beholding all their actions without motion or inclination particular, seemed at last to fauour the faction of the confederats, who had promised to pay him euery yeare, twentie thousand duckats: and yet euery one of them had so great doubt of his faith, that they could assure nothing of his promises and truth, if the french king should descend to make any strong enterprise.

*The castle of
Genes rendred
to the Duke of
Milan.*

With this yeare, ended the two yeares touching the deputation of the castle of *Genes*, which the Duke of *Ferrara* (receiuing it in trust) did estoones render to *Lodowyke* his sonne in law: he first demaunded of the french king, that according to the capitulations of *Vercell*, he would see him satisfied of the halfe of the expences employed in the gard and keeping of it, whereof the king consented to make payment, so that the Duke would put into his hands the castle, as he said he was bound for the inobseruation of the Duke of *Milán*. To this the Duke of *Ferrara* answered, that that was not verified, and that to put the Duke of *Milán* in contumacie, it were necessarie to haue interpellation: the king offered to commit the money into a third mans hand, to the end that afore payment were made, there might be construction in iustice, reason, and law, whether he ought not to render to him the castle. But the instance made to the contrary by the *Venetians* and his sonne in law, caried farre more force in the fancie of the Duke of *Ferrara*: wherein he was not onely moued by the prayers and solicitations of *Lodowyke*, who not many dayes before, had indued the Cardinall *Hippolite* his sonne, with the archbishoprike of *Milán*: but also he had regard to the daungers that threatned him, if he should prouoke the malice of so mightie enemies, specially at a time wherein was continuall diminucion of the hope that the french men would descend: So that, applying his actions to the inclination of the time, he first called home from the Court of *France*, his sonne *Ferrand*, and then surrendered the castle to *Lodowyke*, who satisfied all charges for keeping it, together with the portion which appertained to the king to pay. By reason whereof, the *Venetians*, to expresse how much they congratulated his doings, tooke his said sonne into their pay, with a hundred men at armes. This restitution made with no iustice, albeit it was of great importāce against the kings reputation in *Italy*, yet he dissembled the wrong, and made no such apparance of disliking as was conuenient to the grauitie of the dishonour. And that which more is, the Duke of *Ferrara*, excusing the action by an Embassador sent to his Maiestie, that by reason of the neighbourhood of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milán* (both prepared to pronounce warre against him) he was constrained to obey necessitie: yet the king gaue as negligent care, as if the nature of the matter had bene light and trifling: wherein this might be one reason of the kings negligence, that, besides he proceeded almost at auenture in all his actions, yet he was ouerweariied with a continuall care and trauell of mind, ioyned to his auncient deuotion to repasse into *Italy*, hauing now greater occasions then euer, for that he had made truce with the king of *Spaine*, renewed the alliance with the *Swyzzers*, and many late causes of disagreement

ment hapned amongst the confederats. But as for the most part, matters of enterprise do nourish their proper impediments, & to Princes their desires do seldome succcede, when their negligence is more common then their resolutions certaine: so, the kings disposition was ouerruled with new means subborned by such as were in most principall grace about him: Whereof some set afore him his pleasures, others encouraged him to embrace the enterprise, but with so mighty preparations both by sea and land, and with so great prouisions of money, as could not be refurnished but with a long space and interposition of time, others made the action slow and impossible by many difficulties and obiections, and the Cardinall of *S. Mallo* forgat not his accustomed delaies in the expedition of money. In so much, that not onely the time to march into *Italy*, was more incertaine then euer: but also many things were suffered to suspend and miscarie, which were almost brought to their perfection: for the *Florentines* (continually incensing the king to march) had contracted with him, to take armes on their sides, as soone as the warre should beginne by him, and for that effect, they did agree that *Monfr d'Aubigny* with an hundred and fiftie french launces (the hundred to be payed by the king, and the fiftie to be mercenarie by them) should passe by sea into *Tuskane*, to be generall of their armie. And the Marquis of *Mantua*, who when he returned victorious from the kingdome of *Naples*, had bene dishonorably disappointed of the pay of the *Venetians*, for suspition that he solicited to be mercenarie to the french king: did now with great diligence and in good earnest, negociate with him to that end. The new Duke of *Sauoy* was confirmed in his good amitie and alliance: *Bentinole* promised to follow his authoritie, as soone as he were come into *Italy*. And the Pope, doubting whether he should ioyne with him, (as he was continually laboured) determined at the least not to be against him.

But all expectations began now to dissolue, and mens motions and mindes to grow cold for the detraction and negligence which the king vsed: for that, neither his men of warre (as was promised) passed into *Italy* to reassemble at *Alt*: neither was *Monfr d'Aubigny* dispatched, and much lesse money sent to pay the *Vrsins* and the *Vitellis* his souldiers, (a thing of no litle importance for the warre he ment to make.) By reason whereof the *Vitellis* inclining to enter pay with the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* who feared they should not haue sufficient respite to giue aduertisement to the king, kept them intertayned for one year in common, for the seruice of the king and themselves. The king commended much these actions in them, but he made no ratification nor prouision of payment for his part: onely he sent *Gemell* to them, to intreat them to lend him for the furniture of his enterprise, an hundred and fiftie thousand duckats. Lastly, the king (as he did at other times) measuring the wils of others by his owne, left all things to confusion, and departed almost vpon the sudden from *Lyon*, to go to *Tours*, and then to *Amboise*, with his accustomed promises to returne immediatly to *Lyon*.

For which respects, hope sayling in all those that followed his faction in *Italy*. *Baptistin Fregose* was the first that reconciled himselfe with the Duke of *Millan*, who taking courage by these good euent and successes, discouered euery day more and more, the ill disposition he bare towards the *Venetians* for the regard of *Pysa*, soliciting (with continuall importunities) the Pope, and the king of *Spaine*, estfoones to call into question (but with more efficacie) a parliament for the restoring of the same citie. And the better to aduance the practise, the *Florentines*, receiuing counsell and direction from him, dispatched an Embassadour to *Rome*, but with a commission qualified to proceede so aduisedly; that the Pope and the residue might perceiue, that if *Pysa* were rendred to them, they would ioyne in vnitie with the others for the defence of *Italy*, against the french: but in case the restitution of the city succceeded not, to keepe all things from the knowledge of the french, to whom they were carefull to giue any occasion to hold them doubtfull or suspected. This conference continued many daies at *Rome*, wherein was omitted nothing by the Pope, the Embassadors Spanish, the Duke of *Millan*, and the king of *Naples*, that might reasonably induce the *Venetian* Embassadour to hold it necessarie for the common suretie of *Italy*, that by the redeliuery of that citie, the *Florentines* might participate in the generall league against the french. They told him that the Senate of *Venice* ought to consent thereunto together with others, to the end, that the rootes of all emotions and troubles being supplanted, there should remaine to no estate or degree in *Italy*, any occasion to call estfoones forreine armes ouer the Mounts. They told him also that if in that regard the vnitie of *Italy* suffered impediment, there would perhaps be giuen, matter and occasion to others to take new counsels, by the which (to the comon prejudice).

The Duke of Millan professes his practise against the Venetians,

might happen some alteration of importance. But to this, was quite contrary the deliberation of the Senate of *Venice*, who couering their couetousnesse with many colours, and no lesse perceiuing from whom proceeded principally so great an instance, made answer by the same Embassadour, complaining not a litle that such a motion proceeded not of a respectiue care to the vniuersall benefit, but of an ill tempered affection which some of the confederats bare to them: for that (sayth he) the *Florentines*, hauing with the french men a secret affinitie and coniunction of mind, and being perswaded that by their returning into *Italy*, the most part of *Tuskane* would diuolue to their rule and iurisdiction: it was without doubt, that to reestablishe them in *Pysa*, would not suffice to draw them from so ambitious inclination. But of the contrary, the restitution was a thing dangerous, for that by how much they should be mighty and strong, by so much would they be hurtfull to the suretie and quiet of *Italy*: he said that in this restitution, it went of the honour and faith of euery one, but principally of their common weale, seeing the confederats hauing promised the *Pyssans* with one consent to protect their libertie, and afterwards (euery one in particular putting an vnwilling hand to furnish the expenses of the comon businesse) imposed the whole burden vpon them alone, who (for that cause) had refused no charges, cares, nor trauels, it could not but turne to their speciall dishonor, to leaue them abandoned when they were in most necessitie of stay and comfort, and to withdraw their faith and promise, which though others esteemed litle, yet with them it had alwayes carried this reputation, not to suffer staine or violation in any sort: he alleged it was a thing most grievous to the Senate of *Venice*, that (without respect reasonable) others sought to lay vpon them by imputation, that which had bene begun with one common and generall consent, and continued for the benefit of euery one, and that with so great an ingratitude, they were punished for their good workes: That the intollerable expenses which they had defrayed in this enterprile and many others, ioyned to so many perils and trauels sustayned since the creation of the league, deserued not such recompence and retribution, their actions deseruing that nature and qualitie both for expenses, pollicie; and care, that they may say with reason and iustice, that *Italy* hath bene preserued by their meane: for that neither the battell of *Taro* was fought with other armes then theirs, nor the kingdome of *Naples* recouered with other forces then of their common weale: That no other armie constrayned *Nouaro* to render, and chased the french king to returne beyond the Mounts: That no other strength then theirs, was opposed against him in *Pyemont*, as often as he assayed to returne: And that it could not be denied, that those actions proceeded principally of the desire they had to protect the safety of *Italy*, seeing as their estates were alwayes furthest remoued from perils; so, for their occasion, there were no disorders hapned which they ought to readdresse or amend: for they called not the french king into *Italy*, nor accompanied him when he was come ouer the Mounts, and much lesse for sparing their proper treasures, haue they suffered to fall into perill, the affaires common and vniuersall. No, rather necessitie and occasion haue so required, that the Senate of *Venice* did giue remedie to the disorders hapned by the faults of others, to the common harmes of the whole. All which operations, albeit they were not knowne, or though they were so soone committed to forgetfulness, yet they would not for all that (forbearing the ill excusable example of others) defile neither the faith nor dignitie of their common weale, the rather, for that to the preseruacion of the libertie of the *Pyssans*, was ioyned the suretie and well doing of all *Italy*.

The death of
king Charles
the eight.

Whilest things passed in these practises amongst the confederats, with a manifest and generall disagreement, there hapned a new accident, which engendred effects diuerse and much different from the thoughts of men. The night before the eight day of April, king *Charles* dyed at *Amboise*, of a catterhe which the Phisitians call *apoplexie*, the same rising in him with such abundance as he beheld a match plaied at tennys, that in few houres he ended at the same place his life, during the which, he had with greater importunitie then vertue, troubled the whole world, with great apparance of daunger to kindle estsoones new fires of innouation and troubles: for that it was beleued of many, that being pushed forwardes with a vehement desire to returne into *Italy*, he had in the end, either of his proper knowledge, or by the emulation of such as bare enuy to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, remoued all the difficulties that had withholden the action. In so much, that albeit in *Italy* (according to his variations) sometimes he increased, and sometimes he diminished the opinion that men had that he would march: yet he kept them in continuall suspition, & made his intentions to trouble their coniectures and counsels. And for that cause, the Pope puffed with ambition

ambition to rayse his sonnes, had begun already to sollicite with him touching some secret innovation, the Duke of *Millan* hauing done the like (as was bruted) to the end he would not liue in continuall feare.

King *Charles* dying without issue, the realme of *France* descended to *Louys* Duke of *Orleans*, *Louys* Duke as nearer in blood then any other of the masculine line; to whom (remayning then at *Blois*) came of *Orleans* succeeded to the crowne.
to do reuerence, the kings gard, and all the generall traine of the Court, together with the nobilitie of the kingdome, by whom he was saluted as king with titles and inuocations royall, notwithstanding some did secretly murmure, that (according to the auncient statutes of the land) he was vnworthie to aspire to the crowne, against the which he had taken armes in the warres of *Brittaine*.

The day after the death of king *Charles* (a day obserued in many places by a celebration and solemnitie of palmes) tooke end the authoritie, life, and doctrine of *Sauonarola*: who hauing bin long time before accused by the Pope, that he preached slanderously against the manners of the Clergie and Court of *Rome*, that he nourished sects and discords in *Florence*, & that his doctrine was not fully catholike, and for those reasons called to *Rome* by many writs, refused to appeare there, alleaging many excuses: and therefore after much ado he was at last (the yeare before) separated by the Pope with censures from the fellowship of the Church: of which sentence (hauing absteyned from preaching for certaine moneths) he had easily obtained absolution, if he had longer continued, for that the Pope, who held slender reckoning of *Sauonarola*, had proceeded against him more by the incensing and perswasion of his aduersaries, then any other occasion. But heudging that it was for his silence, that his reputation came so to be diminished, or at least, that it brake the purpose for the which he stirred (for he was principally aduanced for his vehemencie in preaching) he fellt soones to despise the Popes commaundements, and returned publickly to his office, wherein affirming that the censures published against him were vniust and of no force, he opened his mouth soones to blaspheme the Pope and the whole court of *Rome* with great vehemencie: of this arose no small emotion, for that his aduersaries (whose authoritie increased daily in greatnesse with the people) detested such inobedience, rebuking the action, for that by his innovation and rashnesse, the Popes mind was drawne in vncertainties and alteration, in a time specially, wherein the restitution of *Pysa* being negotiated by him and the other confederats, it was necessarie to do all things to confirme him in that inclination. On the other side, his disciples and partakers defended and iustified him, alleaging that men ought not for the regard of humane things, to trouble the operations diuine, nor consent that vnder such colours, the Popes of *Rome* should begin to intrude into the affaires of their common weale. But after there were certaine daies spent in this contention, and the Pope wonderfully inflamed, sending out new thunderbolts with threats of censures against the whole citie: he was at last commaunded by the Magistrates of the citie to forbear to preach, to whom though he obeyed, yet diuerse of his brethren supplied his office in sundry Churthes. And the diuision being no lesse amongst the spiritualtie then the layetic, the Fryers and brethren of other orders ceased not to preach feruently against him: arising at last into such high and malicious inflammation, that one of the disciples of *Sauonarola*, and one of the Fryer Minors, agreed to enter into the fire in the pefence of the whole people, to the end that the disciple of *Sauonarola* either being burned or preserued, the people might be left satisfied and certaine whether *Sauonarola* were a Prophet or an abuser: seeing that at times afore, he had affirmed in his sermons, that for the iustification of the truth of his prophecies, he could in all necessities obtaine of God the grace, to passe without hurt, thorough the midst of a flaming fire. And yet notwithstanding greening not a litle with the resolution made without his priuie touching a present experience, he laboured to breake it with all his deuises and diligence: But the matter being so farre proceeded of it selfe, and earnestly solicited by certaine citizens desiring to haue the towne deliuered of so great troubles, it was necessary at last to passe further: In so much as the two religious brethren, accompanied with all their brotherhoods and couët, came at the day appointed to the place afore the publicke pallace, where was not only a generall concourse of the people of *Florence*, but vniuersall assemblies of the cities adioyning. There the Fryer Minors were aduertised that *Sauonarola* had ordeyned, that his disciple and brother entering the fire, should beare in his hand the Sacrament: which deuise they impugned greatly, alleaging that there was sought by that meane to put in danger the authoritie of Christian faith, which

in the minds of the ignorant would not a litle decline if that holy oast should be burned: by which contention, *Sauonarole* being there present, and perseuering in his resolution, there arose such factions and disagreements, that the action of experience proceeded no further, the same diminishing so much of his credite, that the day following in a tumult then hapning, his aduersaries tooke armes, whereunto being ioyned the authoritie of the soueraigne Magistrate, they entred the Monasterie of *S. Marke* where he was, and drawing him out of the place, they led him with two other of his brethren to the common prisons. In this tumult, the parents of those that had bene executed the yeare before, killed *Francisque Vatori* a Citizen of great authoritie, and the most apparant fanorer and follower of *Sauonarole*: the chiefe motion inducing this quarrell, was, that about all others, his authoritie had depriued them of the facultie to haue recourse to the iudgement of the counsell popular. *Sauonarole* was afterwards examined with torments, but not very grieuous, and vpon the examination, a proesse published, which (taking away all imputations that were laide on him for couetousnesse, corruptions of manners, or to haue had secret intelligence or practise with Princes) conteyned, that the matters by him prophesied, were not pronounced by reuelation diuine, but by his proper opinion grounded vpon the doctrine and obseruation of holy Scripture. Wherein he had not bene moued by any wicked intention or purpose, and much lesse by that meane, to aspire to any office or greatnesse in the Church: onely he had a holy desire, that by his meanes might be called a generall counsell, wherein might be reformed the corrupt customes of the Clergie, and the estate of the Church of God, (so farre wandred & gone astray) to be reduced, as neere as might be, to the resemblance of the times drawing nearest the Apostles; A glory, which, to giue perfection to so great and holy an operation, he esteemed farre about the obteyning of the popedome: for that the one could not succede but by meane of an excellent doctrine and vertue, and a singular reuerence of all men: where the Popedome most often was obteyned, either by sinister meaues, or else by the benefit of fortune: vpon which proesse confirmed by him in the hearing and preface of many religious persons euen of his owne order, but (if that be true which his owne faction bruted afterwards) with words darke, and such as might receiue diuerse interpretations: there were taken from him and his two other companions with ceremonies instituted by the Church of *Rome*, the holy orders, and that by sentence of the generall of the *Iacobins* and of the Bishop *Romolin*, Commissioners delegate by the Pope: and so being passed ouer to the power of the secular Court, they were (by their iudgements) hanged and burned, being at the spectacle of the degradation and execution, no lesse multitudes of people, then at the day of the experience of entring the fire, when was an infinite concourse to behold the issue of the miracle promised by *Sauonarole*. This death constantly endured (but without expressing word whereby might be discerned, either their innocencie or fault) quenched not the diuersitie of iudgements and passions of men: for that many supposed he was but an abuser: and others (of the contrary) beleueed, that the confession that was published was falsely forged, or perhaps, in his aged and weake complexion, the torments had more force then the truth: wherein they excused that maner of frailtie with the example of *S. Peter*, who neither imprisoned, nor constrained with torments, or by any other extraordinary force, but at the simple words of the handmaidens and seruants, denied that he was the disciple of his master, in whom he had seene so many holy miracles.

The end of the third Booke.



THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGVMENT.

LOWYS Duke of Orleans succeedeth to the crowne of France: he determineth to reconer his Duchie of Millan: Pisa and Florence make warre: Lodowyke Sforce flieth from Millan: the Florentines giue batterie to Pisa, and agree with the french king: Pope Alexander aspireth for his sonne to the iurisdiction of Romagna: Lodowyke Sforce reconereth Millan, but being betrayed by the Swizzers, he is taken, and led into France.

IT was almost an vniuersall coniecture amongst the *Italians*, that by the death of king *Charles*, all the regions of *Italy* were now deliuered of those feares, afflictions, and dangers which the power and nation of the french did threaten. Their opinions were induced by this reason, that the new King *Lowy* presently ascended to the crowne, would not intangle the beginning of his raigne with forreine warres, hauing first to looke with great study into the state of his owne gouernment at home, which commonly to kings newly inuested, brings many causes of new counsels and alterations: but the spirits of such as discoursed with iudgement vpon the traine and euent of things, nourished alwayes a secret suspition, that the afflictions that then were but deferred, would with time redouble, and rise growing to greater daungers and more generall harmes, specially so great an Empire being false vpon a king ripe in age, full of experience, ruled in his counsels, resolute in action, moderate in expenses, and in all things (without comparifon) holding more of himselfe, then did his predecessor: and to whom withall, did appertaine (as in the right of the crowne of *France*) not onely the inheritance of the realme of *Naples*, but also he maintained that the Duchie of *Millan* was his freehold by the succession of the Lady *Valentina* his grandmother, who was married by *Iohn Galeas Viscounte* his father (afore that, of viccaire of the Empire, he had obteyned the title of the Duke of *Millan*) to *Lowy* Duke of *Orleans*, brother to king *Charles* the sixt. At which marriage, there was added to the state of the dowry (which was the citie and countrey of *Ast* with great summes of money) an expresse condition, that as often and when so euer as the line masculine of the said *Galeas* should fayle, the Lady *Valentina* should succede to the Duchie of *Millan*, or she being dead, her next heires and discendents: which couenant albeit strong enough of it selfe, was confirmed (if the french traditions be true) by the authoritie of the Pope (the imperiall seat being voide at that time, for the Popes of *Rome* pretend that the administration of the Empire vacant belongeth to them:) by which meanes, the blood male of *Iohn Galeas*, determining afterwards by the death of *Philipp Alaria Viscounte*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, sonne to the Lady *Valentina*, began to pretend to the succession of the said dukedome: But as the ambition of Princes is ready to help on their titles with euery apparant colour, so there aspired at the same time to the said dukedome, not onely the Emperour *Federike*, alleaging that it was reuerted to the Empire, for that the line nominated in the inuestiture made to *Iohn Galeas* by *Vincislaus* king of *Romaines*, was extinct and dissolued, but also *Aiphonso* king of *Aragon* and *Naples*, who was instituted heire by the Testament of Duke *Philipp*; and amongst the residue, *Francis Sforce* with a fortune, force, and felicitie, more fauourable then the others, quarrelled the same title, who to giue a better shadow to the armies which he leauied in that cause, alleaged that his wife *Blanche*, the onely daughter (but a bastard) of *Philipp*, had peculiar interest in that succession: So that *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, who (being

taken prisoner at the battell of *Agincourt* in the warres betweene the English and french, and remaining restrayned in England xxv. yeares) was able to do nothing, by reason of his pouertie and hard fortunes to iustifie his title, and much lesse could he obtaine aide of king *Louys* the xj. notwithstanding he was his nearest kinsman: the reason was, that the same king, in the beginning of his raigne, was much molested and manifestly inuaded in diuers partes of his kingdome, by the great Lords and Barons of the same, shadowing their conspiracies with a shew of publike profit. But because the king saw that their intentions drew with them priuate regardes and particular interests, he kept them alwaies in bridle, and esteemed his estate and suertie to consist in the embasing of the great ones of his realme, but chiefly his nearest competitors: And for that reason, *Louys* Duke of *Orleans* sonne to *Charles*, albeit he was his sonne in law, could draw no fauours or succors from him: the same driuing him, after the death of his said father in law, together with his impaciencie that the Lady *Anne* Duchesse of *Burbon* the kings sister, was preferred afore him to the gouernment of *Charles* the eight then in minoritie, to trouble *France* with a very slender successe, and after retyred into *Britaine* with a worse fortune: for ioyning with these that were against the intention of *Charles*, to obtaine *Britaine* by marrying with *Anne* heire of the state by the death of *Francis* her father leauing no issue male, (yea aspiring secretly to the same mariage) he was taken in an encounter between the french and the *Brittons* neare *S. Aubin* in that countrey, and from thence led prisoner into *France*, where he remained two yeares. In so much as sayling then of nieanes, and finding no succors in king *Charles* after he was out of prison, he ioyned no further action to that enterprize, but when the king left him within *Ast*, he made himselfe Lord of *Nouaro* with a very litle profit: but being now become king of *France*, he held nothing of greater affection, then to reconquer the Duchie of *Millan* as a succession iustly appertayning to him. This desire planted in him from his youth, was estoones wonderfully increased and aduanced, by the successe he had at *Nouaro*, and withall, for that he greatly hated *Lodowyke Sforza*, by reason of the insolent demonstrations and behauiours which he vsed to him, when he had the kings deputation in *Ast*: Therefore, not long after the death of King *Charles*, by resolution set downe in his elect councell, he intitled himselfe not onely king of *France*, and (for the regard of the realme of *Naples*) king of *Iernsalem* & both the *Cicillies*, but also soueraigne Duke of *Millan*. And because he would make knowne to the world what was his inclination to the things of *Italy*, he wrote letters full of amitie and congratulation touching his ascending to the crowne, to the Pope, the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, and withall dispatched men of speciall credence, to giue hopes of new enterprises, but chiefly of his determination to conquer the Duchie of *Millan*: wherein the time running, nourished for him many fauours and oportunities, for that the death of his predecessor had innouated in the minds of the *Italians* many new humors and inclinations, much differing from the cogitations and purposes they had afore: for the Pope (whose ambitious thoughts could not be satisfied if *Italy* stood in tranquillitie) wished that things might growe to hurly burly, seeking his peculiar aduancement in the common diuision of principalities and states: A desire not vnlikely to deriue from such a mind, to whom all things were hatefull that held of equitie, conscience, or religion, and nothing vnfaurie that smelled of troubles, innouation, and change. And the *Venetians*, being now deliuered of the feare they had of king *Charles* for the wrongs and iniuries they had done him, expressed manifestly that they had no distrust in the new king: which disposition increased daily more and more, for that *Lodowyke Sforza* (notwithstanding he knew that he had to do with an enemy more mightie and lesse plyable) feeding himselfe with this hope (the same also beguiling *Federyke* of *Aragon*) that the french king could not with such expedition execute any action on that side the Mounts, forbare not to oppose himselfe against the *Venetians* in the quarrell of *Pisa*, wherein his spite present would not let him see the danger that was to come: an error familiar with Princes ambitious, who measuring the euent of things more by their proper fancie and imagination, then by any rule or comparison of times & reasons, are often in that securitie, caried to their vndoing; as men that wander and beleue an eccho which beguiles them to their extreame ruine. The *Florentines* only began to estrange themselves in mind from the amitie of the french: for albeit this new king had bene their protector afore, yet now that he is made great with the estate and dignitie of the crowne, he had with them no league of amitie, neither in regard of faith giuen, nor for benefits receiued, as his predecessors had by meane of those capitulations which were made at *Florence* and *Ast*: for regard of which they would

Louys 12.
king of *France*
intitleth him
selfe Duke of
Millan.

15 *P. 15 + 17*

fevers he
for are *to*
are *to*

would alwayes lay them selues open to many perils and perplexities, rather then to abandon his alliance. Besides, the discord which continually increased betweene the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan*, was the cause that the feare being ceased which they had of the forces of the confederates, and wishall hoping more in the fauours certaine and present of *Lombardy*, then in the succors absent and doubtfull of *Fraunce*, they tooke occasion to hold lesse reckening of his friendship or confederation. In this different disposition of mindes, were also no lesse diuerse, the Embassages that were sent: for the Senate of *Venice* dispatched with great speed to the king, one of their Secretaries remaining at that time in negociation with the Duke *Sauoy*. And to establish with these beginnings, the foundations of a well assured alliance, as the dayly affaires & occurrants of times required, they made an election of three other Embassadours to go to his Maiestie, not onely to congratulate his right worthy ascending to the crowne, but also to protest in forme of excuse, that what they had done contrary to the liking of the late king *Charles*, proceeded of no other motion, then of a timorous suspition (confirmed by many apparant signes and demonstrations) that not contented with the kingdom of *Naples*, he would lift vp his minde to those meanes which might make him Lord ouer the whole Monarchy of *Italie*. The Pope also, whose deuotion had this determination, to appropriate to his sonne *Cesar* at that time Cardinall, all temporall greatness, raised his thoughts to high things, and sending Embassadours to the French king, was at a point to sell to his Maiestie spirituall graces, receiuing in recompence, possessions temporall: for he was not ignorant that the French king had great desire to refuse *Iane* his wife, both barrein and deformed, who was giuen him almost by force by *Lewes* the eleuenth: And that he had no lesse liking to marry *Anne* now widow by the death of the late king, not so much for the ancient affection that was betweene them afore the encounter of *S. Aubin*, as that by the prerogatiue of that marriage, he should insinuate into the Duchy of *Britaine*, an estate great and very conuenient for the crowne of *Fraunce*: this chaunge could not be done without the authoritie of the Pope. The *Florentins* in like sort sayled not to send Embassadours to the king, as well to testifie the auncient custome and deuotion of that Citie to the crowne of *Fraunce*, as to put his Maiestie in remembrance of their merites, and the bonds and promises of the late king: wherein they were much solicited by the Duke of *Myllan*, hauing two intentions, the one that by their meanes the practises of the *Venetians* might be hindered, (both the one and other common weale intreating of the affaires of *Py/a*) and also that if they obtained any credit, amitie, or authoritie; they might vnder some occasion, employ all to worke an accord betweene him and the French king, a thing not a litle desired and sought by him. All these Embassadours were well receiued of the king, who began euen at the first to sound euery one of them seuerally, notwithstanding he had no meaning to put any thing to action in *Italie*, afore he had first assured the realme of *Fraunce*, by new leagues and confederations with the Princes his neighbours and borderers.

*The Venetians
send Embassa-
dours to the
French king.*

*The Pope apt
to dispense
with all things
for the great-
nesse of his
sonne.*

But it was a thing fatall, that the fire of *Py/a*, to the which the Duke of *Myllan* gaue the first kindling, and nourished by an inflamed desire to assubiekt it to him selfe, should in the end breake his brand vpon the head of the author, and consume him with his proper flame: for that as well by his naturall ielousie, which was infinite in him, as for daunger of the greatnesse of the *Venetians*, which he saw to aspire not only ouer him, but also aboue all other Potēates of *Italy*, he could not endure with reasonable patience, that the fruite of his deuises and trauels, should be gathered by them, or transferred to the reputation of their imperie: wherejo, taking occasion vpon the disposition of the *Florentins*, resolute to pursue in all accidents the quarell of *Py/a*, and seeming to him that by the death of *Sauonarola* and *Francis Valorie* which were strong parties against him, he might now reappose more in that City then he could do in times past: he determined to ayde the *Florentins* in the recouery of *Py/a* with armes, seeing neither with practises, authoritie, nor the power and meanes of others, he could hitherunto worke no good effect of that plot: he perswaded him selfe vainely, that either afore the French king could execute any action, *Py/a* would be reduced by composition or force to the iurisdiction of *Florence*, or else the Senate of *Venice*, (guided by that wisdom which he would neuer suffer to gouerne him selfe) would neuer desire either for enuie, or other lesse occasion, that (to the common daunger of the whole) the French armies should euen soones returne into *Italie*, seeing it was an vniuersall trauell to chase them out so lately.

*Quidum consi-
lium consule-
tori pressi-
mum.*

This indiscreete resolution was furthered by a disorder which hapned against the *Florentins* in the countrey of *Py/a*: for their people which were at *Pontadere*, hauing aduertisemēt by their espials that a troupe of seuen hundred horsemen, and a thousand footemen of the *Py/sans*, were returning

home with a great pray of cattell which they had taken in the fields of *Voltere*, issued out almost all vnder the conduct of the Count of *Rinuccce* and *Guillaume* of *Pazzi*, Commissioner for the *Florentines*, to cut betweene them and home for the recouery of the booty: & encountering with them in the valley of *S. Reale*, and as they had almost put them to disorder and recouered the most part of the pray, there ioyned to the *Pisans* an hundred and fiftie men at armes sent out of *Pisa* to the succours of their fellowes, who finding the *Florentine* armie both wearie and disordered with the trouble of the pillage, and the authoritie of the Count not able to range the horsemen to the fight, they were put all to the chafe, notwithstanding the footmen made some head and resistance, among whom many passed by the sword, and most of their horsemen taken prisoners with the chiefest of their leaders: in so much as the Count and Commissioner for *Florence*, saued them selues with great difficultie within *S. Reale*, where they imposed one vpon another (as is the custome in chaunces of aduersitie) the fault of the disorder happened.

Paule Vitelli
Capitaine ge-
nerall of the
Florentine ar-
mie.

This journey brought no litle affliction to the *Florentins*, who to readdressse with speed so great a danger, and not able to refurbish their companies with expedition, and Count *Rinuccce* Generall of their whole armie, hauing lost his reputation, for that his regiment was broken, determined to turne to the affaires of *Pisa*, the *Vitelles* who were then in the countrey of *Aretze*: But afore that contract was perfected, they were constrained to accord to *Paule Vitelli* the title, dignitie, & reputation of Capitaine general of their armie. This ouerthrow constrained them estoons to demand succours of the Duke of *Milan*, and that with so much the more instance, by how much since the chafe, they had besought the French king, that to put them out of danger with his forces and with his authoritie, he would send them three hundred lances into *Tuskane*, and ratifie the retaining of the *Vitelles* according to the contract made in the time of the late king *Charles*, prouiding his portion of their payment, & also that he wold cause the *Venetians* to abstaine from further vexing the: of all which requestts, they reaped but gracious words without any effect, for that the king would not bring himself suspected with the *Venetians*, nor make any stirre in *Italy* afore he put beginning to the warres of *Milan*. But in these necessities & estate of things, the Duke of *Milan* was neither cold nor negligent, who doubting lest the *Venetians* (by the occasion of this victorie) would enter further into the iurisdiction of *Pisa*, then they could be afterwards repulsed but with great difficulty, made known to the *Florentins* that he had a firme intention to succour them, but first he would establish with them, what sorts & proportiōs of prouisiōs were necessary not only for his defence, but also to archieue the enterprise of *Pisa*, to the which (for there was no feare of any action in the French king for that yeare) were turned vniuersally the eyes of all *Italy*, being then free from all other troubles: for albeit in the territories of *Rome* the families of *Colonne* and *Vrsin* had takē armes, yet their wisdoms preuailed more in the quarell, then either their hatreds or their iniuries.

Quarell be-
tweene the fa-
milies of *Co-*
lonne and *Vr-*
sin.

This was the substance of the quarell: The *Colonniois* and *Sauelles*, stirred vp belike for the occupation which *Iacques Count* made of *Iatour Mathias*, had inuaded the places and territories of the *Counts*: and of the other part, the *Vrsins* (for the affinitie and coniunction of factions) took armes in their fauour: So that many boroughs and villages, being vsurped both by the one & other partie, they fought together at last with all their forces at the foote of *Mottelle* in the countrey of *Tynoly*, where, after a long and braue battell, the inflamed passion of the parties pushing them on no lesse then either regard of glory, or consideration of daunger of their estates, the *Vrsins* (whose armie contened two thousand footemen and eight hundred horsemen) were broken and put to the chafe, their enseignes lost, & *Charles Vrsin* taken prisoner, and of the side of the *Colonniois* was hurt *Anthony Sauelle* a Capitaine of nō small reputation, who dyed of his wound not many dayes after. After this successe of the battell, the Pope, seeming that commotions in the countrey so neare to *Rome*, were displeasing to him, made as though he would sollicite an accord, which, whilest he intertained in action (not with good meaning and faith, for he was disguised in all his doings) the *Vrsins* readdressed their armie with new supplies, and planted a campe afore *Palombare*, a principall town belonging to the *Sauelles*, which the *Colonniois* (who after the victorie had occupied many places of the *Coñtes*) prepared to rescue: But both the parties finding at lēgth the dissembled behauiours of the Pope, sometimes giuing courage to the *Colonniois*, and estoones comforting the *Vrsins*, and that he did but nourish the warre & giue them medicines to weaken them both, to the end he might with more facilitie oppresse them when their strengths were consumed, they came altogether to a parley (without the interposing of a third) at *Tynoly*, where, of the selues, they esta-

blished

blished an accord, by the which *Charles Vth* was set at libertie, the places taken in the controuersie restored to their proper owners, & the quarell for the Earledoms of *Albe* and *Taillecouffe* referred to the arbitration of king *Federik*, to whom the *Colonnys* were mercenarie soldiers.

These stormes thus resolved into calmes, and the quarels that earst caried apparant shewes of blood and murder, being now qualified by wisdom and temperance, there was not discerned in any part of *Italie* any tokens of warre; but about the countrey of *Pyfa*: wherein, albeit the Duke of *Myllan* had derennined in the beginning not to succour the *Florentins* openly, but to minister to their wants with secret aides of money: yet suffering his minde to be continually ouer ruled with passions of disdain and enuy, and not abstaining from words insolent and full of threats against the *Venetians*, he determined now to declare him selfe publikely, and to cut off all regards and considerations of things; denying euen then, passage to their bands and foldiers which marched to *Pyfa* by the way of *Parma* and *Pontrema*, and put them in necessitie to passe by the Duke of *Ferraraes* countrey, a way of far more trauell and greater trouble: he wrought so that the Emperour commaunded all those Embassadors which were resident in his Court (except the Spanish) to returne home, reuoking them all within few dayes after except the Embassador for the Senat of *Venice*. He sent also to the succour of the *Florentins* three hundred shot with crossebow, & contributed to the leuying of three hundred men at armes partly vnder the Lord of *Plombyn*, and some vnder *Iohn Paule Bailon*: he lent them at sundry times more then three hundred thousand ducats, and lastly made continuall offers of greater aides, if their necessities so required. Besides all these, he made great instance to the Pope (the importunities of the *Florentins* greatly inducing him) to ayde them in some sort. The Pope knowing how hurtfull and intollerable it would be to the estate of the Church, that the *Venetians* should preuaile to make a foundation of *Pyfa*, promised to furnish them with a hundred men at armes, & the three gallies which were in his pay vnder Captaine *Ville Marine*, & they to giue impediments to the prouisions of victuals that should enter *Pyfa* by sea. But afterwards (being familiar to him to protract and delay) he deferred with diuerse excuses to send to them any proportion, and in the end refused them with open deniall, for that drawing dayly more and more into other deuises and thoughts, he made his resolution to restraine him selfe only to the French king, by whose meanes he hoped to obtaine no small nor common recompences: yea (it is oftentimes the property of men to make easie with will and hope, that which in reason and wisdom they know to be hard) he ascended in weening to the crowne and kingdome of *Naples*. It was almost a thing fatall, that the refusing of the alliañte which the king of *Aragon* made to the Pope, should breede in him the beginning of new things and chaunges: for long before he had wholly determined to ioyne him selfe with the French king, he had made great instance to king *Federike* to giue to the Cardinall of *Valence* (who was resolved to forsake the habit and profession of the Church vpon the first occasion) his daughter in marriage, with the principallie of *Tarent* in dowry, wherein he perswaded him selfe, that if his sonne (whose wit was subtle and hart hawty, and rayfed) were once become Lord of so large & generall a member of the kingdome of *Naples*, that then there would be litle difficultie (hauing the colour of a daughter descending of the king) to take occasions, what by force and strength, and what by the authoritie and rights of the Church; to dispoyle his father in law of the kingdome; both weake in men of warre, and poore in money, and from whom also were estraunged the affections of the Barons. This matter was hoatly furthered and fauoured by the Duke of *Myllan*, who debated with king *Federike* (by his Embassador the Marquis *Stampe* sent specially to *Rome* and *Naples*) how daungerous it would be for him, if the Pope (made frustrat of this ) went suddenly to ioyne with the French king: And withall he preferred to the kings remembrance how much it would sauour of pusillanimitie and indiscreffion (specially the matter concerning wholly his safetie) to put in consiration indignitie onely, and not to haue so much rule ouer him selfe, as to preferre the protection of his estate, afore his proper will: But *Federike* fearing that in this fitteltie of *Lodowike* was layd the foundation of his ruine, refused the plot with continuall obstinacie, confessing that the alienation or estraunging of the Pope was a degreeto put his kingdome in daunger, but he stood assured that to giue his daughter with the principallie of *Tarent* to the Cardinall of *Valence*, were to put his life in daunger, & therefore in two perils he had rather to abide the hazard of that which he might runne into with most honour and honestie, and which proceeded not of any fault or error of him selfe. By this meane, the Pope turning wholly his minde to ioyne with the French, and

The Pope seeketh to match his sonne with the daughter of *Federike*

desiring that the *Venetians* would do the like, (whom he was loth to offend) abstained altogether to minister any fauours or succours to the *Florentins*: whose receiuing courage by the ready succours of the Duke of *Myllan*, and for the recommendation of the valour of *Paule Vitelli* their new Capitaine, forgot nothing that might aduance the enterprise, notwithstanding they esteemed it of very hard action: for that besides the numbers, experience, and resolute courage of the Citizens and countrey men of *Pysa*, there was within *Pysa*, a strength of the *Venetians* of foure hundred men at armes, eight hundred estradiots, and more then two thousand footemen: They were also (as occasion required) ready to refurnish them with stronger succours, for that euen such as at the beginning had no will to consent to accept the protection of the *Pysans*, were now no lesse ready then the rest to support their quarrell for the regard of common honour: The contract made in common by *Lodowike* and the *Florentins*, gaue such an increase to the armie, that it seemed now to cary proportion sufficient not onely to recouer all the places within the countrey of *Pysa*, but also to make a wonderfull industrie that the neighbours should forbear to giue aide and fauour to the *Pysans*, or at least eschewing the example of the *Venetians*, not molest any more the *Florentins* in other places: *Lodowike* hauing afore he determined to protest him selfe openly, entertained in common with the *Venetians*, *Iohn Bentynole* with two hundred men at armes, laboured him so much, that he bound him with the state of *Bologna*, to him selfe onely: wherein the better to confirme *Bentynole*, the *Florentins* tooke into their pay, *Alexander* his sonne: And to make a more generall resistance against the *Venetians*, making inuasion on the side of *Romagnia*, (who for such a purpose had taken into their protection the Lord of *Faenza*) the *Florentins* won also to their appointments and deuotion, together with fiftie men at armes, *Ottavian de Riare*, Lord of *Ymola* and *Furly*, who was gouerned according to the direction and will of *Katherine Sforce* his mother: She followed without any regard, the faction of *Lodowyk* and the *Florentins*, many occasions mouing her, but principally for that she was married to *Iohn de Medicis*, whom the Duke of *Myllan* (nothing liking of the gouernment popular) laboured to make great at *Florence*, & also his brother *Lodowyk* had no small credit with the people of *Lucques*, whom he solicited with all his authoritie and meanes, not to comfort any more the *Pysans* with those properties of succours & fauours which they had accustomed to minister to them: which request albeit they did not obserue so fully as he required, yet they withdrew and abstained from many helpes for his regard. There remained onely they of *Genes* & *Sienna* ancient enemies to the *Florentins*, hauing equall occasions of controuersie against that state: the one for the interest of *Montpulcian*, & the other by reason of the countrey of *Lunigiana*. Touching the *Siennnoys*, it was a thing much to be feared, least being made blind with hate, and enuie they fell not into their ancient error, in giuing to euery one commoditie to trouble and molest the *Florentins* by the oportunitie of their lands and estates, such sufferance sometimes not being without their proper damage. And for the *Genoways*, albeit by reason of ancient iniuries, it greeued them not a litle, that the *Venetians* should be maisters ouer *Pysa*, yet (in that Citie there is litle care of the common weale) they gaue sufferance to the *Pysans* and vessels of the *Venetians* to exercise a traffike in their riuers & streames, in regard of priuate gaine which some particulars got by it, by the which the *Pysans* receiued many great comodities: For these respects, and also by the counsell of *Lodowyk* still soliciting, the *Florentins* sent Embassadours to *Genes* and *Sienna*, to solicit (the rather by his meanes) an accord and finall resolution of all their quarels: But as touching the *Genoways*, the practise and negociation was frustrate, and brought forth no effect, for that they demanded to be acquitted frankly of *Serezana* without giuing other recompence then a simple promise to bereaue the *Pysans* of all oportunities and commodities of their countrey: wherein the *Florentins* making conference of the qualitie of the demaund, found the losse so present and certaine, in regard of the profit so incertaine and litle, that they refused to buy so dearely their friendships.

But whilest these deuises occupied the reasons and mindes of men in diuerse places, the *Florentine* armie, more mighty in horsemen then strong in footemen, aduanced into the field vnder their new generall: By meanes whereof, as the *Pysans*, whose estradiots since the victory of *S. Recall* had made incursions at pleasure ouer the whole countrey, retired from *Pour de sac* where they last incamped: So *Paule Vitelli* hauing taken *Calcinaia*, and setting his armie there in expectation of new strength of footemen, bestowed one day one part of his soldiers in ambush near

to *Cascina*, whither the regiment of the *Venetians* were retired, who gouerned by *Marke Marsimenguo* were not onely without obedience, but without order: in so much as when *Paule Vitelli* gaue the charge to the, he slue many of the stradiots, with *Iohn Gradania* Captaine ouer men at armes, & tooke prisoner *Franque* Coronell of the stradiots, with the pray of an hundred horses. The successe of this encounter much amazed the companies of the *Venetians*; and therefore supposing *Cascina* not sufficient for their safetie, they retired to the borough of *S. Marke*, expecting new succours to come from *Venice*: But *Paule Vitelli*, after he was refurnished with his strength of footemen, and making as though he would assaile *Cascina* (which the *Pyfans* beleueed by many apparances) turned his march, and beguling the coniectures of the enemies, passed ouer the riuer of *Arne*, and pitched his campe before the borough of *Buri*, hauing sent afore, three hundred footemen to keepe occupied the hills and frontier places: And hauing drawne thither with the strength and working of a number of Pioners, the artillerie by the way of the mountaine (not without great difficultie for the troublesome wayes) he tooke the towne by force the second day after he had braked his artillerie. *Paule* made choise of this enterprise, for that he iudged that *Pyfa*, (in the which was an incredible obstinacie aswell of the inhabitants as others retired out of the countrey, in whom by long vse was great sufficiencie touching actions of warre) could not be taken by force, the Citie of it selfe being proud in strength of wals and rampiers; and hauing within it many bands of the men at armes of *Venice*: he held it an action of better pollicie, to deuile rather to languish and consume them, then to execute and enforce them, and setting the warre in that part of the countrey which is on the right hand of the riuer of *Arne*, he esteemed it a good counsell in warre to lay plots to take the peeces in that quarter, and to commaund all those places by whose helpe & oportunitie, he might giue impediment to the succours that might come to them by land from any forreine countrey: And therefore after the taking of the borough of *Buri*, hauing raised a mount or fort vpon the mountaines which be aboute *S. Iohn de la Vene*, he drew his campe right afore the fort which the *Pyfans* had made neare to *Vicopisan*, drawing thither his artillerie with the same difficulties he did before: and taking almost in one season *Valdecalcio*, and building aboute *Vico* in a place called *Pietro Dorloso*, another bastillion, to keepe that no succours enter there, he held besieged the castel of *Verrucola*. In these pollicies of this new generall, to the end the *Pyfans* (doubting that he would assaile *Labrafatta* and *Valdeserale*,) might be less ready to be farre from *Pyfa*, the Count *Rinuccio* was incamped with other companies at *Valdimenoli*. All which notwithstanding, foure hundred footme issuing out of *Pyfa*, brake all the regiment of footemen which were negligently bestowed in the Church of *S. Michael* to keepe *Verrucola* besieged: But *Paule Vitelli*, after he had got the bastillion, which yielded vpon condition to cary their artillerie to *Vicopisan*, encamped afore *Vicopisan*, not on that side where the *Florentin* campe was when he was within to defend it, but he lay towards *S. Iohn de la Vene*, to giue impediments to the succours that were to come from *Pyfa*. After the furie of his artillerie had brought downe to the earth a great quantitie of the wals, the defendants, despairing belike of rescue, rendred the place, their life and goods saued. They were perhaps, discouraged to hold out to the vttermost, for that *Paule* when he tooke *Buri* (to giue terrour to others) cut off the hands of three Cannoniers *Germanians* which were within the towne, and vsed his victorie with many cruelties. Immediately after the successe of *Vicopisan*, there followed another occasion of happy exploite, for that the bands which were within *Pisa* supposing it would be very easie to surprise the bulwarke of *Pietro Dorloso*, they sent thither afore day, two hundred light horsemen, with many troupes of footemen, who finding a stronger resistance then they looked for, lost more time then the action of their enterprise required: in so much that whilst they were giuing the assault, the generall of the *Florentins*, discouering him selfe vpon the mountaines thereabouts, and with part of the armie descending to succour the fort, sent *Vitellietze* with the residue of the bands to giue impediment to their returne: against whom as they entertained skirmish in the plaine towards *Calcy*, the generall fell vpon them on the backes, and put them to flight, not without the losse of many horsemen; and the most part of their footebands.

Vicopisan
rendred.

But in this discourse and euent of things, the *Florentins* hauing some likely aduertisements from the Duke of *Ferrara* and others, that the *Venetians* were not without a willing inclination to peace, whereunto they would be more easily induced, if in the action (as belonged to the dignitie and respect of so great a common weale) they proceeded with tokens and demonstrations

Embassadors
of the Florentins
at Venice.

The Florentines
send Embassa-
dours to Ve-
nice to treat
of the affaires
of Pisa.

Nota

The Duke of
Venice answer-
eth the Floren-
tin Embassa-
dours.

as though they negociated not with equals, but with a state of more greatnesse: They sent as Embassadours to Venice to sound their intentions *Guido Antonio Vesputcio & Bernard Rucellai*, two of the most honorable Citizens of their common weale: A matter from the which they had abstained till that time, partly for that they would not offend the minde of king *Charles*; but more for that as they knew themselves not to be strong enough to oppresse the *Pisani*, so they iudged that their petitions would be vnprofitable, being not accompanied neither with reputation nor forces: but now that they were the stronger in the field, and that the Duke had publicly declared him self against the *Venetians*, their hopes were greater then their doubts, to find some conuenient meanes of honorable composition. The Embassadours were receiued with great office and reuerence, and immediatly brought into counsell, the Duke sitting and the whole resort of Senatours, in whose presence after they had formed many excuses for not sending Embassadours to them afore, the same being refrained for many regardes proceeding of the qualitie of times, and sundry accidents of their Citie: they required frankly that they would abstaine from the defence and protection of *Pisa*, a request whose moderation put them in hope not to be denied, seeing that both in the common weale of *Florence*, had bene found no occasions of offence or displeasure to them, and also, according to the rumour & recommendation that went of the equitie of the Senate of Venice, they hoped they would not in this case abandon iustice, which being the pillar and foundation of all other vertues, it was but reasonable to preferre it afore all other respects. To these the Duke made answer; that as they could not charge the *Florentins* with any trespasse or iniuries in these times, so also the Senate was not entred into the protectiō of *Pisa* for any desire to offend them, but for that the *Florentines* onely, hauing supported in *Italie* the factions of the French, meere and simple regardes to the common profit and safetie, had induced all the Potentates of the League to giue faith to the *Pisani*, to helpe them to defend their libertie: wherein, though some others of the residue did fall into the error of forgetfulness after they had giuen their faith: yet the custome of others should breede no law in them; and much lesse contrary to the vse of their common weale, would follow them in a matter so vnworthy: Onely if the state of *Florence* would propound some meane, by the which the libertie of the *Pisani* might be preserued, they would make knowne to all the world, that neither for their generall ambition, nor for their particular or proper profite, they haue thus long continued the defence of *Pisa*. Vpon this answer, they drew certaine dayes to disputation vpon some meane which might leaue satisfied both the one and other parties, wherein some contention rising, for that neither the *Venetians* nor the *Florentin* Embassadours would propound the meane, they agreed that the Embassador of *Spaine*, who encouraged them to the agreement, should interpose betweene them: this was the meane he opened, that the *Pisani* should returne to the deuotion of the *Florentins*, not as subiectes, but as people recommended, and vnder the same capitulations which had bene agreed vpon at *Pistoia*, as a thing indifferent betweene seruitude and libertie. But the *Venetians* answered, that they could not acknowledge any part of libertie in a Citie wherein the fortresses and administration of the lawes were in the power of others: by reason whereof the Embassadours of *Florence* interpreting this answer to a deniall of their demaundes, departed from Venice, with this coniecture, that the Senate, vnlesse they were compelled by necessitie, would not abandon the defence of *Pisa*, whither they sent supplies of soldiers continually: besides, they had in the beginning no great feare of the enterprise of the *Florentins*, for that deferring the action till the most part of the spring was past, they could not long keepe the field, the countrey of *Pisa*, by reason of his basenes & lownesse, being much subiect to waters. And lastly hauing of new taken to their pay vnder the Duke of *Vrbino* (to whom they gaue the title of gouernour) and vnder certaine other Captaines, fise hundred men at armes, being holpen with all with diuerse good intelligences: they had determined, (the more easily to turne the *Florentins* from offending the *Pisani*) to begin the warre in another place, ioyning to their plots the oportunitie of *Peter de Medicis*, at whose perswasions they entertained into their pay *Charles Vrsin* and *Bart. Aluiane* with two hundred men at armes: They were also without hope, to be able to induce *Iohn Bentiuole* to consent that they might make warre vpon the *Florentins* on the side of *Bolognia*, for that the Duke of *Myllan* (stirred belike for that in the retaining which was made by *Annyball* his sonne, the *Venetians* were preferred before him, and ioyning to that new offence a recodation of old iniuries done against him, as he sayd, when the Duke of *Calabria* passed into *Romagnia*) had occupied certaine Castels which belonged to the Duchy of *Myllan*, & possessed by right of

of dowrie, by *Alexander* his sonne. For these causes albeit he forbore not to vex him vpon euery occasion, yet the Castels being at last restored to him againe at the request of the *Florentins*, the deuile to make warre on that side, was broken: Therefore the *Venetsians* laboured to dispose them of *Sienna* to graunt that they might begin the warre in their quarters, wherein they grew into hope to prehaile (besides their ordinarie disposition against the *Florentins*) by a diuision that was in *Sienna* amongst the Citizens: for *Pandolphe Petruccio* with his wit and suttletie, hauing drawn to him selfe almost a speciall authoritie ouer the counsels & bugnesse of the Citie, *Nicholas Borghefe* his father in law and the familie of the *Belantis*, to whom his greatnesse was displeasing, laboured that passage might be graunted to the Duke of *Vrbino* & the *Vrsins*, who, with foure hundred men at armes, two thousand footemen, and foure hundred estradiots, were stayed by commission of the *Venetsians* at *Fratte* in the countrey of *Perusse*: They alledged also that to make truce with the *Florentins* according to the solicitation of the Duke of *Myllan* and continuall instance of *Pandolphe*, was no other thing, then to giue them oportunitie & meanes to dispatch the affaires of *Pisa*, which being resolued, they would be so much more mighty to bring iniuries and subiection vpon them and theirs: And therefore they ought (making their profite of occasions, as appertained to wise men) to be resolute in this, not to make other accord with them then a peace, which might make them giue ouer the right they pretended to *Montpulcian*, a graunt whereunto they knew the *Florentins* would neuer agree: And then it would follow by necessitie, that the demaundes of the *Venetsians* must be consented vnto, with whom hauing obtained the first place of grace, they hoped easily to embrace the authoritie of *Pandolphe*, who, hauing made himselfe authour of the contrarie opinion at the perswasion of the Duke of *Myllan*, found enough to do to maintaine it, for that the hatred which the people bare naturally to the *Florentins* could do much, & it was not vnlikely that by this feare, it might be brought to passe, that they would disclaime the right of *Montpulcian*. This couetousnesse accompanied with hatred, had more force then the considerations alledged by *Pandolphe*, either touching the trauels that would follow the warre, if it were drawn vpon their countrey, or in regard of daungers, which with time would afflict *Tuscanie* by the greatnesse of the *Venetsians*: for iustification whereof (saith he) we neede not haue recourse to the examples of others, seeing euen of late memorie, for fauouring the faction of *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* against the *Florentins*, they were in perill to fall into seruitude, if *Ferdinand*, for the occupation which *Mahomet Ottoman* made of the towne of *Ossirante* in the kingdome of *Naples*, had not bene compelled to call home from *Sienna* the person of *Alphonso* his sonne, and his regiment: And that their histories and traditions tell them (without these examples) that the same desire to offend the *Florentins* by the meane of the Earle of *Verus*, together with the disdain conceiued for the respect of *Montpulcian*, was the cause that of them selues, they had assubiected to him their proper countrey. These reasons, albeit they were true, yet not sufficient to repress the furie & affectiōs of the others, so that he was not without apparant daunger of some tumult to be raised by his aduersaries. Notwithstanding to preuent them, he caused suddenly to enter into *Sienna*, many of his friends thereabouts, by whom he wrought with so great courage and wit, that at the same instant, the *Florentins* sent to *Poggi Imperiall* three hundred men at armes and a thousand footemen, with whose reputation and force, confounding the audacitie of his aduersaries, he brought to passe a truce for five yeares with the *Florentins* who, preferring a seruile feare of perils present, afore regard to dignitie and honour, bound them selues to pull downe one part of the bridge of *Valiane*, and to dismantle euen to the earth, the bastillion which had so much molested the *Siennoyes*: they condescended further, that the *Siennoyes* within a certaine time, might build such fortes and fortresses as they would betweene the shoare and channell of *Chianes*, and the town of *Montpulcian*. By this accord *Pandolphe*, rising into a stomacke and greatnesse more then before, found meanes soone after to kill his father in law, who, with too liberall a disposition of minde, objected him self against his purposes: & so by the dispatch of him, increasing terrour to the residue, he confirmed him selfe dayly more and more in tyrannie. By this accord, the *Venetsians*, being depriued of the hope they had to diuert or turne by the way of *Sienna*, the *Florentins* from the enterprise of *Pisa*, and being not able to obtaine licence of the *Perussins*, to manage the warre by their countreys, they determined to vex them on that side to *Romagna*, hoping with the auncient fauours and factions which *Peter de Medicis* had there, to aspire easily to the occupation of those places which they held in the *Appenine*. In so much, that hauing obtained passage of the litle Lord of *Faenza*, by the vale of *Lamone*, with

1578.

Truce between
the Siennoyes
& Florentins.

one part of their Regiment which they had in *Romagna*, with whom *Peter* and *Iulian de Medici* were ioyned: they occupied the borough of *Maradi* situate vpon the Appenine, on that side which lookes towardes *Romagna*, where was made against them no resistance, for that *Demys of Nalde* a man of the same vale, entertained by the *Florentins* with three hundred footemen to defend it, together with the strength of that Countrey, led thither so small a force of footemen, that he durst not abide there: by meanes whereof they incamped afore the rocke of *Chassillon*, built in a place about the sayd borough, which they hoped to cary, though by no other meane, yet by want of many things which they knew to be within it, but specially the lacke of water, & so by the oportunitie of that, to haue free way to passe into *Mugelle*, which is a countrey neare to *Florence*.
 Cota ~~~~ " But it is hard to assure any thing that depēds vpo the will of another, & much lesse can the wisdom of man warrant all those things which imagination & coniecture do suggest. So, they found themselves deceived in the iudgement of those wants which they supposed the Rocke did suffer, for that the constancie and diligence of the Castell keeper, supplied the slender prouisions of victuals that were within it, and the liberalitie of heauen auoyded the pēurie of water, raying so much in one night, as all the vessels and cisternes being full, they were deliuered from that paine: And in the meane while, the Count *Rinucci* with the Lord of *Plombyn* & other Capitaines, being stolne vpon the enemy by the way of *Mugelle*, enforced them to the chase, hauing vndertaken this enterpryse with a greater confidence in their diligence, then with sufficient strength. Besides, the Count *Cajazza* sent to *Cotignole* by the Duke of *Myllan*, with three hundred men at armes and a thousand footme, together with *Fraoasse* entertained by the same Duke, who was within *Furly* with a hundred men at armes, prepared to charge them vpo the backe. The consideration of these daungers, and to auoyde the harmes that threatned, they went and ioyned with the Duke of *Urbyn* then departed from the countrey of *Perouse*, and with othor Regiments of the *Venetians*, who altogether were bestowed betweene *Ranenna* and *Furly*, but with a very small hope of happy enterpryse, for that, besides the bandes of *Florentins*, there was in *Romagna* a strength of fise hundred men at armes, fise hundred crossebow shot, and a thousand footemen of the Duchy of *Myllan*, the impediment also which *Imolga* and *Furly* gaue to them, being of great importance.

But in this meane while *Paule Vitelli*, who after the taking of *Vicopisan* had remained there certaine dayes expecting prouisions necessarie that were to come, & continuing in one intention to cut from the *Pysans* the commoditie and meanes of succours, was gone to the enterpryse of *Librafatta*: And the easier to approach that part of the towne which was most weake, & to preuent the dispositiō of the enemy to inuade his armie much troubled with artillerie & cariage, he left the way which descends by the mountaines to the plaine of *Pysa*, and cutting by force of Pioners a new way through the mountaines, he tooke in his marching the same day, the bastillio of the *Mont Maior*, which the *Pysans* had built vpon the top of the mountaine, and so descended with great suretie into the plaine of *Librafatta*: where, hauing easily the day after, brought into necessitie to yeeld the bands of footemen that had the charge of *Poriso* & the old Castell, (two towers answering one another very neare *Librafatta*) he bestowed in the second tower and in other places, certaine peeces of artilleries to gouerne the towne, which was well manned and guarded, containing two hundred footemen of the *Venetians*: from these places he battered the wall both on high and below, and from the first day had hope to carie it: But after the wall was shaken with the artillerie, there fell by chaunce so great a part of it in the night, that the ruinous matter raised the rampier which was begun there about foure cubits: In so much as *Paule*, assaying in vaine three dayes together to mount vp by ladders, began to doubt much of the successe, the rather for that the armie receiued great harmes by a peece of artillerie which came from the towne by a low lowpe hole: But his industrie and vertue was aided by the benefite of fortune (without whose fauour great Capitaines are oftentimes deceived in their enterprises) for that with great shot out of the campe, the peece which beat them was broken, & one of the best Cannoniers within the place killed, the bullet passing through the towne: which accident so amazed those within the towne, being so commaunded by the artillerie of the second tower, that they durst not assemble to make head: but yeelded the fourth day, & not long after, the castell abiding some shot of the cannon, did the like: After the conquest of *Librafatta*, he deuised to make certaine bastillions vpo the hills thereabouts, but chiefly he erected one of capacitie to receiue great nūbers of men, about *Santa Maria in Castello*, called by the name of the mount, where was built the bastillion of *la ventura* commanding the

Librafatta taken by Paule Vitelli.

the countrey thereabouts. This and *Librafatta* being garded, trobled all commodities that might come to *Pisa* by the way of *Lucque* and *Petra sancta*, and brought besides, generall distresses to the state of the common cause of *Pisa*.

In this variation and fortune of things, the *Venetians* ceased not to study means by the which they might minister comfort to *Pisa*, sometimes with immediate succours, and sometimes by diuerting and drawing away the forces of the enemy: wherein they hoped to preuaile the rather for the differences which happened between the Duke of *Milan* and the Marquis of *Mantua*, entred of new into the appointments and directions of the Duke: who because he would not take away the title of Captaine general ouer all his companies from *Galeas de S. Senerin* more great with him by fauor then by vertue: had promised to the Marquis to honour him within three moneths with the place of Captaine generall in common, either with the Emperour, or with the Pope, or with king *Federike*, or with the *Florentins*; which being not performed by *Lodowike* at the terme promised, *Galeas* giuing many impediments against it, and adding to the wrong, many other difficulties vpon the payments of his entertainments; the Marquis determined to reenter into the pay of the *Venetians*, who practised to send him to the succors of *Pisa*, with three hundred men at armes: whereof *Lodowike* hauing a liuely doubt, and dreading by the propertie of his wit (sounding the bottome of things) the daungers that might grow by the losse of a man of that importance, declared him immediatly by the consent of *Galeas*, captaine to the Emperour and to him. But such is the mutabilitie of men mercenarie, that as their profession is to liue by occasions and diuisions of times and Princes: so, oftentimes they interpret small faults to great causes of their reuolt & change, holding it no iniustice, to disappoint those that breake the first promise with the, according to the example of this Marquis, who hauing already bene at *Venice*, and communicated with the Senate the great confidence he had to enter *Pisa* in despite of the *Florentine* bands, was reentered into their pay: and receiuing part of his pay in prest, he returned to *Mantua*, preparing himselfe to the expedition; which he had further aduanced, and put his companies to march, if the *Venetians* had vied the same diligence to dispatch him, which they did to entertaine him: but because they began to proceed slowly vpon the occasion of a new hope they had, that by certaine ancient fauorers of the *Medicis*, they should be able to obtaine *Bibiene*, a borough in the countrey of *Caentin*, they were of opinion that in regard of the difficulties to passe to *Pisa*, it would be more profitable to diuert then to succour. The Marquis taking his aduantage of these delayes, and iustly displeased with the forme of their dealings, returned eftsloones to the pay of *Lodowike* with three hundred men at armes and an hundred light horsemen, vnder the honour and title of Captaine to the Emperour and to him, reteining the money he had receiued of the *Venetians* vpon an account or reckening of payes due of old. The practise which was debated with the *Venetians*, was not without suspicion to the *Florentins*, who, besides their generall meanes of aduertisement, had certain dayes before, a particular intelligence from *Bologna*. But it often hapneth, that diligent and wise counsels be vnprofitable when they are executed with negligence and indiscreffion: for the commissary or commissioner whom they sent thither to assure them from such a danger, after he had apprehended such as he doubted most, and bare apparant guiltinesse of the practise, turning his dissembled faith into true meaning, and their offence into innocencie, he set them eftsloones at libertie, and in other things was so negligent, that he made the action easie to *Aluiano* appointed for the execution of this practise: for he hauing sent before certaine horsemen attired like victuallers, and they marching all night, were at the gate by the point of day, which they wonne and occupied without difficultie, for that the negligence of the Commissarie had not onely left it without gard, but also not set order that the gate should be opened later then was wont in times nothing dangerous. After the first troupes, followed with a readie speed and diligence, other bands of horsemen, who named themselves by the warres to be of the regiments of *Vitellus*. Assoone as the gate was possessed by the souldiers forreine, the parties of the conspiracie, drawing to commotion in their fauour, they embraced immediatly the whole towne, & were absolute maisters of the enterprise: at what time they were also encouraged with the presence of *Aluiano*, who arriuing the same day, and albeit had but a small proportion of soldiers (his nature being alwayes to follow the ayde and benefit of occasions, yea to preuent them with his incredible diligence) yet he went suddenly to assaile *Poppi*, the principall borough of that valley, but finding a resistance aboue his strength, he deuised to occupie the places nearest to *Bibiene*, albeit but litle and of no great importance. The countrey of

The *Venetians*
carefully suc-
cor the *Pisans*.

observation

Nota

Aluiano taketh *Bibienna*.

Casentin, amid the which runneth the riuer of *Arne*, is a countrey narrow, barren, and full of hills, seated at the foote of the *Alpes* of *Appennine*, at that time laden with snowes, for that the spring was but then begun: neuerthelesse it had bene a passage verie commodious to go to *Florence*, if the enterprise of *Poppy* had succeeded well to *Aluiano*, and no lesse conuenient to make entrie into the countreys of *Aretze* and *Valdarno*, countreys which for the plentie of great townes & boroughs, were of great importance to the estate of the *Florentines*: who taking occasion of the present perill, not to be negligent, reformished with a readie speed, all places needfull, breaking by that means the execution of a conspiracie pretended in *Aretze*: And studying about all other things to cut from the *Venetians* all meanes of new succours and supplies to the countrey of *Casentin*, they called from *Pysa* the Count *Riunccio*, & dispatched him speedily to occupy the wayes of the *Appennin* betweene *Valdibagna* and the strait of *S. Stephen*: who, albeit he disposed his regiment into troupes and companies as the nature of the place and present seruice required, yet was both their strength and industrie vnprofitable to let the Duke of *Urbino*, *Charles Ursin* and other Captaines from passing, whose strength in the sayd valley being seuen hundred men at armes, and six thousand foote men, with some bands of Lanck knights, commaunded all the countrey of *Casentin*, except a very few places, and eftsloones gaue a new life to the old enterprise to take *Poppy*: but their diligence was vnprofitable, and the whole action in vaine: By meanes whereof, the *Florentins* were compelled (according to the proper intention of the *Venetians*) to call backe from the affaires of *Pysa*, *Paule Vitelli* with his bands, leauing sufficient guard in the places of importance, and also in the bastillion of *Laurentura*. His comming into the countrey *Casentin*, caused to retire the *Venetians*, who were remoued to incampe the same day about *Pratto Vecchio*, and *Fraccasse* being ioyned with him (sent by the Duke of *Myllan* with five hundred men at armes & five hundred foote men in fauour of the *Florentins*) he brought presently into hard termes and difficulties the state of the enemies, who were disperfed into diuerse places, both for the incommoditie of the countrey, which was strait and narrow, and also for that (to the end they might haue free entry and going out of the countrey *Casentin*) they were compelled to keepe the wayes of *Vernia*, *Chiusa*, and *Montalona*, places very high vpon the *Alpes*: By which meane, being inclosed in that valley in a season very sharpe, they were without all expectation of aduauncement either there, or in any other place, the Count *Riunccio* being within *Aretze* with two hundred men at armes: And in the countrey *Casentin*, the enterprise of *Poppy* not succeeding in the beginning, and the name of the *Medici* bearing no further power or authoritie, for that the spirites and affections of the men of the countrey were against them, they had receiued many harmes of the paissants afore the comming of *Vitelli*. In which regard, together with an assured intelligence of his comming, and the marching of *Fraccasse*, they sent backe beyond the *Alpes*, one part of their cariage and attillerie, & drew them selues all together into one strength as the nature of the place would suffer. Against whom *Paule Vitelli* determined to vse his custome, which was (to carie the victory with more ease and surety) to beare no regard neither to the longnesse of time, nor to great paines & trauell, & much lesse to expences, esteeming it a better office in a generall, to proceede with all necessarie prouisions, then, for a desire of glory to make the victorie speedy, to put in perill the issue of things, and the whole armie in hazard. In so much as (touching the countrey *Casentin*) his counsell was, not to attempt suddenly any action vpon the places most strong, but in the beginning to make the enemye abandon the peeces most weake, and close the wayes of the *Alpes* and the straits of the countrey, with bastillions, guards, & intrenched wayes, with fortifications, both to cut off all succours and supplies, and to take from them all meanes of mutuall aides and rescue from one place to another: hoping that this forme and manner of proceeding would in the end breede occasions to oppresse them further, besides that the great numbers that were within *Bybienna* could not but consume, both by the incommoditie of horsemen and want of victuals. With this counsell, hauing recouered certaine places neare to *Bybienna*, for their qualitie but of small importance, but for their commodities very proper for his intention (with the which he looked in the end to preuaile) and winning euery day more & more, he stripped euery day many men at armes bestowed in diuerse peeces neare to *Bybienna*: And to cut off all wayes from the bands of the *Venetians* assembling beyond the mountes to minister rescue to their peoples, he deuised to command all the places about the mount *la Vernia*, & to intrench all the wayes thereabouts. In so much as many difficulties increasing to the enemies, together with necessities and want of victuals, many of them refused the campe, who stealing

away

away by sundry wayes, fell euery day into chaunge of distresse and fortune, sometimes vexed with troubleſome paſſages: and ſometime ſtripped by the paiſants, and oftentimes ſlaine by the ſoldiers. Theſe were the actions of armes betwene the *Venetians* and *Florentins*.

Now in theſe times, albeit the Embaſſadours of *Florence*, were departed from *Venice* without any hope of accord, yet was there holdē at *Ferrara*, a new practiſe of compoſition, moued by the Duke of *Ferrara* at the inſtance of the *Venetians*: Amongſt whom many of thoſe which held the greateſt authoritie in that Senat, no leſſe weary of the warre drawing with it increaſe of expences and difficulties, then now to be voyde of all hopes to preuaile further in the countrey of *Casentum*, deſired to ſhake off the ſtudies and trauels they ſuffered for the defence of *Piſa*, the cares and charges of that warre being greater without compariſon, then the commodities or fruits of the ſeruice, in which regard they were ready to omit no occaſion which might miniſter any honeſt colour to be diſcharged of it.

But whileſt the regions of *Italie* were in theſe afflictions for the quarels of *Piſa*, the new French king forgot not to make preparations to execute the conqueſt of *Myllan* the yeare following: Wherein he hoped to haue in his fauour and on his ſide the friendſhip of the *Venetians*, who; carried with an incredible hate againſt the Duke of *Myllan*, held ſtrait negociation with his maieſtie. No leſſe did ſolicite with the king in no litle ſecrecie & earneſtneſſe the Pope, who, excluded from the alliance of *Federike*, and embracing ſtill the deſire to the kingdome of *Naples*, was wholly conuerted into the hopes of the French, by whoſe meanes he ſought to obtaine for his ſonne the Cardinall of *Valence*, *Charlotta*, daughter to *Federike*, who was not yet married, but trained vp in the Court of *France*: Wherein the king nourishing him with ſome tokens of hope, for that he ſuppoſed the power ouer her marriage reſted in his maieſtie, the Cardinall (ioyning with the intention of his father) entred one morning into the conſiſtorie, and with an action in ſpeech and geſture farre from the office and modeſtie of his profeſſion, beſought his father and the whole colledge of Cardinals, that ſeeing he entred not into Prieſthood of his proper will and diſpoſition, that they would make it lawfull to him, to leaue the dignitie and the habite, to follow the exerciſe whereunto his deſtinie and inclination drew him. This requeſt being made eaſie in the Cardinals by purchaſe and corruptiōs, was not denied of his father, whoſe authoritie going with the infected partialities of the Cardinals, made his demaund lawfull, and ratified it: And ſo reſuming the habite of a perſon ſecular, he prepared ſpeedily to go into *Fraunce*, by whom the Pope ſent this comfort and promiſe to the king, to make it lawfull by the authoritie Apoſtolike to reſuſe his wife: And the king, for his part, became bound to ayde him (aſſoone as he had cōquered the Duchy of *Myllan*) to reduce into the obedience of the holy ſea, all the townes poſſeſſed by the Vickars of *Romagna*, and withall, to giue him preſently thirty thouſand ducats, vnder this colour, that he was conſtrained to intertaine a greater force for the guard of his perſon: as though to knit him ſelf with the French king were to ſtirre vp many of the Potentates in *Italie* to ſeek to hurt & oppreſſe him. For the executiō of theſe couenants, both the king began to make payment of the money, and the Pope committed the action of the diuorce to the Biſhop of *Setto* his *Nuncio*, and the Archbiſhops of *Paris* and *Roan*. And albeit in the trauerſe of the cauſe, the kings wife impugned the iudgement: yet in the end, holding for no leſſe ſuſpected the conſciences of the Iudges, then the might and greatneſſe of her aduerſarie, ſhe tooke comfort in her innocencie & diſclaimed her ſute, receiuing for the entertainment of her perſon, the Duchy of *Berry*, with thirtie thouſand frankes of reuenuē: and ſo the diuorce confirmed by ſentence of the Iudges, there reſted nothing elſe expected, for the diſpenſing and accompliſhing of the new marriage, but the comming of *Caſar Borgia*, lately of a Cardinall and Archbiſhop of *Valence*, become a ſoldier & Duke of *Valentinois*: the king hauing giue him a companie of an hundred Launces and twenty thouſand frankes penſion: and for his title of Dukedome he indued him with *Valence* a Citie of *Dauphine*, with twentie thouſand frankes of reuenuē: he embarked at *Oſtia* upon the galleys which the king ſent him, and arriued about the ende of the ſame yeare at the French Court, where he entred with a pompe and pride incredible, and brought with him the Cardinals hat for *George Amboiſe* Archbiſhop of *Roan*: who, hauing alwayes afore, participated in the daungers and fortunes of the king, held with him great authoritie, grace, and reputation. This new Duke albeit he was receiued of the king with great honour and all other offices of Court, yet his maner of dealing was not well liked in the beginning, for that, according to the direction & counſell of his father he denied that he had brought with him the Bull of diſpenſation, ho-

Meanes of
accord.

The doings of
the French king
during the
warre of Piſa.

The Cardinall
of Valence the
Popes ſonne
renounceth his
profeſſion.

Notable
transporta
tion.

Romische
diuorcement.

The Cardinall
of Valence
Duke of Va-
lentinois.

hoping that the desire to obtaine it would make the king more easie to assist his plots & purposes, then would do the remembrance that he had receiued it, vsing this reason, that there is nothing endureth so small a time as the memorie of benefits receiued, and the more great they be, the more commonly are they recompensed with ingratitude. But the bishop of *Sessa* reuealing the truth secretly to the king, who making it sufficient to Godward, that the Bull was dispatched and justified, consummated the mariage openly with his new wife, without making more demaunds for the Bull: the same being the cause that the Duke could no longer keepe from him the Bull autentike and justified: and finding out after by suttile inquirie, that the Bishop of *Sessa* had reuealed the matter, he caused him soone after by secret meanes to die of poison, the vnfortunate bishop not remembring that in matters of great estate betweene princes, he that discloseth his secret to another, worketh to himselfe the occasion of his death. The king being now in some stabilitie of minde by his new mariage, began to be carefull to renew leagues and amities with his neighbours, making presently a firme peace with the king of *Spaine*, who, bearing now no more regard to the things of *Italy*, called home all his Embassadors remaining there, except him that lay resident with the Pope, and readiourned *Consaluo* into *Spaine* with all his regiment, leauing to *Federike* all those peeces in *Calabria* which he had holden till that day: he had a great deale more trouble to accord with the king of *Romains*, who was newly descended in *Burgundy* by occasion of some commotions stirring there, being for that expedition, ayded with a round summe of money by the Duke of *Millan*, in whom preuailed much this kinde of perswasion, that either the warre which he should make vpon the French king, would turne him from the enterprise of *Italy*, or at least, if any agreement succeeded betweene them, he should be comprehended in it as the king of *Romains* had assuredly promised him. But at last, after much discourse of reasonings and meetings, the king made a newe peace with the Archduke, by the which were to be rendred vnto him the places of the countrey of *Artois*, a thing which to the end it might bring effect and profit to his sonne, the king of *Romains* consented to make truce with him for many moneths, without making mention of the Duke of *Millan*, against whom he seemed at that time much discontented, for that he had not alwayes satisfied his infinite demaunds of money. Lastly, the French king, ratifying the peace made with the king of England by his predecessor, reiected all solicitations and sutes made to him to receiue the Duke of *Millan* to any composition, who for his part albeit he protested large offers and offices, & vsed no lesse corruptions to induce him, yet all his industries and practises were vaine in the kings sight, who to lay a more sure foundation of the war pretended, sought how he might at one time, tie to him in suertie of amitie the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, and therefore he required with great importunities that ceassing to vex the *Pisans*, the *Venetians* would put *Pisa* into his hands: whereunto the rather to draw the *Florentines* to consent, he offered secretly to restore it to them within a short time. This practise being found full of many difficulties, & concurring in it diuerse ends and interests, was for many moneths debated with delayes: for that the *Florentines* (holding it necessary, that in that case they should make alliance with the French king, and fearing by the remembrance of the infidelity of *Charles*, the present businesse should suffer no lesse breach of promise in the king raigning) could not agree amongst themselves, nor consent in vnitie of opinion & counsell: wherein one reason of their disagreement was, that their City was vnquietly tossed betweene the ambition of the greatest Rulers, and the vnbridled liberty of the gouernment popular, and being reapposed (by reason of the warre of *Pisa*) vpon the Duke of *Millan*, the whole Citie was fallen into such generall diuision, that it was hard to deliberate in peace and quiet vpon matters of importance, some of the principall citizens desiring the victory to the French king, and others of the contrary, bearing their whole affections to the Duke of *Millan*. The *Venetians* also, notwithstanding all other difficulties had bene overcome which might hinder the accord, had yet determined not to consent to put *Pisa* into a third hand, hoping that for the regard of the repayment of their charges, & to leaue *Pisa* with lesse dishonor, they should obtaine better conditions in the negociation that was holden at *Ferrara*, which was vehemently solicited by *Lodowike*, both for feare least the deputation of *Pisa* falling to the French, both those common-weales would knit with the king: and also hoping that the controuersie being accorded for the profit of *Italy*, the *Venetians* would shake off & leaue there the malice they had to hurt him: which respects and consideration together with the practise that continued at *Ferrara*, displeased not a litle the French king: like as also the Pope, to make his profit of the trauels of others, sought indirectly to hinder it: for that standing in great place of

credit

credit and fauour with the king so farre as concerned the affaires of *Italy*, he hoped that making *Pysa* to diuolue by deputation to the king, he should in some sort participate with a plentiful share.

But as in matters of enterprise, wise-men will debate all things at large, and by how much the cause is weightie and may nourish occasion of many accidents and fortunes, by so much it concerneth the reputation of magistrates and counsellors, not onely to looke into the generall estate and nature of the businesse, but to examine euery particular circumstance with a full discourse of reason, wisdom, & foresight: euen so in these actions of practise and intelligences, they consulted at *Venice*, whether, if the king missed of his demaund for the deputation whereupon they had determined neuer to consent, they might enter confederation with him touching the warre against the Duke of *Myllan*, as the king with great importunitie had solicited, and offered them for the reward of the victory the city of *Cremona* and all *Guinaradadda*: an offer, which albeit was greatly desired of the all with no small ambition, yet the deliberation seemed to some of them to cary so many respects & considerations of importance, & that the power of a french king in *Italy* but could not bring daunger to their estate, that the matter was brought into the counsell of the *Pregati* (the chiefeest assemblie amongst them) & there was disputed with no small diuersitie of opinions and reasons: Amongst whom, one day wherein the last resolution should be set downe, *Anthony Grymany*, a man for his authority much reuerenced, and for his wisdom no lesse respected, perswaded the residue of the Senate in this sort.

The Venetians take counsell whether they should ioyne with the french king.

It is (my Lords) in the disposition of men, a custome vile and odious, to forget what they haue receiued of their friends, euen when they were at point to fall into their full ruine and desolation: but it is an vnthankfulnesse, too intollerable, and euen slanderous to nature and all naturall office, to requite benefites with iniuries, and make recompence to the merits & good wils of men, with conspiracies and harmes stretching to the spoyle of those by whose helps and ministrations they were earst preserued. And as in cases of harmes and domages, there is no man that can tell how sweete is the passion of reuenge, better then he that hath receiued the hurt: so, the despite of the iniurie drawing with it a desire of reuenge, I can not thinke that it is any iniustice to be reuenged of him that hath done the first wrong. If therefore (my Lords) you well consider the greatnesse of the good turnes which the Duke of *Myllan* hath receiued of our common weale, by the which in these later yeares, his whole estate hath receiued his whole protection and preseruacion: and of the contrary, looke thoroughly into the parts of his ingratitude trayning many grosse iniuries done to vs, to compels vs to abandon the defence of *Pysa*, whereunto he gaue vs the first suggestion & encouragement: I doubt not, but making a right collection of his dealings & behauiours past, you will iudge against his corrupt properties and conditions, & so not thinke it vnecessary to be reuenged of him, that hath not thought it dishonest to requite our friendships and well meaning, with iniuries and actions of conspiracie. There can not happen a greater infamy to this common weale, then by the tolleracion of so many apparant wrongs, to expresse to all the world that we are come to degenerat from the magnanimity of our elders, with whom this was an auncient and settled custome, that as often as they were discontented with offences, they neuer refuse to embrace any perill or daunger, to preserue the dignity, reputation, & honour of the name of the *Venetians*: and not without reason: for that the deliberations of common weales require not regards and ends abiect and priuate, and much lesse that all their counsels and actions stand only vpon respects to profite. But it is also conuenient that they aspire to ends more excellent and honourable, by the which may be increased their glory, & their reputation preserued: A matter which nothing makes so soone to be lost and defaced, as when there is occasion giuen to the world to thinke that there is neither valour, vertue, nor abilitie, to be touched with the remembrance of iniuries receiued, nor no readinesse shewed to be reuenged: an action not a litle necessary, not so much for the sweetnesse & pleasure in the reuenge, as for that the iustice and punishment of the offender, breeds such example to others, that they will haue lesse courage to attempt the like: of such consequence is that glory which is found to be ioyned with vtilitie, high and honourable deliberations alwayes declaring themselves full of commodities & profits. Thus one displeasure takes away from men many others, and often times, by one onely and short punishment, they are found to be deliuered from many and very long paynes. And yet if we consider the estate of the affaires of *Italy*, and the disposition of many great Princes against vs, together with the ambushes which *Lodowyk Sforze* dresseth continually against vs, we may knowe, that we are ledde to this deliberation, no

The oration of Anthony Grymany.

" lesse by the necessitie present, then in consideration of other things: for, *Lodowik* pushed on by his
 " naturall ambition equal with the hate he beares to this most excellent Senate, hath nothing in more
 " great care or study, then to dispose the minds of all the Potentates in *Italie* against vs, to set the king
 " of *Romains* in discontentment with vs, to make vs hateful to the whole nation of the *Germanes* &
 " lastly, he begins for the same effect to entertaine intelligence and practise with the Turke you see
 " already with what difficulties (by his meanes & working) yea almost without hope we sustaine the
 " defence of *Pisa*, and manage the warre in *Casentyn*: which if it be continued, it can not be without
 " heaping greater effects of daungers & disorders: and if it be abandoned without laying other fou-
 " dations to our affaires, it cannot be but with so great a diminution of reputation, that it ministreth
 " a wonderfull courage to who soeuer hereafter shall haue disposition to oppresse vs: and it cannot
 " be vnknowne to all your wisdomes; that it is more easie to oppresse him that begins to decline,
 " then him that stands able to iustifie himselfe in the full of his reputation: of which things the effects
 " wold clearely appeare to vs, & we shold also see our estate full of tumult & brutes of war, if *Lodo-
 " wik* were not kept in suspence by the feare he hath, least we ioyne with the french: A feare which long
 " time is not able to containe him: for who knoweth not that the king, made frustrate of the hope
 " which he hath that we will ioyne with him, will either attempt some other enterprise beyond the
 " mounts, or at least, ouercome with the perswasions & offers of *Lodowik*, by the meanes of his cor-
 " ruptions and fauours he hath in the french Court, will fall to some accord with him. So that in the
 " consideration & comparison of things, necessity to maintaine our auncient dignity and glory con-
 " straines vs to knit with the french king, but much more are we compelled by the aspect of the great
 " and imminent daungers, which can not be auoyded by other meanes: wherein it seemes that for-
 " tune followeth vs with a special fauour, seeing she brings to passe that we are sought to by so great
 " a King, whom it is a iust office in vs to seeke and beseech with humilitie; besides that he offreth
 " vs so great and honourable recompenses of the victorie, as by those helpes and meantes this
 " Senate may fashion great hopes, and employ their conceits in the plot and compassing of great
 " things, specially the victorie being to be gained with so great facilitie; and *Lodowik* so farre too
 " weake to resist two powers so mightie and well vniued. It is a vaine feare in my opinion to
 " doubt that the neighbour-hood of the French king when he shall haue conquered the Duchie of
 " *Myllan*, will be either suspicious or daungerous to vs: for that in iudgement and forecass it
 " may be scene, that many things which seeme now contrary, will then be chaunged into fauours
 " and good disposition towards vs, seeing that such an increase and amplitude of greatnesse to the
 " french Crowne will breede suspicion in the minds of all the principalities of *Italy*, and stir vp the
 " king of *Romains* with the regions of *Germany*, to be discontented that a french King should oc-
 " cupie so noble a member of the Empire: In so much as euen those whom we feare to ioyne
 " in vnitie with *Lodowik* to vex vs, would then desire (for their proper interests) to pre-
 " serue vs and be conioyned with vs. And (my Lords) being great throughout the world the
 " reputation of our dominions and iurisdictions, and no lesse great the renowne of our riches, and
 " most great the opinion confirmed with so many honourable examples of our vniou and constan-
 " cie to preserue our estate: what meane, what courage, what opportunitie hath the French King
 " to execute any inuasion vpon vs, vnlesse he haue conjunction with more, or at the least, with
 " the king of *Romains*: the vnitie and agreement of whom, seemes for many reasons so hard, that
 " it is too vaine, to occupie our minds either with the hope or feare of it? Besids, the peace which
 " now he hopes to establish with the Princes his neighbours beyond the mounts, will not be per-
 " petuall, seeing ieaousie, iniuries, and feare of his greatnesse will alwayes keepe waking all those
 " that hold him in hatred, or beare enuy to his glory. Lastly, looking into the properties of the
 " french natures, we neede not doubt but that they are more ready to get and conquere, then
 " discrete to preserue and keepe: yea, it is annexed to their destiny, to fall easily into the hatred of
 " their subiects by their pride and insolencies: vpon which reasons I make this conclusion, that
 " after they haue got *Myllan*, they will haue more neede to study how to preserue it, then anie o-
 " portunitie at all to occupie their thoughts with new enterprises, for that a iurisdiction newly
 " gotten, sayling in order and wise gouernement, doth rather weaken then make more mightie
 " him that hath got it: wherein we can not haue an example more fresh and notable, then the
 " victorie of the late King *Charles* against whom we were conuerted into extreame hatred,
 " the incredible desires and gladnesse with the, which hee was receiued into the kingdome of
 "

Naples:

Naples: So that the perils which may fall vpon vs at any time after the victorie of the French king, are neither so certaine, nor of such nature, as for the auoyding of them, we neede to remayne in a daunger present and of great consequence. And to reiect (for feare of daungers to come and vncertaine) so large and conuenient a part of the Duchie of *Myllan*, could not but merit imputation of pusillanimity & faintnesse of courage: A thing reprochfull euen in men priuat, but much more infamous to a common weale more mighty in glory, riches, and reputation, then euer was any (except the *Romaine* estate) in any part of the world. There happen seldome so fauourable and fit occasions, which being transitorie & fleeting, it is an office in wisdom & magnanimity to embrace them when they be offered. A wit curious & standing too long in considering of things to come, is often hurtfull and reproveable: for that the things of the world are subiect to so many and sundry accidentes, that rarely doth that come to passe which the wisdom of man seemes to haue fore-seene, & imagined would happen: and he that leaueth the benefit present, for feare of the daunger to come (if the perill be not certaine and neare at hand) findes himselfe to haue lost oftentimes (to his slaunder and displeasures) occasions full of profit and glory, and all for standing in feare of daungers which afterwarde turne to nothing. It is no great matter to suffer a mischief when we are sure of the remedie, and in this case, if there be any mischief other then such as we may discern before, which is neuer so greuous as when it chaunceth vpon the sodayne: yet I haue borne alwayes this iudgement, that that aduersity is honourable which brings with it prosperity, glory, and reputation. For these reasons (my Lordes) I wish vs to accept the confederation against the Duke of *Myllan*, for that it puts vs in iuertie for the present, protectes vs against all daungers to come, breedes our credite with all other Potentates, and offreth vs the possession of those great things, which another time we would be glad to get with intollerable expences and trauels, as well for their proper importance, as for that they be lynes to leade vs to high & honourable actions, drawing with them a meruellous augmentation of the glory and Empire of this flourishing common weale.

This counsell and forme of reasoning made no small impression in the minds of the others, who heard his reasons with iudgement, and fauoured his opinion, recommending much the liuely valour of his spirit, accompanied with a resolute loue to his countrey: Against him stood vp and reasoned *Melchior Tremisan*, singular for his wisdom, & excellent in all graces and gifts of the mind.

This hath bene alwayes (touching offences and wronges) a wise obseruation in countreys and common weales well gouerned, to make true conference betweene the nature and estate of the iniuries, and oportunities to reuenge: not that those wise-men heheld altogether the proprietie and manners of the wrongs, (for that belongs to passion) but withall they vled to foresee whether the hurt in reuenging would not exceed the harmes already happened by the trespass committed, a forme of dealing which caried not their affections afore their wisdoms, but bridling the readinesse of nature, they oftentimes found more security to dissemble any iniury then to reuenge it. And albeit it can not be denied that the iniuries done by *Lodowik Sforce* to our common weale, are many and great, and offend much our dignity: yet, by how much they are great, and by their property offend our reputation, by so much more belongs it to our wisdom to moderate our iust anger with maturity of iudgement & consideration of the publike interest & benefit: for that, for men to commaund ouer themselues and vanquish their proper passions, is so much the more commendable, by how much lesse often it happeneth in vse, and by how much more iust are the occasions that kindle that anger or any other humane affection. And therefore (my Lordes) it appertaineth to this Senate to the which is ascribed of all other nations the true parts of wisdom & discreffion, & who not long since made profession to haue deliuered *Italy* from the french: it is our office I say to consider well not onely of the infamy that will rise, if now through our occasion they prepare their returne, but also to looke carefully into the daungers that may threaten vs if the Duchy of *Myllan* fall into the power of the French King: perils which if we can not consider of our selues, let vs call to memory what feares were brought vpon vs by the conquest which the late King *Charles* made of *Naples*, of whom we held not our selues assured, but when we conspired against him almost with all Princes Christians. But in true comparison, there is great difference between the one daunger and the other: for, the late king, naked almost of all the vertues of a king, was a Prince more in shadow & shew then in body & substance: & as the kingdom of *Naples*, so far removed from *Fraunce*, held his forces so deuided, that they weakened more then strengthened his

The counsell of
Melchior Tremisan.

M. Monable

power, so that conquest, (for the feare of their estates, so neare neighbours to the realme of *Naples*) procured him two great enemies, the Pope & the king of *Spaine*, in whom touching the one are occupied for the present many diuerse intencions, and the other made weary with the things of *Italy*, will make him selfe no partie without very great necessitie. But the new king, both for his proper vertue is to be feared, and for his wise proceeding in this action to be doubted: as, for the estate of *Myllan* bordieth so neare *Fraunce*, that in respect of commoditie to succour or feskew it there is no hope to driue him backe, but by setting all the world in a stir. In so much, that we being neighbours to so great a power, shalbe sure to be exercised in trauels and perplexities both in peace and warre: Intimes of peace, subiect to expenses and suspitions, and during the warres, so entangled with daungers, that we shall find many difficulties to make our owne defence. And sure I can not but maruell much at him that hath reasoned afore me, who on the one side makes no feare of a king of *Fraunce* being Lord ouer the Duchie of *Myllan*, and on the other side holds for terrible *Lodowyk Sforce*, a Prince for power much inferior to vs, and with whom this hath bin alwayes a custome, either with fearefulness or couetousnes, to put in daunger all his enterprises: he alledged feare of succours which others might make to him, as though it were easie, in so great diuersitie of spirits & wills, & in so generall varietie of conditions, to make such an vnion: or rather, as if the absolute concord and vnion of a great and strong power, were not more to be feared, then the power of many, which as it hath diuers ends & motions, so doth it bring forth actions diuerse & discordant: he seemes to haue a confidence, that in those, who for hate and many other reasons, desire our embasement, wold be found that wisdome to vanquish disdaineth & couetousnes, which we find not in our selues to retain his ambitious thoughts. Besides, I know not why we may make promise, that the ieaiousies and new and auncient disdaineth against the french king (aspiring to the conquest of *Myllan*) may do more on the behalfe of the king of *Romains* and the *Almain* nation, then the rooted and settled hatred which both they beare to vs, by reason of so many townes which we hold appertaining to the Empire & house of *Austriche*: Neither can I see vpon what ground or discourse of reason the king of *Romains* will more willingly ioyne with vs against the french, then take part with the french quarrell against vs. No, rather the vnion of the barbarous & perpetuall enemies to the name of the *Italians*, carieth a more likelihood of truth & seems more proper to make a pray: for that being vnited with him, he may rather hope to be victorious ouer vs, then ouer him if he were knit with him. Besides these, such were his actions during the league past, and when he came into *Italy*, that he left no reason why we should so much desire to haue him estfoopes reunited with vs. I deny not, but *Lodowyk* hath done vs many iniuries, but euen so it is farre from countell and wil dome, for a passionate desire of reuenge, to put in perill the whole estate of things. And seeing times keepe their certaine measure and course, and euery time is enabled to his proper function, it is neither shame nor ill pollicie to respect those accidents and occasions to reuenge, which a common weale may very well attend and tarie for. No, rather it is infamous and merited imputation, to be caryed with affection, and prester the suggestion of disdaineth afore the oportunitie of the time: and in matters of state, it is no small flaunder, when rashnes and indiscreffion are accompanied with damage and generall harmes. No man will say, that for such reasons, we were moued to make an enterprise so rash, but all the world will iudge, that the desire to haue *Cremona* hath pushed vs forward, the same giuing cause of question to euery one, what is become of the auncient wisdome and grauitie of this Senate: And iustly may all the world maruell, that we are falne into the same rashnesse to be guides to the french king into *Italy*, into the which our selues wondred so much that *Lodowyk Sforce* ranne so farre. Great is the profit of *Cremona*, and the place very conuenient for many respects: but we ought to consider whether it be not a greater losse to haue a king of *Fraunce* Lord of the state of *Myllan*: yea, we ought to consider whether our greatnesse and reputation be stronger in *Italy*, when of our selues we are chiefest and most absolute there, or when there is in the heart of the same region a Prince so mighty and so neare our neighbour. We haue occupied at other times with *Lodowyk*, both disagreements and friendships, as estfoones may happen dayly betweene him and vs, neither is the difficultie of *Pisa* such but there may be applied some remedy, and much lesse doth it deserue, that for it we make vs subiect to so great daungers: But hauing the french to our neighbour, we shalbe alwayes trauelled in discordes, for that occasions will dayly arise in the diuersity of our minds, in the haughtie pride of the french nation, in the hatred wherein Princes do alwayes pursue common weales, & in the ambition

Notable

bition which the most mightie haue to oppresse the most feeble and weake: for which regard, not
 onely the respect of *Cremona* can not allure me, but it doth euen astonish me, for that in it is ag-
 gravated the occasion of the french king to vex vs, which will be so much the more set forward
 by those of *Myllan*, by how much lesse they can suffer *Cremona* to be dismembred from the
 Duchie. And the same occasion will also stirre vp the *German* nation and the king of *Romaines*,
 for that *Cremona* and *Guia adadda* be also members of the iurisdiction of the Empire. At the least
 our ambition would not be so much blamed, and we should not search with new conquests to
 get vs every day new enemies, and to make vs suspected to euery one. By reason whereof it
 must needs come to passe in the ende, that either we must be souereigne and maisters ouer all,
 or scourged and beaten of all, and which of these two is soonest to happen, it is easie to consider
 by such as take not pleasure to beguile themselves: The wisdom and grauitie of this Senate by
 how much it is knowne and published through *Italie* and all the world, by so much more would
 the action be infamous and slaunderous, to defile our doings with a deliberation so rash and dan-
 gerous; seeing, to be carried with passion against our proper profit, is nothing else but lightnesse,
 and to esteeme more daungers that be litle then such as be great, can not but hold of folly and
 indiscretion: which two things being directly contrary to the wisdom and grauity of this Se-
 nate, I hope you will set downe a resolution so moderate and well aduised, as both your reputation
 shall be preferred, and your custome not broken.

This counsell, albeit was sustained with so many mighty reasons, and fauored of many of the
 principall and most wise of the Senate, was not for all that of such force, but that the contrary ad-
 uise caried the resolution, as well for respect of hatred, as for desire to beare rule, two things which
 leade men easily to dangerous deliberations: for, in the hatred which euery one had conceiued a-
 gainst *Lodowik*, was neither measure nor limit, and no lesse was the desire to adioyne to the iurisdic-
 tion of *Venice* the citie of *Cremona* with all the countrey about it, and all *Guia adadda*: an enlarge-
 ment of no small value, for that it yeelded yearly a reuenue of an hundred thousand Duckats: but
 more to be esteemed for this oportunitie, for that embracing by this increasement almost all the
 riuer of *Ogla*, they stretched out their limits euen to *Pau*: they amplified also their iurisdiction
 along the riuer of *Adda*, and approaching within fiftene myles of the city of *Myllan*, and some-
 what nearer the cities of *Plaisance* and *Parma*, it seemed in their coniectures that they had the way
 opened to occupie all the Duchie of *Myllan*, as often as the French King was either caried with
 new thoughts, or troubled with great impediments on the other side the Mountes: which they
 hoped would happen within short time, both for the nature of the Frenchmen, who are more apt
 to get then able to keepe: & also for that their common weale is perpetuall, where, in the king-
 dome of *Fraunce*, it often happeneth by the death of kings, that things deuolue to alteration, and
 gouernements and counsels chaunge. They brought also into consideration the difficulties of the
 french to continue the amities and good wils of their subiects, no lesse for the generall diuersitie of
 bloud, then for the difference of the french manners from the customes of the *Italians*: So that that
 sentence estoones confirmed by the voyces of the greatest number, they sent to their Embassadors,
 resident with the king to conclude the confederation vpon the offers they made, not speaking in
 any respect of the affaires of *Pysa*.

This exception of *Pysa* did not a litle trouble the king, for he hoped by the oportunitie of that
 deputacion, to vnite the *Venetians* and *Florentins* with him: and knowing that the *Venetians* were
 inclined to withdraw themselves by composition from the defence of *Pysa*, he held it but reasona-
 ble, that in that action they should rather haue regard to him, to make easie the enterprise of *Myllan*,
 as a thing nourishing common benefit to them both, then that hauing better conditions in
 the composition, to be the causers that the *Florentins* should remaine ioyned with *Lodowik Sforce*,
 by whose meane the king knowing that the Negociacion continued at *Ferrara*, was in no litle
 doubt, that he should not haue on his side either the *Florentines* or the *Venetians*, if *Lodowik*
 had power to bring the conference of *Ferrara* to a good conclusion. And the king wauering in
 many varieties and fancies of mind, and iudging that to be a resolution both vaine & ill aduised,
 which should leaue in neutralitie and doubt both the one and other common weale, and lastly be-
 ing moued not a litle with the distrust which they expressed to haue against him: he began to in-
 cline rather to conclude the peace which continually was solicited with the king of *Romaines*, bea-
 ring this condition, that it should be lawfull to the one to make warre vpon *Lodowijk Sforce*, and

Conclusion of
the league be-
tweene the
French king
and the state
of Venice.

to the other to vex the *Venetians*. In which disposition of minde, he made answer by the deputies which debated in his name with the Embassadors of *Venice*, that he refused to accord with them, if for their parts, they gaue not perfection to the deputation of *Pysa*, wherein he had solicited them before: And in his owne person he assured the *Florentin* Embassadors that he would neuer make other agreement with the *Venetians*. But the Duke *Valentinoys* and the Agents of the Pope with the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vincula, Triunlice*, and the other *Italians*, to whom appertained many particular respectes and interests touching this warre, would not suffer him to remaine constant in that deuise: They perswaded him with many & great reasons, that waighing with the power of the *Venetians*, the oportunities they had to annoy the Duke of *Myllan*, his maiestie could not follow a counsell more hurtfull, then to suffer himselfe to be depriued of their aydes and succors, for feare to loose the fauour of the *Florentins*, from whom, by reason of their own troubles, and that they were farre removed from the Duchy of *Myllan*, could be drawne no great profite or commoditie to his purposes. Besides, in that action, the occasion would made easie to *Lodowyke*, not onely to forsake the fauours of the *Florentins*, but also in reconciling him selfe to the *Venetians* (a matter which had bene the very spring and originall of all the disagreements betweene him and that state) to be effsoones reunited with them: by which alteration if there were no other meane to discerne what difficulties and impediments might ensue to the affaires of his maiestie, at the least, the experience of things past giues sufficient warning of it: for that albeit in the league that was made against king *Charles*, the names of so many kings were concurrant, yet the onely forces of the *Venetians* & *Lodowike*, tooke from him *Nouare*, and alwayes defended the Duchy of *Myllan* against him: They told him that it was a counsell dangerous & deceitfull, to make a foundation vpon the vnitie with *Maximilian*, in whom the world had seene euen till that day far greater attempts & dispositions to enterprises, then were his meanes and wisdom to colour them: But if his actions brought forth more happy successe then in times past, it ought to be well considered, how euil would agree with the intentions of the king, the augmentation of so great and perpetuall an enemy to the crowne of *France*. With these reasons they so altered the inclination of the king, & changed his former counsels, that, without speaking further of *Pysa*, he consented and concluded the confederation with the *Venetians*, wherein was agreed, that at the selfe same time that his maiestie with a mightie armie should assaile the Duchy of *Myllan*, they for their parts, should do the like vpon their frontiers: That the king hauing conquered the residue of the Duchy, *Cremona* with all *Guardadda* should be for the *Venetians* except foure furlongs along the riuer of *Adda*. Lastly, that after the king had conquered the Duchy of *Myllan*, the *Venetians* were bound to defend it for a certaine time and with a certaine proportion of horsemen and footemen, the king promising to do the like office for *Cremona*, and all the rest that they posselt in *Lumbardie* euen vnto the marshes of *Venice*. This confederation was so secretly contracted, that *Lodowike* for many moneths could not vnderstand, whether they had made betweene them a league onely for their common defence as from the beginning had bene published both in the French Court and at *Venice*, or whether there was any article that touched him, or made mention to manage warre against him: Such were the respects to keepe the couenants of this league secret, that the Pope him selfe notwithstanding his strait familiaritie with the king, could haue no certaine aduertisement of them, but very late.

The league thus concluded with the *Venetians*, the king (without speaking further of *Pysa*) propounded to the *Florentines* conditions much differing from the former: by which occasion, accompanied with the displeasures which the *Venetians* did to them, they were effsoones and further constrained to make their stay vpon the Duke of *Myllan*, by whose aids as their affaires continually prospered in the countrey of *Casentyn*, so the enemies receiuing many hurts by the soldiers & peasants, and suffering want of victuals and forrage for their horses of seruice, were retired within *Bybienna* and other small places, forgetting a necessary diligence to commaund the straits of the *Apennine*, to the end the way of their succours might be kept open, and the meane more assured (vpon the first necessitie) to abandon the countrey of *Casentyn* with lesse damage. By reason whereof *Charles Vrsin* was bestowed with his men at armes, and an hundred footmen, for the gard of the strait of *Montalona*, and a litle more below, *Alutano* defended the passage of *La Vernia*. But on the other side, *Paule Ustelli* proceeding discretely and substantially according to his custome, after he had so restrained them into straits and hard termes, laboured to compell them to abandon the countrey of *Montalona*, with intention afterwards to drue such as kept the passage of *La Ver-*

nia to do the like, to the end that the regiment of the *Venetians* being wholly penned in *Bybienna*, and enuironed on all sides with enemies and hils, they might either be the easilier vanquished, or at least, be driuen to consume them selues: seeing their numbers were already much diminished, for that besides those that were stripped here and there, there were departed from the army at sundry times, both for want of victuals, and ill surtie of their lodgings, more then fiftene hundred horsemen with many troupes of footemen, who, being set vpon in the passage of the *Alpes* by the païsants, receiued great harmes. In the end the consideration of these difficulties constrained *Charles Ursin* with his regiment to abandon the strait of *Montalona*, not without daunger to be put to the chase, for that many of the *Florentin* bands (to whom his distresses were knowen) and companies of païsants embracing the present occasion, set vpo them on the way: yet the *Ursins*, hauing already taken the aduantage of the strait, albeit, they lost a great part of their baggage, performed notwithstanding such defence, that the cōpanies that followed the chase in disorder, tasted of their valour. The example of *Charles Ursin* (in regard of the same difficulties) was followed by those of *La Verma* and *Chiusa*, who forsaking that passage, were retired to *Bybienna*, wherein were inclosed the Duke of *Urbino*, *Aluiano*, *Astor Bailon*, *P. Marcell* superintendent to the *Venetian* companies, and *Iulian de Medicis*, who were referred for the guard of that place (their only fortresse in the countrey *Casentin*) with a strength of three score horses & seuen hundred footemen. In which distresse they were nourished with no other cōfort then a hope in the succors which the *Venetians* prepared, iudging that for the regard of honor, but much more to haue better conditions by agreement, it imported them much not to abandon wholly the enterprize of the countrey of *Casentin*. And as for that cause, the Count *Persilane* mustred at *Rauenna* with great diligence the bands appointed for that rescue, whereunto he was sollicitated by the perpetuall complaints of the Count of *Urbino* and the rest, who signifying that their miserie and want of victuals had brought them to such estate of necessitie, that without speedy succour they should be constrained to offer composition with the enemy: euen so, of the contrary, the Duke of *Mulan* and the Captaines that were in the countrey of *Casentin*, nourished a speciall desire to preuent that succour by the expugnation of *Bybienna*, demanding, for that ende to be sent foure thousand footemen to ioyne with the strength of the campe. But their desire found many impediments, both for that in that countrey cold and full of hils, the nature of the time hindred much all actions and exercise of warre, & also there was no franke readinesse in the *Florentins* to furnish such prouision, partly being ouerweariied with the long and intollerable expences growing dayly to increase, and renouation: And partly for that in the Citie (not in great stabilitie & quiet) was disclosed a new dissention, some of the Citizens fauouring *Paule Vuelli* for his late merites in the warre; and others desiring to raise the Count *Rinuocce* for that he had bene an ancient & faithfull Captaine to their common weale, and had parentage of great authoritie within *Florence*: he lost the hope to manage the first place or dignitie in their seruice, by his misfortune at *S. Reall*, & very vnwillingly did he endure to haue that degree of reputation transferred to *Paule Vitelli*: & therefore leading his regiment in the countrey *Casentin*, he expressed no disposition nor readinesse to aduance the enterprises, by the which might grow increase of reputation to him whom he had desire to embase. These difficulties also became the greater by the naturall propertie of *Paule*, who seeking to haue his payes before the time, could not agree with the *Florentin* Commissioners, and who oftentimes in the deliberation and expeditio of affaires, possessed him selfe of more authoritie then seemed reasonable, & had euen at that time without the priuie of the superintendents, given to the Count *Urbino* being sicke, safeconduite to repasse in suretie out of the countrey *Casentin*: vnder the warrant of which safeconduit, *Iulian de Medicis* was also gone with him, to the speciall displeasure of the *Florentins*, who occupied this reason, that if they had made difficultie to suffer the Count *Urbino* to passe, his desire to go to recouer his health in his owne dominions, would haue constrained him to agree to the deliuerie of the bands that were within *Bybienna*: but much more did they complaine that *Iulian de Medicis* should communicate in such a liberall fauour, expressing aforetime manifest action of rebellion, & euen then was in armes against his countrey. Those differences hindred much that at *Florence* they neither beleueed counsels, nor agreed to the demaundes of *Paule Vitelli*, but much more did they proue impediments to the proceedings of the warre, which was not continued with his reputation towards the people, for that not onely many executions of importance were performed more by the païsants then by the soldiers, but also, considering the great opinion

they had of his valour, they promised to them selues with a quicker expedition, the victorie of the enemies: wherein perhaps (according to the nature and iudgement of peoples) they attributed to the want of will, that which with more equitie they might haue referred to want of power, hauing regard to the sharpnesse of the time, and want of things necessarie. By these occasions (hurtfull to their affaires) and the strength of the foure thousand footemen being too slow in coming, the Count Pettillano had leasure enough to come to the borough of *Elcie*, appertaining to the Duke of *Vrbino*, & very neare the limites of the *Florentins*: A place where were before *Charles Ursin* and *Peter de Medicis*, and where were assembled all the bands to passe the *Appenin*, whose strength and order (as best agreeable to that countrey desert and rude) stood more vpon footemen then horsemen, and the most of them armed after the light horsemen. This was the last strength which the *Venetians* made in the countrey *Casentin*: and to breake it, *Paule Vitelli* leauing about *Bybienna* a certaine forme of a siege & sufficient guard in the straits and passages most necessary, marched with the residue of his armie to the strait of *S. Stephen*, (a towne of the *Florentins* seated at the foote of the *Alpes*) to withstand the enemies descending from the hills: But as in matters of daunger, discreffion and counsell are remedies no lesse assured then courage and execution: so, the Count Pettillano, hauing before him, the *Alpes* loaden with snowes, and at the foote of the *Alpes* so great an impediment, together with the strait passages very troublesome to passe, euen when the season is faire: was content to forbear to descend or passe, notwithstanding with great complaints he was perswaded to it by the Senate of *Venice*, perhaps more vehement to push him forward, then able to foresee the perils. But albeit they propounded to him diuerse plots and meanes to retire *Paule* from whence he was, and that already in *Ualdbagna* was done some enterprize of vexation vpon the peeces of the *Florentins*, yet he stood resolute in his determination, and would not stirre in any sort.

The Duke of
Milan made
astonished
with the
league, solici-
ted an accord
betweene the
Venetians and
the Florentins.

But by how much more coldly the warre proceeded, by so much more hotly were recontinued the solicitations and practises of accord, equally desired of both the one and other partie for diuerse regards, and no lesse followed and solicited by the Duke of *Milan*: the reason and reappoynt of the league made betweene the French king and the *Venetians*, made him somewhat amazed, and withall drew him to dispositions of hope; that the accord being made, the *Venetians* would haue lesse desire to the passage of the French, perswading him self also, that at the least (contenting them selues in that regard with his good will and with his workes) they would be somewhat appaised, and cut off the rigour of their indignation conceiued against him. Therefore interposing amongst them a meane by *Hercules Deste* his father in law, he constrained the *Florentins* to condescend somewhat to the desire of the *Venetians*, not so much with authoritie (for they seeing into his intentions, began to hold him for suspected) as with letting them know, that if the agreement went not forward, his necessities would compell him, for the feare he had of the french king, to turne to their disfauour, and to take from them either all his men of warre, or at least the best part of his trained bandes: The matter was debated many moneths at *Ferrara* where, after many difficulties disputed, *Hercules* was required by the *Venetians*, to come in person to *Venice* for the more facilitie of the expedition, whereunto he made some resistance: but much more the *Florentins*, for that they knew that the *Venetians* desired that a cōpromise might be made in the person of the Duke of *Ferrara*, against the which they stood: & were very far of. But such were the importunities of *Lodowike Sforce*, that at last he consented to go thither; & the *Florentines* to send with him *Iohn Baptista Rodolpho*, and *Paule Antony Sodorny*, two of the chiefest and wisest Citizens of their common weale. The first thing that was disputed vpo at *Venice*, was to know if *Hercules* as Arbitrator would put an end to the controuersie, or as a friend indifferent, would labour to bring them to accord, interposing betweene the parties according to their order of proceeding at *Ferrara*, where they were not farre of from resolving the articles most principall and importing. The *Florentines* desired that the custome begun should be obserued, knowing that *Hercules*, in as much as might depend vpon his arbitrement, would hold more account of the greatnesse of the *Venetians* then of them, and pronouncing the sentence at *Venice*, he should be so much the more compelled to beare respect to the *Venetians*: And yet though he would do nothing of him selfe, they were assured the Duke of *Milan* would induce him, for that he desired greatly to make knowne to the *Venetians*, that he had serued their turne in that action. And albeit many difficulties were almost resolved at *Ferrara*: yet both in their last perfection, and in many particularities, the power

power of the arbitrator was not litle, who, notwithstanding the cōpromise would yet haue a liberty to depart from that which was first debated. On the other side, the *Venetians* were at a point, if the cōpromise went not forward, to passe no further, not so much for that they were promised more in the arbitrator then the *Florentines*, as for that there were risen amongst them many contrarieties & objections touching the present matter: for, albeit the greatest part of them were weary with the intollerable expences that increased dayly with a very small hope of profit, which not a litle aduanced their dispositions to agreement: yet were there many euen in the Senate, who for their experience not so wel stayed as the rest, and for their motions of youth, more forward then would counsell or reason, would not consent to agreement, vnlesse the libertie of the *Pysans* were wholly preserued, or at least vnlesse that part of the countrey remained still to them which they possessed when they tooke them into their protection: To which opinion they ioyned many reasons, but chiefly they vrged a promise ratified by decree publike to the *Pysans* to protect their liberty, which they could not breake without apparant blemish to their cōmon honours, and perpetuall staine to the reputation of their common weale. Some others, made easie touching all other articles, were immoderate in the quantity of the expences, which they required to be repayed by the *Florentins* in abandoning of *Pysa*: A request which they commended to be very reasonable, for that it was no lesse iust for the *Florentins* to make recompence of the charges, then for the *Pysans* to make restitution of that they held in possession. But the chiefe wisdom and authoritie of the Senate, had a counsell contrary: who, founding more deeply the estate of things, preferred still with many importunities the consideration of the great charges, wherein as good stewardest of the treasures of their common weale, it was a iust office in them all, to be carefull and circumspect: They saw nothing but dispaire in the defence of *Bybienna*, and lesse possibilitie to sustaine any longer the generall quarell of *Pysa*, without increase of new troubles and charges, for the many difficulties that still appeared, as well in succouring them, as to diuert and draw away the forces of the enemies, the *Florentins* hauing objected impediments farre aboue their expectation in the beginning. Besides, they considered that albeit the enterprise against the Duke of *Myllan* might be supposed easie, yet the French king, being not pacified with the king of *Romains*, and standing subiect to diuerse impediments ordinarily hapning at home, might by many aduentures be hindred and made slow to prosecute the warre: And though he should put it to action, yet in the businesse of warre, many daungers vnlooked for & difficulties no lesse intricate, may chaunce dayly, either to the vtter disappointing of his purposes, or at least to alter his disposition. But aboue all, trembling at the great preparations which the sayd *Baiazet Ottoman* made both by sea & land to inuade those parts towards *Greece*, their resolution was, (seeing their necessitie was more mighty then their inclination) that it was both iust, reasonable, and necessary, rather to consent that honestie in some part should giue place to vtilitie, then, in standing obstinately vpon their promise and faith giuen, to perseuer & nourish as it were a perpetuall interest in troubles, charges, and perplexities. And because they were well assured that these conclusions would be hardly consented to in their counsels, (albeit they knew from the beginning that of necessitie they must be allowed) they had (whilest the negotiation was at *Ferrara*) wisely procured, that by the counsell of the *Pregati* should be giuen fulnesse of authoritie touching the affaires of *Pysa*, and the resolution of the accord, to the counsell of the *Duci*, which is a counsell compounded of a lesser number, none being called vnto it but such as be of greatest grauity and authoritie, which contained the most part of those that most desired the accord. But now the solicitation continuing at *Venice*, and being in no trust to be able to dispose the counsell of the *Pregati* to consent to the articles which had bene debated at *Ferrara*, and knowing withall, that if onely the counsell of the *Duci* condescended to them, there might rise occasions to charge those that assisted it: they solicited that the cōpromise might be made, hoping that touching the iudgement that might come of it, men would rather transferre the imputation to the arbitrator then to them, and that more easily would that be ratified which had bene already published in sentence, the that which should be consented vnto with the party entreating by way of accord: So that after those things had bene debated for certayne dayes, (the Duke of *Myllan* threatening the *Florentins* refusing to compromit, to withdraw immediatly all his cōpanies out of *Tuscan*) there was a free and absolute compromise for eight dayes in the person of *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, who, after he had well considered of all things, pronounced the sixt day of Aprill, that within eight dayes next following the *Venetians* and *Florentins* should cease to offend one another, and that by

the next S. Markes tyde all the bands, succours, & aydes of either parties, should retire and returne into their countreys: that the *Venetians* at the same time should make issue out of *Pisa* and all the places thereabouts, all their regiments of soldiers, which they intertained there: That they should abandon *Bybienna* with all other peeces taken vpon the *Florentins*, and they to pardon to those of *Bybienna* all their faults & trespasses: That for the recompence of all charges (which the *Venetians* assured to amount to eight hundred thousand duckats) the *Florentins* should be bound to repay them in twelue yeares, fiftene thousand duckats by the yeare: That all the offences should be pardoned to the *Pisans*, to whom should be sufficed to exercise by sea and land all sorts of offences and marchandise, and to remaine in their guard all the fortresses of *Pisa* and those other places which were holden by them the day of the sentence: but vnder this charge, that if they bestowed garrisons of the countreymen or others, that they should not be persons suspected to the *Florentins*, & that they should be payed of the reuenues which the *Florentins* should collect of *Pisa*, increasing neither the numbers of men, nor the payes accustomed afore the rebellio: That if the *Pisans* thought good, they might deface and dismantle all those citadels and fortresses of the proper countrey of *Pisa*, which had bene recovered by the *Florentins* for the time the *Venetians* held them in protection: That within *Pisa* the first instances of causes ciuile should be iudged by a Podesstat straunger chosen by the *Pisans* of a place not suspected of the *Florentins*, that the Captaine chosen by the *Florentins* should not meddle but with causes of appellation, & haue no power to proceede in any case criminall concerning blood, banishment, or confiscatiō, without the counsell of a superintendent to be chosen by *Hercules* or his successors, and of fise Doctores of law which the *Pisans* should name to him: That the goods moueable & vnmoueable occupied by the one and other partie, should be restored to whom they appertained, not making restitution of the frutes, of the which euery one was absolved: That in ali other things, they should suffer the *Florentins* to enioy fully their rights in *Pisa* and the territorie, forbidding the *Pisans*, that neither for the regard of the citadels and fortresses, nor for other cause whatsoeuer, they should practise or conspire any thing against the common weale of *Florence*. This sentence was no sooner published at *Venice*, but there were heard through the Citie great complaints euen of the nobilitie, against the Duke of *Ferrara*, and those speciall Senators which had managed the whole action: The most of them, construing great blame to that faith should be broken to the *Pisans*, with so many infamies to the maiestie of the common weale, complained vehemently, that the article touching the expences of the warre was past ouer with so light consideration. The discourse of this agreement inflamed not a litle the Embassadors of the *Pisans*, who, being before the sentence cunningly entertained by the *Venetians* in many promises and hopes, that vndoubtedly they should remaine in full libertie, and that not onely the residue of the countrey should be adiudged to them, but haply also the port of *Lyuorne*, made the resolution so much the more grievous to them, by how much the effectes fell out contrary to the perswasions wherein they had bene nourished. In so much as they began with publike cryes to appeale to the equitie of the Senate, to whom they complained, that the promises to protect their libertie so oftentimes reiterated by the Senate, vnder the assurance of whose faith they had not onely reiected the amities of all other Potentates, but also refused farre better conditions offered by the *Florentins*, were vnworthily defiled and broken, their securitie being not provided for but with vaine apparāces: for, what degree of safety was that, or how could they be assured that the *Florentins* reestablishing their magistrats within *Pisa*, and their marchants and subiectes returning to trafficke there, & on the other side their paisants, who had serued as a principall member in the defence of the Citie, retiring to their houses and farmes would not bring vnder their iurisdiction by some propertie of fraude, the whole gouernment of their towne? hauing withall so many oportunities, but chiefly the guard and commaundement of the gates. And how could there but lurcke intention of infidelitie vnder that suerty, where we holding the fortresses, & such as were appointed to the guard of them, were to be payed by the *Florentins*, & not to be lawfull in a time so doubtfull, to bestow a stronger guard then had bin accustomed in seasons peaceable and assured. The pardon for the trespasses committed, was likewise a thing vaine, seeing the *Florentins* had good meane to destroy them by wayes iudiciall and by iudgements: for that the marchandises and other goods as had bene made pillage in the time of rebellion, amounted to such a value, that in recompence they would not onely dispose and confiske our substances, but also in such a reuengefull authoritie our persons should not be assured from imprisonment. But to cut off the importunitie of these complaints, the principals

pals of the Senate brought to passe the day following (although the terme of the compromise was expired) that *Hercules*, (to whom the generall indignation of the citie brought not a litle feare) added to the sentence published, a declaration without the knowledge and priuie of the *Florentins*: That vnder the name of fortresses, was comprehended & meant the gates of the towne of *Pisa*, with other peeces that had fortresses, for whose guard, & intertainemēts of the Podestat & superintēdet, should be assigned to the *Pisans* a certaine part of the reuenues of *Pisa*. And that the places not suspected, wherof mention was made in the sentence, & fro whence they might draw soldiers, should be the state of the Church, of *Mantua*, of *Ferrara*, & of *Bologna*, not comprehending therein soldiers of other places: That touching restitution of goods, there should neuer be speech of it: That it should be in the power of the *Pisans*, to name the superintēdet, borne in any place not suspected: That the captaine should not proceed in any cause criminall, (how litle soeuer it were) without the superintendent: That the *Pisans* should be well intreated of the *Florentins* according to the custome of other noble Cities of *Italie*, & that there should not be imposed vpon the any new charges.

This declaration was not solicited for any desire the *Venetians* had that it should be obserued, but somewhat to qualifie the iust importunities of the *Pisan* Embassadours, and so to iustifie them to the counsell of the *Pregati*, that if the libertie of the *Pisans* were not altogether obtained, at least they had so well provided for their suertie and comoditie, that they could not be charged to haue passed them ouer as a pray, or left them abandoned: So that in this counsell of the *Pregati*, after much discourse of disputation and reasoning, at last what with consideration of the conditions of times, and the difficulties to maintaine *Pisa*, but specially for feare of the Turkes armies, it was resolved, that the sentence should not be ratified with an expresse consent, but that things which were of greatest importance should be put in execution, making to cease within eight dayes all offences, and drawing all their bands out of *Tuscan* at the time determined, with intention to medle no more with the quarell: yea many of the Senators began to desire, that the *Florentins* should rather recouer *Pisa*, the that it should fall into the power of the Duke of *Millan*. At *Florēce*, after the tenour of the sentence was communicated to the citie, most of the multitude began to murmur in their mindes, and not onely held them selues oppressed in this, that they must make repayment of the expences of the warre to those who had vniustly vexed them: but much more for that it seemed to them they had obtained no other thing but the naked and simple name of Lords, seeing both the fortresses were in the guard of the *Pisans*, and the administration of criminall iustice (one of the principal meēbers to preserue estates) could not haue his course without their magistrats: Neuertheless, the same protestatiō of the Duke of *Millan* which had induced them to cōpromit, constrained the to ratifie it, & hoping withall that within a litle time, by industry and good behaviour to the *Pisans*, they might redresse things in a better forme: they ratified by name the sentence published, but not the additions and declarations which were not yet come to their knowledge.

But farre greater were the indignations & doubts of the *Pisans*, who moued not a litle against the name of the *Venetians*, and calous of some greater deceit, as soone as they vnderstood the report of the sentence, discharged their soldiers from the guard of the fortresses and the gates: and not suffering them any more to lodge in the Citie, they stood many dayes in great variation and doubt, whether they should accept the conditions of the sentence or not. On the one side, feare, being the instrument of compulsion, ouerruled their wils, standing now abandoned of all comfort and counsell: and on the other side, the generall hate they bare to the *Florentins*, made their passions to redouble, and kept them resolute. But much more did retaine their inclination to constancie, their desperate expectatiō to obtaine pardon for their heauie & infinite transgressions, whose qualitie they held so much the more great and intollerable, by how much they had put the state of *Florence* to infinite expences and harmes, and many times had brought into termes daungerous, even their proper libertie. In these doubts and diuersities of mindes, the Duke of *Millan* counselled them to giue place, offering that he would worke so much with the *Florentins*, that the conditions of the sentence should be more in their fauours and to their aduantages: yet, they, to make triall if he remained still possessed with his ancient couetousnesse, determining in this case to giue the selues wholly to him, they sent to him Embassadors. But at last (such are the destinies of minds drawne and deuided) after many thoughts and variations, they determined rather to make triall of all extremities, then to returne vnder the yoke of the *Florentins*; whereunto as the *Pisans* had secret incitation by the *Genoways*, *Lucquoys*, and *Pandolph Petracci*: So also it was not doubted

of the *Florentins* but that the Duke of *Millan* (the truth being other wayes) had encouraged them to that obstinate resolution, so little expectation is there of sinceritie and faithfull actions in that man, whom the world hath taken into opinion to be double and suttle.

The Pisans not
keeping the ac-
cord are beset-
ted by the Flo-
rentins.

Thus the *Florentins*, being out of hope to recôcile *Pisa* by accord, thought they had a great occasion to vanquish & force the Citie: and therefore, causing *Paule Vitell* to returne swiftly into that countrey, they leuied with ready diligence the prouisions demaunded by him: But whilest that strength was assembled and in preparing to action, the dangers of *Lodowike Sforce* increased wonderfully, for that his interposition into the accord had in no sort appeased the mindes of the *Venetians*, who, for hate to the man, and hope of their profite, were wholly in desire to conspire his ruine. To these distresses of *Lodowike*, was ioyned this further aduersitie, that *Maximilian* was nothing so ready to make warre on the French king, as he was importunate in continuall demands of money of *Lodowike*: yea, contrary to his many promises, he prolonged the truce for the whole moneth of August next, taking from him at one time the hope that he had that his succors would stand him in more stead, then he had done his counsell to diuert the warre. *Maximilian* also, being vnitied with the league of *Sweden*, began warre vpon the *Swissers* declared rebels of the Empire for many controuersies betweene them: which warre continuing on both sides in great furie, with sundry accidents and fortunes on both parts, *Lodowike* began to assure him selfe, that in no necessity, he could hope for succours from *Maximilian*, vntill that warre against the *Swissers* tooke end, either by victorie, or composition: And yet *Maximilian*, promising him that he would neuer accord with the French king or with the *Swissers*, without comprhending him in it, *Lodowike* was still constrained to refurnish the expences of that warre, and to entertaine the Emperours prodigalities with new supplies of money. This occasion was not vnknownen to the new king of *Fraunce*, who considering how much it imported him, to haue the Pope and the *Venetians* for him, esteemed little the perswasions of many of his counsell, that in regard he was newly ascended to the crowne, and his treasures very ill furnished, he might put off the warre till the yeare following: But the king framing his hopes according to the importunities of his desire, imagined a possibilitie to obtaine the victorie in few moneths: and therefore casting in his coniecture that in such a shortnesse of time, the seruice could not suffer great necessities of money, entred into open preparation for the warre, alwayes furnishing the *Swissers* afore had with some proportion of money, to the end to keepe *Maximilian* in businesse: for which cause the Duke of *Millan*, discerning such manifest tokens of the warre, laboured with a wonderfull diligence & care not to be alone in so great dangers: wherein hauing an absolute distrust in all possibilities and meanes of accord or reconciliation with the *Venetians*, and finding in the king of *Spain* an inclination suspitious, & (notwithstanding his many solicitations) a carelesse remembrance of his perils, he turned his eyes to the contemplation of other helpe, and founding in one instant the wills almost of all other Potentates, he sent *Claude Viscount* to *Maximilian* and the *Swissers* to negotiate an agreement betweene them. And as aduersitie is mighty to make men search the operation of all counsels: so, *Lodowike* knowing, that according to the Popes desire, the mariage of *Charlotta* with his sonne *Cesar Borgia*, could not well succede, for that the young Lady either moued with the loue and authoritie of her house and parents, or else gouerned by the perswasions of the French king (in whom notwithstanding were expressed many faire apparances to the contrary) refused with great constancie and resolution of minde, to make him her husband, if withall he put not an end to the affaires of *Federike* her father, who offered to the French king yearly tribute with very large conditions. *Lodowike* labouring vpon these occasions, had hope, to alien and estrange him from the fauours he bare to the enterprises of *Fraunce*, soliciting him with many importunities to draw him into confederation with him, wherein he promised the association of king *Federike* and the *Florentins*, with many faire offers, that aswell he as the confederates, would contribute with him in a common succour against the *Vickaires* of the Church, and indue him besides with a great quantitie of money to purchase some honorable estate for his sonne. These offers, as the Pope at the first motion seemed to heare them with a dissembled eare: so, in the end he was content to giue them leaue to vanish & become merely vaine: for, hoping to receiue by the societie & fauours of the French king, benefits and farre greater liberalities, then those which he looked to obtaine if *Italie* were not filled full of the forreine enemies of *France*: he consented that his sonne excluded already from the mariage of *Charlotta*, should take one of the daughters of the Lord *Albret*, who, for his affinitie with the bloud to yall, and for the

the greatnesse of the estates and liuings, was one of the greatest in all the kingdome of *Fraunce*. By *Lodowick* to whom appeared daily more tokens and testimonies of the euill inclination of the *Venetians*, ceased not by expresse solicitors (but in secret manner, king *Federyk* concurring in the same action) to stir vp against them the Prince of the *Turkes*, hoping that being assailed and vexed by him, they would haue no oportunitie to molest the state of *Mylan*. And being withall well aduertised of the preparations which the *Florentyns* made to haue *Pisa*, he laboured, vnder offers of all sorts of succors to them, to bind them to his defence with three hundred men at armes and two thousand footmen after they had recouered *Pisa*. On the other side, the french king required importunately their promise to furnish him for one yeare with five hundred men at armes: and for recompence offered to bind himselfe, as soone as he had accomplished the conquest of *Mylan*, to minister to them for one whole yeare the succors of a thousand Launces, for the aduancement of their enterprises, with promise that he would make no accord with *Lodowick*, if not at the same time they were not repossessed of *Pisa*, & their other places withholden: besides, he wold bring to passe that the Pope & the *Venetians* should ioyne to their protection, if (afore the conquest of *Mylan*) they fell into any necessitie of defence. For which demands so contrary & full of variety, the *Florentyns* stood wauering in their resolution, no lesse for the difficulty of the matter then for their diuision of minds: for, *Lodowick* requiring their aid (but in case that they recouered *Pisa*) the succors that he promised were far more present & certaine, then the helps promised by the french king, in whom they iudged little oportunitie of action to the aide of *Pisa*, for that, being abandoned of euery one, they determined to haue it that sommer. Besides, many were moued with the memory that the *Venetians* were confederat with the french king against *Lodowick*, for that he had ministered to them in their perils: but much more moued them the feare of despite, least in refusing to gratifie his demands, he would hinder them to get *Pisa*, a thing which he might easily doe. And of the contrary, looking into their owne infirmities, and seeing no possibilitie of power to resist the french king and the *Venetians*, it seemed a counsell dangerous to make themselves enemies with a king whose armies they expected within few moneths to runne ouer all *Italy*. And the memorie of the fauours receiued of *Lodowick* in the warre against the *Venetians* (to the which they referred the originall of all their dangers) was easily defaced by this consideration, that the rebellion of *Pisa* was first kindled by his meanes: and that nourishing alwayes ambitious desires to aspiere to the iurisdiction of it, he had sustained them, and for many moneths ioyued the supportation of others, conspiring in those times many other wrongs and iniuries against the *Florentines*: so that they referred more imputation to his offences, then benefite by his fauours, which yet he did not communicate in liberalitie and franknesse, but by the impatiencie and intolleration he had, that the *Venetians* should not take from him that which with hope and ambition he had long since iudged to be duly appertaining to him: they fell at last into this last doubt, that if they declared them selues for *Lodowick*, the French king aduancing the meanes and oportunities he had by the Pope and *Venetians*, might many wayes hinder them in the recouering of *Pisa*. In so much, as conferring the nature of the perils on both sides, with their condition present, they determined in the end, not to stirre either in the fauour of the French, or the Duke of *Mylan*, but to apply the time to the aduancing of the enterprise of *Pisa*, wherein they reapposed nothing in fortune nor forreine aides, but iudged their proper strength able and sufficient, not forgetting for all that, to entertaine *Lodowick* with shewes and shadowes and neare tokens of hope, least he should take occasion to object impediments, da-lying with him in those deceptes; which to their hurtes they had oftentimes experienced in him. Therefore after they had for many dayes made delayes in answering, they dispatched at last a Secretary publike to giue him vnderstanding, that the intention of the common weale was conformable to his desires as touching the effect, but concerning the maner there was some difference, for that as they had made a full resolution, that as soone as *Pisa* was recouered, he should not faile of the succours he had demanded: so they desired him to consider how perillous it was to contract their promise vnder expresse covenant, for that in free cities, such things being not to be dispatched without the consent of many, there was no possibilitie to hold them secret, & being disclosed, they wold giue occasion to the french king to draw the Pope & the *Venetians* to readminister succours to *Pisa*: by which it would come to passe that their promise would bring harme to them selues, and proue vnprofitable to him, for that *Pisa* being not taken, neither should they be bound to him, neither were they able to helpe him: for these reasons they sayd and esteemed that faith and

promise might suffice giuen in words with the consent of the chiefe citizens, vpon whose authoritie all their publike deliberations depended: That for other occasion they refused not to covenant with him by writing, but offered him for end for better declaration of their will and intention, that if he knew any other meane whereby his desire might be satisfied, and so great damages avoided, they would be as ready to execute it in deede as they required him to hold him assured in good will and affection towards him. By which answer subtil and full of art, and for that also they did not accept the offers of his succours, *Lodowyk* saw there was no hope left to haue bandes of souldiers from them, and lesse expectation of succours from other parts, for that the comforts promised so continually by the king of *Romans* proued very vncertaine, no lesse by his naturall inconstancy, then for the impediment of his warres with the *Swyffers*. And for *Federik*, where he promised to send him a strength of foure hundred men at armes, and fise thousand footmen vnder the leading of *Prosper Colonne*, he doubted not so much of his will (for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan* turned to his profit) as of his disabilitie and delays: And *Hercules*, his father in law (reproaching almost the auncient iniuries done by him in the composition of *Polesina*) answered him with excuses, & that it brought no small grieue to him to be restrained to succour his distresse, for that the lands of the *Venetians* ioyning to neare to the gates of *Ferrara*, he was constrained to be carefulfull ouer the suertie of his owne estate.

Lodowyk
strengtheneth
himself against
the king.

Lodowyk thus made naked of all forreine hopes, & driuen altogether to reappose in his strength and comforts at home: began carefully to fortifie *Luon*, *Nouaro*, and *Alexandria de la Paille*, townes standing in the mouth of the first perils and inuasions of the french: his resolution was to send out against the fury of the french army *Galeas de S. Seneryn* with the greatest part of his strength, and to oppose the residue against the *Venetians*, vnder the gouernment of the *Marquis* of *Mantua*, notwithstanding a litle after, either by indiscretion or by conetousnesse, or for that there is no power to resist the counsels of God, he became estranged from the *Marquis*: for that falling into this vaine perswasion, that the *Venetians* (against whom the Turke had opened the warre as well by land as by sea with a wonderfull preparation) would haue no oportunitie to molest him, being constrained to defend their owne estates against so strong an encmie: and desiring withall to satisfie a particular humour in *Galeas S. Seneryn*, whose ambition could not brooke that the *Marquis* should enjoy a title more honorable then he, he began to make difficulties, as refusing to pay him a certaine remainder of old payes, & required of him othes & cautions not accustomed for the assurance of his faith: And alio notwithstanding that, afterwards being aduertised that the *Venetians* dispatched many bands of men into *Bresse*, to be ready to enter into the war at the same time that the french should begin it, he sought by the meane of the Duke of *Ferrara* his father in law, to reconcile him to him, yet the difficulties could not so soone be resolved, as the daunger appeared, growing daily both more great and terrible: for the Duke of *Sanoy*, being eftsoones conioyned with the king, set at liberty all oportunities and passages for his bands to march continually through *Piemont*, and to be bestowed about the confines of *Ast*. And to the hopes of *Lodowyk* appeared daily tokens of declination, for that king *Federik*, either by disabilitie or by negligence, was slow to minister to his perils: and that small remainder of hope which he entertained as his chiefest comfort, that the *Florentynes* hauing once gotten *Pisa*, would send to his succours *Paule Vitelly* (whose valour held great reputation in all the parts of *Italy*) was cut from him by the diligence of the french king, who, debating with their Embassadors with words sharpe and full of threatnings, wrought so much with their common weale, that they made him secret promise by writing to minister no aide at all to the Duke of *Myllan*, a promise, for the which they receiued in recompence no covenant or graunt of him. *Lodowyk* leauing the Count *Caiarze* on that side to the *Venetians* with a very small companie not sufficient to any great resistance, sent *Galeas de S. Seneryn* beyond the riuer of *Pau*, with an army of a thousand sixe hundred men at armes, a thousand fise hundred light horsemen, ten thousand footmen *Italians*, & fise hundred footmen *Allemaings*, but more with intention to defend his places, then to resist in the plaine field: for that he esteemed it most to his profit to entertaine and hold things in delay, chiefly for that he had daily expectation of the conclusion of an accord solicited in his name by the Viscount, betwene *Maximilian*, and the *Swyffers*: which if it were accomplished, he was fedde with many promises of mightie succours, which other wayes he could not onely not hope for, but it was verie hard for him to draw any proportions of footme from those quarters, for that by the troubles that were

were thereabout, all the countrey was almost kept trauelled in that warre.

Touching the warres of *Myllan*, there was performed neither of the open nor other part, any exploit of war, other then certaine light incurſions, vntill the regiments of the Lord *de Ligny*, *Eberard*, *Subigny*, & *Tryualce*, were paſſed the mounts : for that, albeit the king was come to *Lyon* and the bruite ran, that he would paſſe into *Italy* in ſeaſon conuenient, yet he referred things to direction, appointing the march of the army to be gouerned by his Captaines. The ſtrength of the french army was a thouſand ſixe hundred Launces, ſiue thouſand *Swyſſers*, ſoure thouſand *Gaſcoins*, and ſoure thouſand of other natures of ſouldiers in *Fraunce*; with whom, aſſoone as they were drawne into an army accompliſhed and beſtowed vnder their ſeueral, Guidons and leaders, the Captaines erected a Camp, and the thirteenth of Auguſt, planted it afore the Rocke *Arazze* : ſituate vpon the ſhore of the riuer *Tanare* : And albeit, it was garded with a ſtrength of ſiue hundred footmen, yet was it taken within a very ſhort time; the fury of the Artillerie being the cauſe, and no leſſe the cowardiſe of the Garrifon that were within : from thence they drew their Campe to *Anon*, a litle village along the high way to *Aſt* and *Alexandria*, vpon the bankes of *Tanare*, and right ouer a gainſt *Arazze*. And being ſtrong by the propertie of his ſituation, the Duke of *Myllan* had eſtloones fortified it. certaine moneths before : And albeit *Galeas S. Seneryn* who with his armie had taken the field neare *Alexandria*, was well aduertified of the loſſe of *Arazze*, and had determined to ſend to the ſuccours of the other, bandes of footmen better reſolued, for that the ſeuē hundred beſtowed there firſt, were of the new leuiēs and not trayned to the warre : yet he could not put his deuife in execution, for that the French men, to cut off all recurrence of ſuccours thither, had manned *Solizana* which is betweene *Alexandria* and *Anon*, and that by the ſufferance and conſent of the *Marquis of Mont Ferat* Lord of the place : In ſo much that they that were within *Anon* expreſſing in action and experience no better prooſe of their valours, then aunſwered the expectation and opinion of moſt men, fell into the daunger of the French, who, after they had firſt battered the Suburbs, and afterwards ſhaked the walles of the towne in ſoure ſeueral quarters, they enforced it in two dayes and likewiſe the Caſtell, making ſlaughter of all the footmen that were thither withdrawne. The ſucceſſe of which enterpriſes (whoſe ſuē ievanquiſhed all reſiſtance, and the ſuddenneſſe ouercame all opinion and expectation) brought ſuch aſtoniſhment to *Galeas S. Seneryn*, that he retyred with all his army into *Alexandria*, colouring his feare with an excuſe, that both in his ſouldiers wanted valour, and in the people was litle faith towards *Lodowyk* : which timorous reſolution ſtaying not a litle the reputation of a General, gaue occaſion of greater courage to the french, who drew their Campe within ſoure miles of *Alexandria*, and at the ſame ſeaſon tooke *Valence* plentifully ſtored with Artillerie and ſouldiers, and that by the treaſon of *Donat Raſſagum* of *Myllan*, at that time Captaine of the Caſtle, corrupted by the promiſes of *Tryualce* : This Captaine let them into the towne by the Caſtle, beheld with his eyes all the ſouldiers that were within either ſlaine or taken, & *Oſtavian* baſtard brother to *S. Seneryn* made priſoner : ſo buſie is the humor of treaſon, that in whom it aboundeth, it rageth without reſpect to time, perſon, or the ſelfe partie in whom it worketh : for, this Captaine twenty yeares before falſifying his faith to *Madame Bonne* and the yong Duke *Iohn Galeas*, deliuered up to *Lodowyk Sforce* one of the Portes of *Toriona* : the ſelfe ſame day that he put the frenchmen into *Valence*. Thus fortune following the victors, & the victors applying to the fauour & opportunity of the time, the frenchmen as a violent thynnder running ouer the whole cuntry *Baſſigiana*, *Vognera*, *Newcaſtle*, & *Pont Corona*, yelded to them without reſiſtance, as alſo the caſtle and towne of *Toriona*, from whence, *Anthony Maria Paluoſin* gouerning the Garrifon there, retired beyond the Riuer of *Paw* without tarying for any aſſault. The aduertifement of theſe accidents being come to *Myllan*, *Lodowyk Sforce*, ſeeing afore his eyes nothing but a lamentable face of all extremities, and that his eſtate haſtned with a violent ſwiftneſſe to his ruine, became confuſed (as hapneth in ſuddaine extremities) both in counſell and courage, and had recurrence to thoſe remedies, wherein (men being accuſtomed to runne to them when thinges be ſo farre afflicted, that they be almoſt brought to the laſt deſpaire) they declare to every one rather the greatneſſe of the daunger wherein they are, then that they receive profit or comfort by them : he cauſed to muſter and enroll all the men of the towne of *Myllan* that were able to beare armes, and cauſing to aſſemble the people, which hated him not a litle for the many exactions he had impoſed vpon them, he acquitted them of one part of the tributes & impositions whereunto they were bound,

using perswasions accompanied with words and lectures pitifull, that if they thought he had at any time too heauily burdened them, that they would not ascribe it to his disposition and nature, but to any desire to heape to himselfe a particular treasure, but rather to the estate of the times, & dangerous conditions of *Italy*, nolesse for the greatnesse of the *Venetians*, then for the descending of the late king *Charles* of *Fraunce*, matters for their importance very icalous, & for which, his particular interest constrained him to those actions, to the end to be the better able to protect the peace & surety of that state against all oppressions & inuasions, iudging that he could not shew a greater affection to his country & his people, then to foresee they should not be trauelled with wars: That the fruits which they had reaped made good testimony of the inestimable profits they had gathered by such a policy & counsell, seeing they had liued many yeares vnder him in great tranquillity, & by that benefit their city raised into a wonderful estate & maiesty of riches, reputation, & glory, as was well expressed in the aspect of so many pompes, glories, & honors, with the multiplication almost of infinit. sciences and inhabitants: benefits, wherein the towne & Duchy of *Millan*, doth not only not giue place, but doth exceede all other Climats & regions of *Italy*: That they should remeber, that he had gouerned them without blood & cruelty, & with what affability & readinesse he had heard euery one, & that he onely (aboue all the Princes of his time) without bearing respect to the paines & trauels of his person, obserued the dayes appointed for publik audiences, & alwayes had giuen to euery one a ready expedition & vpright iustice: That they should beare respect & remembrance to the merits & gracious behauiors of his father, who had gouerned them rather in an affection of children, then in the property and condition of subiects: and withall to set before their eyes, how hard & grieuous it would be for them to beare the proud & insolent yoke of the french, who, for the neighbourhood and nearenesse of the realme of *Fraunce* (if they once came to commaund ouer the state of *Myllan*) would plant there their perpetuall dwelling, & chase out the ancient inhabitants, an impiety which heretofore they had exercised vpon all *Lombardy*. To these reasons he added the consideration of the barbarous maners of the french nation, & to ioyn all together with minds resolute for the defence of their countrey & proper safety, not doubting but if their resistance vanquished the first brunt of daungers (which like a storme would be violent & but short) but the residue of the actiō would be easie, for that this was a property infallible in the french nature, to be more furious to assaile, then constant to continue, & for that also he had in expectation a speedy and mighty succour from the king of *Romains*, who, being already compounded with the *Smyssers*, prepared to reskue him in person, like as also the regiments which the king of *Naples* sent to him vnder the leading of *Prosper Colonne*, were on the way, and did marche: Lastly he made them beleue that the *Marquis of Mantua* (all the controuersies betwene them being now resolute) was already armed, & with three hundred men at armes entered the countrey of *Cremona*: to which succours and forces, if he might adioyne the readinesse and faith of his people, he made himselfe assured against his enemies, yea if their army contained all the power of *Fraunce*. These perswasions were heard with more diligence then profit, & serued him to as litle purpose, as the forces which he opposed against the french: for feare of whom, waighing lightly the present daungers of the *Venetians*, who had begun the warre in *Guinradadda*, & taken the towne of *Carravage* with other pceces neare the riuer of *Adda*, he called backe the *Count Caiasse* with the most part of those bands which he had sent for the defence of that quarter, & caused him to marche to *Panya* to ioyn with *Galeas* for the defence of *Alexandria*. But, as such as haue their destruction determined, are seen to decline by degrees, so his ruine was aduanced on all sides: for the *Count Caiasse*, was a litle before at a secret accord with the french king, being more caried with disdain that *Galeas* his brother, younger in yeares, & of lesse exercise & experience in armies, was preferred before him in the gouernement of the army, and in all other honors and fauours, then with the memorie of the innumerable benefits which he and his brethren had receiued of *Lodowik*. Some are of opinion, that *Lodowik* was aduertised of his reuolting certaine monethes before, and after many deepe cogitations of the disposition of the man, he answered at last with many sighs to him that gaue him the aduertisement, that as he could not be perswaded of so great an ingratitude, so, if it were a thing true, it was an euill whose nature resisted all remedies, and for his part, he knew not in whom to reappose confidence, since in his fauorites, and familiars, and such as had most communicated with his liberalities and benefits, were found dispositions of treason: Affirming (with compassion bringing teares) that he esteemed it not a calamitie lesse hurtfull to depeine himselfe by

The Count Caiasse leaueih the Duke of Millan.

vaine suspicion of the seruice of personages faithfull, then by too hasty & light credulitie, to reape his surety in the faith of those whose behauiors gaue occasion to doubt them. But in the meane while, the *Count Caiazzo* makes a bridge ouer *Po* to ioine with his brother, & entertaining with cunning delays the execution, whilst the bridge is in worke & labour he deferreth to passe, notwithstanding the french army was two dayes afore, entred into *Alexandria* which they did batter; and *Galeas* whose strength was a thousand and two hundred men at armes, a thousand & two hundred light horsemen, with three thousand footmen, in the night of the third day without the priuie of any of the Captaines except *Luke Muluezzo*, fleeth secretly out of *Alexandria* with a part of the light horsemen, giuing the whole world to know, to his great dishonour, and no lesse reproch to the wisdom of *Lodowyk*, how great difference was betweene the sport to manage a Courser, & run at tilt and torney with huge Launces (exercises wherein he exceeded most *Italians*) and the office to be a Captaine of an army: And how much those Princes beguile themselves to their harmes, who, in the election of men to manage and commaund ouer affaires of daungerous importance, beare more regard to the fauour of such whom they choose, then to their vertue & ability. As soone as it was knowne in *Alexandria* that *Galeas* was fled, such as remained in the army (example doing much in cases of aduersitie) began in generall tumult, to show disorder, disobedience, and all the other euils that inflict an armie abandoned: some fled, some hid themselves, and some wandred at aduventure, without all hope of fortune: by occasion whereof, the french army (running with the oportunitie) entred the towne at the breake of day, and not only stripped all the souldiers that were there, but with an vnbridled libertie of warre, put the whole city to sacke. There ran a bruite, that *Galeas* was commanded by secret letters subsigned with the name of *Lodowyk Sforce*, that for a certaine mutinie then risen at *Myllan*, he should retire thither immediatly with all his bands: But some were of opinion that the letters were falsly made and forged by the *Count Caiazzo*, as by that meane to make more easie the victorie of the french: The letters *Galeas* was wont to show afterwards for his iustification, as though he had bin charged by the same, to abandon rashly his armie, and not to leade it safe into places where he knew he could leaue it in security. But to what inuention so euer the letters were referred, or to what intentions so euer they were interpreted, his excuses are not so credible, as it is holden: most certaine with all men, that if in *Galeas* had bin found any reputation of a Generall, any counsell of a Captaine, or any courage of a man resolute, he might haue made easie the defence of *Alexandria*, and all the residue beyond *Po*, with the strength he had: wherein happily fortune would haue honored his valour with good success, for that one part of the french army, being passed the riuer of *Bornia* a few daies before, and by reason of the sodaine raines falling, albeit they were inclosed betwene the riuers of *Bornia* and *Tanaro*, yet *Galeas* had not the heart to sit vpon them, notwithstanding he was told that certaine of his light horsemen, issued out of *Alexandria* by the bridge vpon *Tanaro* which ioyneth the suburbs to the city, had charged them, and almost put to the chase the first battell.

The dishonorable flight of Galeas from Alexandria.

The losse of *Alexandria* brought no litle astonishment to all the residue of the Duchy of *Myllan*, not only afflicted more and more with fresh calamities, but also so much the more neare his peril & ruine, by how much the frenchmen hauing passed their army ouer the riuer of *Po*, were gone to bessege *Mortaro*, which made them of *Paunya* put themselves in accord with them: And the *Venetians*, hauing taken the rocke of *Carauage* and passed the riuer of *Adda* vpon a bridge made for present seruice, commanded almost all the countrey euen to *Loddy*, the whole residue of the places being for the most part drawne into rebellion. And as, when aduersities come, they thunder all at once, so euen at *Myllan* there was no lesse confusion and feare, then in the other places, for that the multitude, being now weary of their long expectation of chaunge, and the particular factions of Citizens drawing to *Monopies* and priuate counsels, the whole city conspired and tooke armes, and that with so slender reuerence to their Lord, that his treasurer generall comming from the Castle from soliciting affaires with him, was slaine at noone dayes in the streetes (particular hatreds working no lesse in the conspiracie, then the counsels of such as desired innoation and new things: by reason of which accident, no lesse insolent in the manner, then bloudie in the matter, *Lodowyk* entring into great feare of his person, and standing naked of all hopes and possibilitie, determined to auoyde the present daunger, not by his vertue to resist, but by his policie: & deuising to leaue the Castle of *Myllan* in good gard, he found no better remedie for his safety, then to flee into *Germany* with his children, where carying with him in his

The treasurer of Myllan slaine.

Lodowyk abandoned Myllan.

person the true aspect of his calamities, he sayd he would solicit *Maximilian* to come to his ayde and succours, hauing already concluded, or at least held for resolved, the peace with the *Swyſſers*: following this resolution, he sent away his children accompanied with the Cardinall *Aſcanius* (come from Rome not many dayes before to succour aswell as he could the affaires of his brother) & with Cardinall *S. Seneryn*, with whom also he sent his treasure, very much diminished from his auncient proportion: for it is credibly knowne to many, that not eight yeares passed, *Lodowyk*, to make a glorious bragge of his power, shewed to many Embassadours and others of respect, the estate and substance of his treasure, which at that time, aswell in money, as in plate of gold and siluer, (besides Jewels & wealth of other natures in no small number) amounted to a Million and an halfe of Duckats: but at his departure, according to the opinion of men, it contained not a reckening of two hundred thousand. Assoone as his children were departed, he appointed (notwithstanding many of his friends laboured to turne him) for the gard of the Castell *Bernardin de Corto* borne at *Panya*, whom he had nourished & brought vp of long and being at that time Captaine of the castle, he preferred the faith of him, afore all opiniō & trust in his brother *Aſcanius* offering to take vpon him that charge: he left for that defence three thousand footmen vnder the authority of Captaines in whom he reapposed molt, with proportions of victuals, munitions, and money, sufficient for many moneths. Touching *Genes* and the affaires there, he determined to recommend them to the honour and confidence of *Augustin Adorne* (gouernour present) and to his brother *John*, to whom (the better to assure his faith) he had ioyned in marriage one of the sisters of the *S. Seneryns*, and sent them forthwith the assignation of the Castle. To the *Baromoyes*, Gentlemen of *Myllan* he restored *Augmara*, *Arona* and other landes vpon the lake *Maioir* which he had taken from them: And to *Isabell of Aragon* the widow of Duke *John Galeas*, he gaue by reason of her dowrie, the Duchie of *Bary* and the principalitie of *Rossano* for thirtie thousand Duckats, notwithstanding she denied to trust him with the son of *John Galeas*, whom he desired to send with his children into *Germany*.

Bernardine de Corto put in trust by Lodowyk.

Restitutions made by Lodowyk.

The revolt of Count Caiazzo.

The towne of Millan yieldeth to the frenchmen.

After he had established this forme of direction, and in his owne seeming had set downe as much as might suffice for the suretie of things, leauing the towne to the gouernement of it selfe, he departed the second of September with his eyes full of teares, accompanied with the Cardinall of *Este*, and *Geleas S. Seneryn*, and for his safety by the way, he had *Luke Maluexze* with a good troupe of men at armes & footmē. And as he was issuing out of the castle (decay of fortune traynes with it all sorts of discomfort) the Count *Caiazzo*, seeking to shadow his disloyaltie with some colour, met him and sayd, that seeing he abandoned his estate, he held himselfe acquitted of the oth of warre which he had made to him, and from thence forward to be in full power to professe what seruice he would: and at the instant the Count disclosed to him the titles, names & ensignes of the army of the french king, into whose pay he entered immediatly with the selfe same regiment which he had leauied with the treasure of *Lodowyk*: who from *Coma* where he left the Castle in the power of the people, went along the riuer, to *Belleasia*, & from thence (being set on land) he passed by *Bormy* & all those places, whereat other times when he was in glory & felicitie he had receiued *Maximilian* passing then into *Italy*, rather as a Captaine to him & the *Venetians*, then with a maiestie & estate of a king of *Romans*. Betweene *Coma* and *Bormy*, he was pursued with bands of the french & the companies of the Count *Caiazzo*: from which places, leauing garrison within the Castle of *Tyrans* occupied not many dayes after by the *Grisons*, he tooke his way towards *Spruch*, where he vnderstood was the person of the Emperour. After the seedes of aduersity be sown, there is no long expectation for the fruits, which draw to their effects with a swift course, euen as when the cloud is gathered to his thickeſſe, there is an apparance of raine, with a disposition ready to disperse the storme that long hath bin in breeding: for *Lodowyk* was no sooner departed, the inhabitants of *Millan*, despatching Embassadors to the french Captains (approching with the whole army within fixe miles of the city) consented with ready and franke wils to receiue them, reseruing the conditions and capitulations till the kings comming, in whom they had many hopes to find great fauours and graces (regard to particular profite preuailing more in them, then any consideration or conscience of obedience to their Lord.) Most of the other places of the Duchie of *Myllan* made their example a sufficient occasion to reuolt: The Citie of *Cremona* which was beset with bands of the *Venetians* (whose yoke the inhabitants abhorred) would also haue done the like, if the french king, that yet would not breake the contract made

made with the *Venetians*, had not compelled the towne to be redred to them. And as in calamities generall examples induce wonderfully, so the Citie of *Genes*, followed this vniuersall reuolt, (the people, and familie of the *Adorneys* with *Iohn Lewes de Fiesque*, striuing who should giue vp the Citie vnto the king.) And to the end that with so great and sodaine ruines against *Lodowick* (losing in eight dayes so mighty an estate) the world might also discerne the examples of ingratitude, the capitaine of the Castle of *Millan*, chosē aboue all others for the reputation of his faith and vertue, not abiding so much as one bullet or any forme of assault, deliuered to the French king within twelue dayes after the departure of *Lodowick*, the Castle, which was supposed to be impregnable: and receiued in recompence of so great disloyaltie a great proportion of money, a company of an hundred Launces, a perpetuall pension, with many other priuiledges and graces: but with such infamy and hate euen amongst the French, that being eschued and reiected of euery one, and persecuted with scornes & reproches, he dyed of thought within few dayes after, tormented belike with shame & the spirit of his conscience which are two mighty and most assured scourges to vex traitors and faithbreakers. The Captaines assigned to him for the seruice of the Castle, did communicate in that infamy, but chiefly *Philippin de Feisque*, who, trained vp and aduanced by the Duke, and left there for the credite and opinion of his faith, ioyned him selfe to the consent of the Castle keeper to betray their charge (being both made blind with one powder of corrupt promises.) The king receiuing at *Lyon* the newes of so great a victory, succeeded with a speed swifter then his expectation, made way with great diligence to *Millan*, where, being receiued with a ioy of the people, equall to the fortune of his victorie, he agreed to the deposing of diuerse tributes and impositions, which as it is an action first requisite in Princes newly possessed of conquest, & a fauour most plausible to people altered: so they of *Millan*, rayfing their desires aboue reason or order, were not fully satisfied for the opinion they had that the kings liberalitie would make them free from all exemptions: he distributed honorable gifts of reuenues to many Gentlemen of *Millan*, and amongst other things gaue *Viguenua* to *Iohn Iacques Triunlee* in recompence of his merites.

The French king cometh to *Millan*.

In the selfe same seasons that the French king rammeth this fortune against the Duke of *Millan*, *Paul Vitelli*, hauing now reassembled the bands and prouisions of the *Florentins* to cary with more ease, the victory of *Pysa*, planted his campe afore the towne of *Casina*, which, notwithstanding it was sufficiently manned and victualled, with a wonderfull strength of trenches and rampiers, was taken, after the summons of the artillerie, within lesse then fixe and twentie houres: for that, the defendants, beginning now to feare the great ruine which the artillerie had made of their wals being of no strength, ioyning with the forreine soldiers that were within, rendred the place, & compounded onely for their liues and goods, leauing the Commissioners & soldiers of the *Pisans* wholly to the arbitration of the victors. Immediately after this, (one euill following another,) the towre builded to guard the mouth of the riuer of *Arne*, and the bastillion of the poole, being abandoned of the *Pisans*, yeelded at the summons of one onely trumpet: the malice of fortune confounding the valour & vertues of men.) So that the *Pisans* held no other peeces within the whole countrey then the Castle of *Verrucole* and the litle towre *Askanius*, which suffred no vexation of the enemies, both for the incommoditie of the riuer of *Arne*, which hindred all actions of inuasiōs or assault, and also being so neare *Pysa*, it stood possible to speedy and ready succours, the importance also of the enterprise required not the losse of so much time: In so much as there remained now no more to get but *Pysa*, which was an enterprise very hard (according to the discourse of *Pisa*, such as sounded things with discreffiō) as well for the fortresse of the town, as for the nūbers, vertue, & resolution of the mē that were within it. For, albeit there were within *Pisa* no forreine soldiers other then *Gurū de Rauenna* with some very smal troupes, who comming at first in the pay of the *Venetians*, remained still possessed of that seruice after their regiment was withdrawne: yet there were no small numbers of Citizens and paissants well worthy of account, both for that by a continuall experience of fiue yeares, they were made seruiceable & fit for the warre, and also they nourished such an immoueable resolution of the minde not to returne efsōones vnder the power of the *Florentins*, that they held for nothing all other aduersities how grievous soeuer they were: And albeit there were no ditches nor trenches before the wals of the City, yet were they very thicke, & of auncient building, with stones so well couched by the facultie of the lyme and sand proper to that countrey, that their resistance was more mighty against the artillerie then is the common sort of wals, and by that benefite, afore they were beaten flat with the earth, the defendants had time

Pisa hath neither trench nor ditch.

Pisais besieged.

and leasure to reenforce their rampiers. But these defences, considered with all the other strengths of the Citie, could not stay the disposition of the *Florentins*, who, being determined to assault it, were stirred to it the rather by *Paule Vitelli*, and *Rinucce de Marciano*, who gaue no small hopes to take it within fiftene dayes. And hauing mustred together a strength of ten thousand footmen, with many Guidons of horsemen, and drawne together according to direction, many other great prouisions, *Paule* planted his campe there the last of Iuly, not (as many aduised him, & the *Florentins* desired) on that side to *Arne* to intercept succours that might come from *Lucqua*: but on the other side the riuer right ouer against the bastillion and towre of *Stampace*: where he occupied this reason, that either in taking that fortresse he might the easilier cary the towne, or in respect of the great commoditie of victualls brought from the boroughes about the hils, or at least by some special foresight or coniecture that he had, that the *Pisans* not suspecting the siege to be planted on that side, had not begun any rampier there as they had done on the other side. The batterie containing twentie peeces of great artillerie, beat vpon the bastillion of *Stampace* and a great part of the wall as well on the right as left hand, namely from *S. Anthonie* vntill *Stampace*, and from thence vntill the watergate, or gate towards the sea built vpon the banke of *Arne*. And of the contrary, the *Pisans* (ioyning their labours to their daungers) trauelled day and night, and with them their wiues & other sortes of women no lesse resolute and well disposed then the men: in so much that their valour and labours were some resistance to the furie of the enemies, for that in very few dayes, they had made right against the wall that was battred, a rampier of a great height and largenesse, and a ditch of more then commo depth, being nothing amazed to see many of their companies slaine directly with the bullet, & many wounded with the reuerberation of the same. The shot also so thundred vpon the soldiers in the campe, together with the artillerie from the towne, specially from a platforme that was vpon the towre of *S. Marke*, that the whole campe was constrained either to remoue their tents to haue better couerture, or else to pitch their Cabinets within the ditches. Many dayes past in this forme of action, wherein albeit they had throwne to the ground a great quantitie of the wall from *S. Anthonie* vntill *Stampace*, and had reduced that fortresse into such termes, as the Generall hoped to obaine it without great difficultie, yet, to make the victorie more easie, he continued the battery fro *Stampace* till the gate to the sea, entertaining in the meane while many skirmishes betweene the wall which they battered, and the rampier; so farre separate from the wals that *Stampace* remained wholly without the rampier. In one of these skirmishes the *Count Rinucce* was hurt with a shot of an harguebuze. The Generall determined, as soone as he had won *Stampace*, to plant there his artillerie, & also vpon the wall which he had battred, by which meanes, giuing (in the flacke) vpon all that side which the *Pisans* defended, he made his hope of the victory almost certaine. He made at the same time fal towards the rampier (to the end the ditch being filled, the soldiers might enter with more ease) one part of the ruine of the wall which was betweene *Stampace* and the rampier, which being already shaked, was not now supported but with proppes and matter of wood. On the other side, the *Pisans*, who, in defending were altogether directed by the counsell of *Gurlyn*, had made towards *S. Anthonie* certaine murdering houses within the ditch, to the end that if the enemy descended, it should not be filled vp by them: they had also bestowed vpon the rampiers towards *S. Anthonie*, much artillerie, and placed their footemen at the foote of the rampier, to the end that things drawing to straits and extremities, they might be opposed with their proper persons against their enemies. At last, *Paule Vitelli* not willing to deferre any longer the taking of *Stampace*, the tenth day after he had planted his campe there, gaue the assault at the breake of day: and notwithstanding his soldiers were grieuously vexed with the artillerie of the old citadell, yet, their proper vertue preuailing aboue their present daunger, & the prefence of their Generall assuring much the victory, they tooke it, both with a fortune more speedy, and an action more easie then was looked for, & with such a terrible amaze to the *Pisans*, that abandoning their rampiers, they fled in all quarters of the citie, yea many, amongst whom was *Peter Fambecourte* a noble citizen with forty crossebow shot on horsebacke which he had in charge, fled out of *Pisa*: many did the like, without that the Magistrates made resistance at the gates, in so much as if others of the cape had followed the fortune of that morning, they had caried the towne to the great glory of the Captaine, to whom had bene most happy the successe of that day, which indeede was the beginning of his calamities: for that, not knowing (so he excused him selfe) of the occasion that hapned without thinking of any such, and being not determined to giue the assault

Stampace taken.

with

with all the campe, nor to other place then to that towre, he sent not his men onely to assault the rampier where they shold haue found no resistance, but also he made retire most part of his forebands, and they vnderstanding that the fortress of *Stampace* was won, desiring to make a pillage and pray of the towne, ran thither by heapes to enter. And in the meane while the *Pisans* (a brute running through the Citie that the enemies followed not the victory) pulhed forward by the lamentable cryes of their wiues and women, who encouraged them rather to chuse death, then to liue vnder the yoke of the *Florentins*, began to returne with a new valour to the guard of the rampiers: amongst who, *Gurlin* remembring that from a part or Iawne of *Stampace*, bending towards the towne, there was a way that led to the gate of the sea which they had before filled vp with earth and wood, and fortified on that side to the campe, but not on that part that looked to *Stampace*, he caused it to be rampierd and filled vp on that side, and casting a platforme of earth, he cut off the entrey on that part with the artilleries that were bestowed in flanke. Asloone as *Stampace* was won, *Paule* caused to be mounted there certaine Falcounets and port peeces, which shot thorough the towne of *Pisa*, but offended not the rampiers, which albeit were much afflicted with the artillery that was planted below, yet the *Pisans* redoubling in courage by the importunitie of their daungers, abandoned them not. At the same instant they battred the murdering house towards *S. Anthoue*, and the water gate, and the defences (*Paule Vitell* not ceassing to labour to fill vp the trench with earth baskets, the more easilie to take the rampier: Against which oppressions the *Pisans*, rising in courage, in that they had receiued the night following from them of *Lucqua* a succour of three hundred footemen, hurled into the trench many sortes of wildfiers: and labouring with a wonderfull resolution of mind and diligence to constrain the campe to abandon the towre of *Stampace*, they turned directly thither a very great port peece called *Bufole*, by whose furie the campe was compelled to dismount the artillerie which they had moued aboue: And albeit *Paule* caused to be braked against it certaine port peeces of his, by the which the mouth of *Bufole* was choked and broken, yet, sparing not for all that to shoote, they brought in certaine dayes the towre to that reason, that *Paule* was constrained, not onely to remoue his artillerie, but also to abandon the place. Norwithstanding all this, the Generall would not make himselfe frustrate of the hope he had to cary in the end the victorie, which (according to his custome) desiring to haue with the most suertie, and the least hurt to the armie that could be, albeit in many places there was more the five hundred yeards of the wall vpon the earth, he laboured continually to increase the batterie, to fill vp the ditches with earth, and to fortifie the towre of *Stampace*, to replant new artilleries, & to beate in flanke the great rampiers which the *Pisans* had made, labouring with all pollicie and industrie to winne alwayes some commoditie to giue with more suertie, the assault general & determined: which last exploit (notwithstanding he had brought things into that estate that as often as he would haue followed the assault he might haue had great hope of the victorie) he prolonged willingly, to the end the harmes of the army might not deface the honour and reputation of the victorie. And albeit the assistants of the *Florentins* (to whom euery litle respit was troublesome) and the continuall letters and messages from *Florence*, ceased not to hasten him to the assault, the better to prevent those impediments that might happen: yet *Paule* stood firme in his owne counsell, which, albeit might happely be discrete and according to the experience and discipline of warre, yet, it had a contrary fortune: for that the countrey of *Pisa*, which is full of lakes and marishes betweene the next sea and the Citie, being in that season of the yeare subiect to ayres pestilent, and specially on that side towards the campe, there came vpon the armie in two dayes many diseases, which so wasted & weakened the body of the campe, that when *Paule* gaue order to prepare to the assault the fourte & twentieth of August, he found so many of his regiments made vnprofitable & vnable for seruice, that those that remained whole & disposed, sufficed not to maintaine the assault: which vnhappy accident, albeit the *Florentins* and he (who was also sicke) laboured to helpe by leauying new bands of footemen, yet, the influence of the ayre contending against their industrie, made the infection so vehement, that euery day the diminution was found greater then the supply. In so much that their long hope of victorie being now turned into another habit both doubtfull and desperat, and fearing harmes both more speciall and importing, he determined to leaue and breake vp the campe: A resolution much resisted by the *Florentins*, who aduised him that leauing garrison sufficient within the fortress of *Stampace*, he would reape with the armie about the confines of *Pisa*. But he, making this counsell no direction to him, abandoned the towre of *Stampace*, which he

Paule leauied the siege.

held not tenable, for that it had bin first shaken with his artilleries, and then battred with the great shot of the *Pisans*: And drawing the whole armie to the way of the sea the fourth of Septemb^r, and not able to traylor his artilleries by land to *Cascina*, for that the wayes were drowned with waters, he embarked them in the mouth of the riuer of *Arne* to conuey them to *Ljuarne*. But fortune striuing against him in this last action, many of the artilleries were sunk in the waters, & a litle after drawne vp againe by the *Pisans*, who at the same time recouered eftsoones the Towre that gardes the mouth of the riuer. By these occasions (the seruices yea and faith of men, are interpreted by opinion) the ill disposition conceiued alreadie by the people of *Florence*, was so redoubled with the Magistrates, that within few dayes being called to *Cassina* by the commissioners, vnder colour to consult into what places they should distribute the companies, he was made prisoner by commandement of the soueraigne Magistrate of the towne, and from thence sent to *Florence*: where the same night he arriued, being painefully examined by torments, he was executed by the head the day following by sentence of the Magistrate, his brother being almost taken in the same daunger and fortune: for that as the Commissioners sent to apprehend him in the same instant: so, being sicke of the disease he had taken in the Campe, he made semblance to obey them: and rising out of his bed, he conuerted the time that they gaue him to arraie him, into deuises and directions to steale away: In so much as beguiling with diligence, the securitie of the *Florentyns*, he was in one instant with the helpe of his seruantes, well mounted vpon a horse of speede, and flying to *Pisa*, he was receiued with generall gladnesse of the whole inhabitants. The principall pointes wherein they quarelled with the life of *Pawle Vitelly*, and condemned him, were these: That it proceeded of his will onely that *Pisa* was not taken, hauing good meane and oportunitie thereunto the same day that the rocke of *Stampace* was forced: That he onely did deferre to giue the assault: That he had many times giuen audience to men comming to him from *Pisa*, and neuer communicated with the *Florentyns*: That he had leuyed the Campe against the publike commadement, and with the like contempt had abandoned *Stampace*: That he had drawne diuerse others of the Captaines to occupie with him *Cascina Vicopisan*, and the artilleries, to the end that in payments and other conditions they might manage the *Florentyns* as they thought best: That in the countrey *Casentyn*, he had had secret intelligences with the *Medicis*, and at the same time treated and almost concluded with the *Venetians*, to serue them when the time of his pay with the *Florentyns* should be determined, which now was almost expired: That, in that respect he had giuen safe conduct to the Duke of *Urbyn* and to *Iuhan de Medicis*. He was straitely examined vpon all these pointes, and albeit he confessed nothing particularly, yet they cut off all further examinations, and fearing least the french king (now come to *Myllan*) would vrge his deliuerie, they proceeded to execute him speedily. Not one of his seruantes which after his death were examined at leasure, would confesse any thing, sauing that he was much discontented with the *Florentyns*, for that they had made the Count *Riunccc* concurant with him in authoritie, and for the difficulties they vsed in the expedition of prouisions which he demanded, and sometimes in his affaires particular, not forbearing at *Florence* to speake ordinarily to his dishonour: by which testimonies and confessions of his seruantes, albeit some remained possessed of this opinion, that he behaued himselfe not loyally in his charge, hauing a pretence to be Lord of *Pisa*, and to occupie some other part of the demaine of *Florence*, where he entertayned many intelligences and amities: yet the most part beleecued well of his innocencie, and were perswaded that he nourished a great desire to take *Pisa*, for the reputation and glory that would redound to him, the principall end and respect of euery great Captaine.

The Florentins
put P. Vitelly
to death.

The french
king being at
Myllan com-
poundeth with
the most parte
of the Poten-
tates of Italy.

The french king, being now arriued at *Myllan*, all the Potentates of Italy except king *Federik*, came to him, some in person, and some by Embassadors, some to congratulate his victorie, and some to iustifie themselves of the imputation to be more inclined to *Lodowik Sforce* then to him, and some to seeke suertie of him hereafter of their proper estates. The king receiued them all graciously, and compounded with them all, but diuersly according to the diuersitie of conditions, & according to the greatnesse of the profit which he might draw: he tooke the *Marquis of Mantua* into his protection, and endued him with a companie of an hundred Launces, with an honorable pension and the order of *S. Michael*: he receiued likewise into his protection the Duke of *Ferrara* (he and the *Marquis* were with his Maiestie in person) who pertaked not in that benefite without well paying for it, with other other difficulties, for that euer since he rendred the castle

castile of Genes to Lodowick, he hath bin esteemed to beare a mind contrary to the french: he accepted also into his grace and protection (but vnder a great summe of mony) *Iohn Bentiuole* who had sent to him his sonne: But of all the residue, the *Florentyns* compounded with him most hardly and chargeably, for that (their merits all forgotten, and the harmes they had so long time endured during the late king, in following the friendships of *Fraunce*) all the court almost was against them, those reasons were not accepted that (not to stir vp *Lodowick Sforce* against them, for the matters of *Pisa*) had constrained them to remaine Newters: for that the impression which the frenchmen tooke when king *Charles* gaue libertie to the *Pisans*, remained yet firmly fixed in their affections, besides that the men of warre of the campe, iudged them (both by brute and experience) to be men of meir, valour, and reputation for seruice, which drew not a litle their dispositions to beare them fauour. Besides, the authoritie of *Trinulce* was no small impediment to the purposes of the *Florentyns*, for that aspiring ambitiously to the Lordship of *Pisa*, he fauoured wholly their cause, who desired to receiue for their Lord either him or any other in whom was abilitie to defend them against the *Florentyns*: who were generally blamed by the mouthes of the whole Court for the death of *Paule Vitelly*, as to execute without occasion, a Captaine of so great merit, and to whom the Crowne of *Fraunce* owed much in honour and friendship, for that his brother was killed and he made prisoner in the french seruice during the warres of *Naples* vnder the late king *Charles*. But in the end, the king inclining more to his proper profit then to things vaine, entred into composition, by the which his Maiestie receiuing them into his protection, bound himselfe to defend them against all men with sixe hundred Launces and foure thousand footmen, as also the *Florentyns* to defend his estates in *Italy* with foure hundred men at armes and three thousand footmen: That the king at their requests, should apply that ayde of Launces, and (if neede were) a strength of artillerie, for the recouering of *Pisa* & the places occupied by them of *Sienna* and *Lus-gua*, but not of those peeces which the *Genoways* held: And that, if these companies were not demaunded of him before, he should be bound, when he sent an armie to the enterprise of *Naples*, to conuert either the whole or part of it to this expedition: That the *Florentyns*, if they recouered *Pisa*, and not other wayes, should be bound to minister to him for the conquest of *Naples* siue hundred men at armes, and fiftie thousand Duckats to defraie the payes of the *Swysers* for three moneths: that they should restore to him thirtie thousand duckats which *Lodowick Sforce* had lent them, rebaring (according to the account which *Iohn Iacques Tryvulce* should make) so much as they had payd or dispended for him: Lastly, that they should take for Captaine generall of their men of warre, the *Prefect* of *Rome*, brother to the Cardinal *S. P. ad Vincula*, at whose instance it was demaunded. In so goodly an occasion, the ambition of the Pope slept not, who, soliciting earnestly to haue promise kept with him, the king gaue to the Duke *Valentino* (comming with him out of *Fraunce*) three hundred Launces defraied vpon the treasurs of the king, & guided by *Yues D' Alegre*, & foure thousand *Swysers* vnder the charge of the Bailiffe of *Dyon*, but paid of the Popes purse, which companies were for his ayde in the warre which he meant to make vpon the *Vickaires* of *Romagna*.

The townes of *Romagna*, vexed with others that are subiect to the Church with sundry accidents, haue bene for many yeares gouerned with a iurisdiction almost separate from the demaine of the Church: for that some of the *Vickaires* paid not their tributes as they ought in homage of superioritie, others payd them, but with difficultie and hardnesse, and for the most part out of season. But they all indifferently without licence of the Popes, put them selues in pay with other Princes: wherein much lesse that they made exceptions not to serue them against the Church, but of the contrary, they bound themselves to protect them euen against the authoritie and armes of the Popes, being so much the more plausible to those Princes, by how much they were conuenient for their seruice, both for the opportunity of their estates and forces, and withall to hinder that the power and pride of the Popes should not swell and rise aboue order. In that time the *Venetians* possessed in *Romagna* the cities of *Rauenna* and *Ceruia*, which they had (not many yeares before) taken from the familie of *Polenta*, a people who, of Citizens priuat of *Remenna*, were become Tyrants ouer their country, and afterwards had the inuastiture of *Vickaires*: *Faenza*, *Furly*, *Imola*, and *Rimini*, were in the power of *Vickaires* particular: *Cesena*, that had bene long commaunded by the familie of *Malateste* was estoones returned to the Church *Dominick*, the last *Vickaire* of the same city being dead without children certaine yeares before. Therefore the Pope

The state of
Romagna in
the time of the
Duke Valentino.

Duke Valentimo
mistakes Imola
by the aide
of the french-
men.

The defending
of the Turke

(whose ambition was greater then his doctrine) pretending that those Cities for many respects were diuolued to the sea Apostolike, and that he would reestablishe & reduce them to their ancient iurisdiction, (but indeed had intention to appropriat them to *Cesar* his sonne) had contracted with the french king, that when he had accomplished his conquest of the Duchie of *Millan*, he should contribute and communicate with him for the recovery only of those townes which were possessed by the *Vicaires*, comprehending the City of *Desera*, whereof was *Vicaire Iohn Sforce*, aforetime his son in law: for, the greatnesse of the *Venetians* did not suffer, that those thoughts should stretch out against them, who did not aspire at that time to those little townes, which continuing vpon the riuer of *Po*, were holden by the Duke of *Ferraria*. In so much that the Duke *Valentimo*, as soone as he had obtained of the king the bands promised, and ioyned them to the regiments of the Church, he entred into *Romagna*, where he tooke with a speede & fortune aboue his expectation, the city of *Imola* by accord, & that about the latter end of the yeare a thousand foure hundred ninetie and nine, a yeare wherein *Italy* being afflicted with so many emotions, felt also a scourge by the *Turkes* armies: for, *Baiazet Ottoman* hauing assailed with a mightie armie by sea, the peeces which the *Venetians* held in *Greece*, sent by land an armie of sixe thousand horsemen to pray the countrey of *Fryull*, and finding it without gard, they ouerranne it, making pillage and burnings euen vntill *Lyuence*: and hauing taken an innumerable proportion of prisoners, when they came neare the riuer of *Tagliamento* (to returne with the more ease) they reserued such as they thought they might leade with them in safety, and made cruell murders of the others. And as it is a custome infallible with fortune, not to let happen one mischief vnaccompanied, so in *Greece*, the affaires of the *Venetians* trained no better successe, for that *Anthonie Gryman* Captaine Generall of the army which the *Venetians* opposed against the enterprise of the *Turkes*, was accused to haue let slip the occasion to vanquish the enemies that issued out of the port of *Sapience*, and another time at the mouth of the Gulphe of *Lepanto*: And after he was deposed and another preferred to his place, they cyted him to *Venice*, recommending the information of the cause to the counsell of the *Pregati*, where that cause was debated many moneths with no small expectation of the issue (his authoritie and greatnesse defending him on the one side, and on the other part, his accusers pursuing him with many arguments & testimonies. At length, standing in great likelihood to haue the vpper hand, either by his authoritie, or the great number of his parents, or lastly for that in that counsell compounded vpon many wise men, there should not be so much regard to the generall brutes & slaunders which were not well proued, as to a desire to vnderstand ripely the truth of the fact: the knowledge of the cause was transferred ouer to the iudgement of the great counsel, by the Magistrate of the aduocates of the communalitie, where fauours ceassing, or rather the lightnesse of the multitude carying more then the grauity of the Senators, he was in the end passed into exile perpetuall in the Ile of *Espera*.

Such & so great matters were brought to passe in the yeare 1499. But in the yeare 1500. were accomplished things of no lesse importace, nor lesse worthy of memory, specially for the full remission of that vaine & superstitious *Iubiley*, which being instituted in the beginning by the Popes to be celebrated the *Iubiley* from a hundred yeares to an hundred yeares, not for pleasure & pompe as the *Romains* did in their sports and feasts secular, but for an opinion (vaine and erroneous) of the health of soules, for that in the same (according to the fantastike beliefe of Christian people) were abolished wholly all the finnes of those, who acknowledging with true repentance their faultes committed, made visitation of the Churches of *Rome* dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles. It was afterwards ordained to be celebrated from fifty yeares to fifty, and in the end reduced to five and twenty. But for the more solemne memory of his primitive institution, the hundredth yeare was celebrated with a greater affluence of people then the others.

Duke Valentimo
mistakes
Furly.

In the beginning of this yeare, the Duke *Valentimo*, obtained without resistance the City of *Furly*, the Lady of the place hauing sent her children and riches most precious to *Florence*, and abandoned that which she could not defend, did determine to hold onely the Citadell and Rocks, of *Furly* refurnished with sufficient strength of men and artilleries. She had a valour aboue the property of that sex, and a resolution more resembling a man then a woman, wherewith entring the place, she studied to her great glory how to defend it. But the Duke *Valentimo*, after he had assaied in vaine to dispose her to yeld, began to batter the wall of the Citadell with a great furie of artillerie, the same bringing downe to the ground a great quantitie of the wall, with the which
the

the earth of the Rampier which was behind being choked, filled almost the depth of the ditch or trench, and made the entrie more easie to his souldiers. By meane whereof, the defendants falling into feares and doubts, gaue place to their perils and abandoned the place, seeking to retire into the Rocke; whither the Ladie made also her retraite after she had performed all that could be required in the office of a defendant. But, as when things are in aduersitie, many occasions concur to aduance the end: so as she entred the Rocke, feare raised a tumult and confusion, and the Dukes souldiers comming fast vpon them, almost all her companies were cut in peeces, and the Victors entring with the same furie into the Rock, tooke it, & made slaughter of all such as were there for defence, except certaine of the chieft, which were retired with the Ladie into a Towre, who were made prisoners, & she also communicating in their fortune, whom the Duke (hauing more regard to her valour, thē to her kind) sent prisoner to *Rome*, where she was kept in the Castle of *S. Ange*, being notwithstanding deliuered a litle after at the request of *Yue D'alegre*.

After the Duke had obtained *Ymola* and *Furly*, he marched to the execution of other townes, but new accidents hapning vnlooked for, hindred his expedition: for, after the French king had established the things he had gotten, with orders conuenient, and hauing prolonged the truce with the king of *Romanes*, (comprehending therein the Duchie of *Millan* and all that he held in *Italy*) vntill the moneth of May next ensuing, he returned into *France*, leading with him the litle sonne of *John Galeas* giuen to him indiscreetly by the mother; he dedicated him to a monasticall life, & left *John Iacques Triunlce* gouernor generall of the Duchie of *Millan*, in whom he reposed much, as well for his valour & merits, as for the great enuie he bare to *Lodowyk Sforce*. But (the faith of men changing with the alteration of kingdomes) the peoples of that state kept not fidelity with the king: partly for that the customes and behauiours of the French were intolerable to many, and partly for that they had not found in the king that liberalitie in deposing all their tributes, which vnwisely they perswaded theselues to obtaine. And lastly it imported much, and was very grieuous to all the *Gebelyn* faction, which was mightie in the towne of *Millan* and confines, that *Triunlce* chiefe of the *Guelfes* should be preferred to the gouernment. This euill disposition was wonderfully augmented by him selfe, who, bearing a nature factious, and a spirit haucie and busie, fauored (vnder the authoritie of Magistrate) much more then was conuenient, those that were of his partie. Besides (he that is falling shal find many stumbling blocks) he estranged much frō him the minds of the communitie, for that in the open market place, he slue with his owne hand certaine Butchers, who, following the rashnesse of the other populars refusing to pay tributes, frō the which they were not exempted, resisted with force, the ministers deputed to gather the reuenues: for which tyrannous and bloudie reasons, most part of the nobilitie & communitie, naturally desirous of new things, wished the returne of *Lodowike*, & euen began to call vpon his name with words and voices plaine and to be vnderstood. But after many thoughts and cares traouelling commonly minds afflicted, and redoubled with a lamentable remembrance of his happinesse past, *Lodowike* with his brother *Askanius* presented himselfe to *Maximilian*, of whom they were receiued with an humanitie expressing both compassion and comfort, for that he did not onely perswade them to be resolute in their fortune, but also shewed many tokens to be much discontented with their calamities: he nourished them with continuall promises to descend in their aide in person, and with a strong armie to ioine with them for the recouerie of their estates, hauing thereunto good oportunitie, for that he was then at accord with the *Swissers*. But those hopes, both for the variation of his nature, and for that his intentions ill grounded, were easly confounded, appeared euery day to be more vaine; and that so much the rather, by how much being continually pressed with his accustomed necessities, he made them wearie with his importunate demaunds for money: in so much as *Lodowik* & *Askanius* making no foundation of his succours, and lesse certaintie in his hopes and promises, determined to make the enterprize of theselues, being continually solicited by many gentlemen of *Millan*, & did leauy for their better strength, eight thousand *Swissers*, & five hundred *Burgonion* men at armes: of which strong preparation *Triunlce* gathered many feares and doubts, & therefore, the better to encounter so great a danger, he sent immediatly to the Senat of *Venice* to cause their cōpanies to march along the riuier of *Adda*, signifying withall to *Yues D'alegre*, that it were necessary to leaue for a time the seruice of the Duke *Valémois*, & return with speed to *Millā* with the Frēch mē at armes & the *Swissers*. And as dangers hastie and sudden can suffer no delays of remedie, & where the

The Frēch king returneth into France, hauing first set order in the Duchie of Millan.

Disorders in the French gouernment in Millan.

The French
banden Millan

fire beginneth first to kindle, there let water be speedily applied to preuent his further violence. So such was the pollicie of *Trinulce*, that to resist the first furie of the enemies, he sent one part of his souldiers to *Coma*, (the ieaousie he had of the people of *Millan* not suffering him to turne thither all his forces:) but the care and quicknesse of *Sforce* and his brother, preuailed aboue all diligence in others, for that not tarying for the whole armie they had leauied, but leauing order to march after them with speed according to the necessitie of their perill, they passed the mountaines, & with a diligence aboue all expectation being embarked in those vessels which were in the lake of *Coma*, they approched neare that towne, which they tooke without resistance (the French being retired for the knowledge they had of the ill disposition of the inhabitants. The brute of the losse of *Coma* (same flieth with swifter wings in cases of reuolt & change, then in any other matter) being come to *Millan*, so altered the minds of the people, and almost all the chieft of the faction *Gebelyn*, that they began to draw into manifest tumult, and rise into such insolent disposition, that *Trinulce* seeing no other remedie to the kings affaires, retired suddenly into the Castle, and the night following fled to *Nonaro*, together with the men at armes which were retired into the Parke ioyning to the Castle (the people in their retraite following them by heapes vntill the riuier of *Tbesin*): and leauing within *Nonaro* foure hundred Launces, he with the residue of his strength went to *Mortaro*, thinking (& the other Captaines also) that they should more easily recouer the Duchie of *Millan* with the new succors that were to come out of *Fraunce*, then be able to defend it being thus deuided: Such is the incertaintie of fortune, that she transferreth to one that which she takes from another, not regarding the equitie of causes, nor the merits of persons, but making her fancie the measure of her actions, she takes delight to shew variation of power vpon the Princes of the earth: for, as soone as the Frenchmen were gone from *Millan*, the Cardinall *Askanius* made his entrie first, and then *Lodowike*, who recouering it in as short time and litle difficultie as he lost it (except the Castle) was also made glad at his return with a more franke & general shew of affection and ioy of the people of *Millan*, then they expressed when he departed. The like disposition was found in other Cities & comunalties, as in *Pavia* & *Parma*, declaring immediatly for *Lodowike*, whose example *Lody* & *Plaisance* had followed, if the bands of the *Venetians* (marched afore towards the riuier of *Ad-da*) had not bene entred. *Alexandria*, and almost all the places beyond *Po*, being furthest from *Millan* and nearest to *Ast* which was french, stirred not, determining to take aduise what they should do vpon the issue and traine of things. *Lodowike* being thus repossessed of *Millan*, made speedy leauies of as many *Italian* footmen & men at armes as he could, labouring, by petition, by offers, and all maner of hopes, all those in whom he had anie reason to expect succours in so great necessitie. Therefore he aduertised the Emperour by *Galeas S. Senerin* of his happie beginning, beseeching him to supply him with men & artilleries. And because it stood not with his fortune, & also was farre from his desire, to haue the Senate of *Venice* his enemy, he gaue direction that the Cardinall *Askanius* should speedily send the Bishop of *Cremona* to *Venice*, to offer them the ready will and inclination of *Lodowike*, to accept such conditions as it pleased the to demaund: but the constancy of the Senat of *Venice* made vaine all that labour, for that they determined not to exchange their confederation with the French king, for the vncertain & newly reconciled friendships of *Lodowike*. The *Genoways*, notwithstanding the importunate solicitations of *Lodowike*, refused to returne vnder his obedience: and the *Florentines* wold not heare his request touching the repaiment of the mony which he had lent the: only the *Marquis* of *Mantua* sent to him his brother with a certaine proportion of men at armes: there came to him also the Lords of *Mirandola*, of *Carpy*, and *Corege*, and the *Siennois* relieued him with small summes of money: succours almost contemnible in so great dangers, as also did litle import the aids of *Philip Rosse* and of the *Veminesques*, whose fathers albeit had bin dispoiled by him of their ancient liuings: yet *Philip*, leauing without leaue the pay of the *Venetians*, wet thither to recouer his lands, & hauing obtained them, ioyned himself to the army of *Lodowike*: the famuly of *Verma* did the like, and they both to reenter into grace by that occasion. *Lodowike* ioyning diligence to his fortune, & not vsing the fauor of the time in vaine, after he had assembled a thousand five hundred men at armes, besides the *Burgonian* bands of horsemen, and layed to the regiments of *Swissers* many *Italian* footmen, he left the Cardinall before the Castle, and passed ouer *Tbesin*: & obtaining by accord the towne & Castle of *Vigenena*, he laid siege to *Nonaro*, chusing that enterprise

afore

afore the expugnation of *Mortaro*, either for that the french had made strong fortifications at *Mortaro*, or else for that he esteemed *Nonaro* (a towne renowned and plentifull with all things) so import more for the reputation and substance of the warre, or perhaps he imagined; that the recovery of that towne would breed want of victuals, and so constrain the French that were within *Mortaro* to abandon it: or at least he cast, that it would hinder *Tue D'alegre* from entering *Nonaro*, who was now marching from *Remagna*: for, as soone as he had receiued aduertisements from *Trivulce* (leaving the Duke *Valentinus* in the enterprise of *Pesero*) he departed speedily with all the horsemen and the *Swissers*: and vnderstanding neare to *Parma*, the rebellion of *Milan*, he accorded with those of *Parma* and *Plaisance* not to offend them, so that they would not hinder his passage: & being come neare *Tortona*, he entered the towne, where, at the instigation of the *Guelfes* of that Citie, burning in desire to be reuenged of the *Gebelyns*, who (returned to the deuotion of *Lodowike*) had expelled them, he put all to sacke and spoile, (the *Guelfes* crying out in vaine of his faith, for that their loyaltie was no better respected, but being the kings faithfull seruants, they were no otherwise vsed, then belonged to the deseruings of his most traiterous enemies: from *Tortona* he marched into *Alexandria*, where he stayed, for that the *Swissers* of his armie, either because they were not payed, or for some other secret reason, left him, and went to the Duke of *Milans* Campe, whose strength being now greater then his enemies, he prepared speedily to the battery of *Nonaro*, to the end to carrie it afore the french (expecting succours from the king) were strong enough to encounter him in the field; a matter which succeeded happily to him: for that the french bands that were within *Nonaro*, having no reason of hope, or possibilitie to defend it, agreed to deliuer vp the towne, receiuing the promise of his faith to depart in suertie with all their goods, which he kept iustly with them, protecting them with safeconduite to *Verceil*. And albeit he was perswaded by many, that the ouerthrowing of those bands was of great importance for his victorie, wherein they occupied these reasons; that if it were lawfull, according to the authoritie and examples of great men, to breake faith to conquer a Lordship of another, that it was more lawfull to straine both oth, faith, and all promises, to keepe that which was his owne: yet he abstained from all violation; having regard to the estate of his perils, and fraile condition of his fortune. After he had got *Nonaro*; he deuised how he might haue the Castle: but it was beleueed, that if he had aduanced to the enterprise of *Mortaro*, all the french bands had fled afore him ouer *Po*, (*Trivulce* and the Lord of *Ligny* not agreeing well together.)

Whilest *Lodowike* was in these expeditions, following the fortune that best led him to the reconquering of his estates, no lesse care and diligence occupied the french King, who, vnderstanding the rebellion of *Milan*, digested it with no small griefe and discontentment: and therefore (so deigne mischiefs requiring speedie remedies) he dispatched with a wonderfull speed into *Italy*, *Marquis de Trumouille* with sixe hundred Launces, and sent to leaue a great regiment of *Swissers*, (following an ancient and assured experience of warre, to repress with a strong force a rebellion in an estate newly conquered.) And lastly, to the end there might be an exact diligence in all prouisions; he created the Cardinall of *Amboise* his Lieutenant for *Italy*, and dispatched him immediatly to *Ast*: In so much as all things prepared with a quicke readinesse; there was mustred in *Italy* for the king in the beginning of Aprill, a strength of fiftene hundred Launces, ten thousand *Swissers* footmen, and sixe thousand of the kings subiects, vnder the leading of *Trumouille*, *Trivulce*, & *Ligny*: which companies being drawne into one Campe at *Mortaro*, marched to *Nonaro*, hauing no lesse confidence in treason, then in their forces: for that the *Swissers* Captaines which were with *Lodowike*, had secret intelligence and practise of conspiracie with them by the meanes of their countrey men which serued in the French armie (notwithstanding in the action of *Nonaro* they shewed faith, valour, and good stabilitie of affection.) whereof *Lodowike* being iealous by many apparant coniectures, laboured much (his necessities being violent) to ioine to him the foure hundred horsemen and eight thousand footmen which were leuied at *Milan*. But as a ruine determined runs to his end by a proportion of degrees and parts measured and limited: so at *Nonaro* the *Swissers*, stirred vp by their Captains, began to mutine, taking their occasion for that their payes were not performed at the iust dayes that were promised. And albeit the Duke ran to the stir in person, & besides his pitiful requests & prayers, retaining with them great occasion of compassion, gaue amongst the all his silver plate & vessel, desiring to rest contented but till the money came from *Milan*. Yet the *Swissers* Captaines fearing that if the bands which were leuied at *Milan* should be ioined to the

Campe, their treason would suffer either imperfection or preuention, wrought so that the french Campe being all put into armes and readinesse, approached the walles of *Nouaro*, and enuironing a great part of the towne, they dispatched certaine horsemen to occupie the wayes betwene the Citie and the riuer of *Tbesin*, to cut off from the Duke and all others, all meanes to fly to *Millan*. But as necessitie is mighty to make men resolute, so the Duke seeing more and more into his perils, and that almost the whole disposition of his Campe agreed with the state of his dangers, sought to issue out of *Nouaro* with his whole armie to fight with the enemy, hauing already sent out in order the light horsemen and the *Burgonions* to begin the skirmish: but he was apparantly resisted by the *Swysser* Captaines, who told him they would not come to blowes with their parents, brethren, and countrey men, without the leaue of their Lords, but made as though they would depart sodainly into their countrey. The Duke not able either by praiers, with teares, or infinit promises to practise any whit their barbarous disposition, made election of the best part of his aduersitie, and recommended himselfe wholly vnto them, at least that they would leade him to a place of suertie: a misery so much the more lamentable, by how much the condition of his affaires & perils, constrained him to seeke for his safety, where he saw nothing but apparant arguments of conspiracie against his life: wherein in this was hee most miserable and vnhappie, that being so neare the last action of recouerie of his estates, he was not only depriued of the glory of his vjctorie, but also (fortune is infinit in malice) passed ouer to a desolation irreparable, and a ruine whereunto remaineth no other consolation, hope, or mercy, then such as may be expected of an enemy ambitious, iniurious and reuengeful. But the *Swyssers* hauing contracted with the french Captaines to go their wayes, and not to leade him with them, albeit their crueltie would not suffer them to graunt to his full demaund, yet in compassion they consented that he should march away amongst them, taking the attire and furniture of one of their footemen; and so, if he were not knowne, to saue himselfe by the helpe of his fortune: which condition he was driuen to accept for a last necessitie, but yet it was not sufficient for his safetie: for that, they marching by direction through the midst of the french armie, he was vnhappily knowne by the diligent espiall of such as were assigned to that charge; or (more likely) disclosed by some secret instruction of the *Swyssers*, as he marched in a Squadron on foote, attired and armed and disguised in all points as a *Swysser*; and hasting to his last calamitie, he was by that meanes made prisoner. A spectacle so lamentable, that it brought teares into the eyes of many, yea euen of the very enemies, *Galeas*, *S. Senerin*, *Frecaissa*, and *Anthony Marsa* his brethren, communicated with his fortune, being betraied by the same disloyaltie of the *Swyssers*. After the Duke was taken, the army went dispersing, & no more resistance appearing, all things were seene full of feare and confusion: which made the Cardinal *Askanius*, who had already sent towards the Camp those bands that were leauied at *Millan*, to leaue the Castle, and seeke his suertie in some place of better trust. Many of the nobility of the *Gebelyns* folowed him, who being too apparantly declared for *Lodowick*, dispaired to find pardon with the french. But as it was set downe in destiny, that in the calamitie of the two brethren, treason should be mingled with euill fortune: so he had determined to reappose himselfe somewhat the night after at *Riuolta* in the countrey of *Plaisance*, which is a borough appertaining at that time to *Conrard de Lande*, a Gentleman of the Citie of *Plaisance* and his kinsman and auncient friend. The same *Conrard*, chaunging will with fortune, sent presently to *Plaisance* for *Charles Vrsin* and *Sonzin Benzon* then in the paye of the *Venetians*, to whom he deliuered the said *Askanius* & *Hermes Sforce* brother to the late Duke *Iohn Galeas*, with one part of the Gentlemen that came with him; the residue, being more happie or more wise, forbore their rest that night, and passing further, preuented their perill. *Askanius* was immediately led prisoner to *Venice*, but the french King, iudging it necessarie for the suretie of the Duchie of *Millan* to be possessed of him, sent for him to *Venice*, where finding some difficultie to deliuer him, he required him with protestations and threats, alleaging, that he appertained to him in due property and interest, for that he was taken in a countrey of his obedience: A request which albeit seemed very sharpe and vnworthie of the name of the *Venetian* State, yet, because the fury of his armies, it was graunted, more by compulsion then conscience; and not onely the person of the Cardinal deliuered, but also all those of *Millan* that were taken with him: and withal, *Baptiste Viscount* with other Nobles of *Millan*, which were withdrawne for the same occasion into the townes of *Guaradadda* vnder safe conduit to remaine there in suerty with expresse mention of the french King, were put into the Kings handes for feare of the french armie: so much

The Duke of
Millan made
prisoner by the
treason of the
Swyssers.

Cardinal As-
kanius leaueth
Millan abandon-
ed.

Cardinal As-
kanius betraied
and taken.

Cardinal As-
kanius deliue-
red over to the
frenchmen.

• so much did preuaile with the Senat of *Venice* the terror of the french forces, more then the regard to the dignitie of their common weale. The citie of *Millan* abandoned of all hope, yeelded to the generall calamitie, and sent speedie Embassadors to the Cardinall of *Amboise* to solicit for pardon: he receiued them into grace, and pardoned the rebellion in the name of the King, but vnder this bond, to pay three hundred thousand duckats, of the which the King acquitted them afterwarde of a great part. He pardoned also other townes that had rebelled, which he taxed according to their qualitie, making the victorie profitabie, and the transgressions of the offenders an increafe of the Kings treasure.

The enterprise thus happily succeeding, and the regiments of men of war dissolued & licensed, the footmen of the foure Cantons of *Swissers* which be more neare then the others to the Towne of *Bellizona* situated within the mountaines, tooke the Towne as they returned to their countrey: a place which the french King might haue drawne from them in the beginning, for a verie small portion of mony. But as he lost oftentimes by the propertie of his nature, occasions of great things, by sparing small proportions of expences: so times & accidents came so about afterwards, that many times, and by many solicitations, he would haue purchased it of them with a verie great price, for that it is a straite very conuenient to hinder the descending of the *Swissers* into the Duchie of *Millan*. *Lodowike Sforce* was caried to *Lyon* where the King was, and entring the towne at noone dayes, many multitudes of people flocked to see a Prince, who, from such a greatnesse & maiestie, and for his felicitie enuied of many, was fallen into so great a miserie: and not able to obtaine leaue to be brought to the Kings presence, which he much desired, he was conueyed within two dayes after to the Towre of *Loches*, wherein he remained prisoner ten yeares, euen to the end of his life, being now inclosed in one strait prison the thoughts & ambition of him, which earst could scarcely be contained within the limits and termes of all *Italy*: A Prince, certainly most excellent for his eloquence and industrie, and for many gifts of nature and spirit, a creature of verie rare perfection: and lastly not vnworthy of the name of myld and merciful, if the death of his Nephew had not defiled him with bloudie infamie. But on the other side, he caried a mind vaine and full of thoughts busie and ambitious, and nourishing alwayes intentions dissembled, he kept no reckening of his promises and faith. He alwayes presumed so much of him selfe, that seeming to be discontented, when praises were giuen to the wisdom and counsels of others, he perswaded himself to be able by his Art and industrie to alter and turne the conceptions of euery one to what purpose he listed. The Cardinal *Askanius* followed him a litle after, but he was both receiued with more honor and humanitie, and graciously visited by the Cardinall of *Amboise*, by whose intercession he was sent to the great Towre of *Bourges*, a prison more honorable, wherein the King that sent him, had bin restrained two yeares in captiuitie: So variable and miserable is the destinie of man, and so incertaine to euery one what will be his condition in time to come.

The end of the fourth Booke.



THE FIFT BOOKE OF THE

Historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

THe warre of *Pisa* continueth: The Duke *Valentino* pursueth his enterprise of *Romagna*: The Kings of *Spaine* and *France* innade ioyntly the kingdome of *Naples*, they occupie it and deuide it betweene them, and afterwarde make warre one vpon another: The Duke *Valentino* putteth to death the *Vrsins*: The *Swissers* descend into the Duchie of *Millan*: The *Spaniards* remaine victors ouer the French at *Corignolo*, and take *Naples*.

Such is the disposition of minds occupied with ambition, that who are desirous of glorie, are easily stirred to do things contrarie to reason, counsell and experience: Ambition is an humour that carieth men into weenings farre aboue the possibilitie of their proper power, & ouerruleth their thoughts without regard to the oportunitie of times,

places, or occasions: as is expressed in the inclination of the French king, in whom the absolute and happy conquest of the Duchie of *Myllan*, had nourished such spirits of will and courage, that the selfe same sommer he would haue proceeded to the enterprise of the kingdome of *Naples*; had not the feare which he had of the descending of the *Almains*, restrayned his rashnesse, and made him wise against the proprietie and working of his will: For, notwithstanding he had (the yere before) obteyned a contract of truce of *Maximilian Caesar*, wherein the Duchie of *Myllan* was comprehended: yet, *Maximilian* debating with better consideration, how much the maiestie of the Empire would be diminished by the alienation of so principall a Chiefe, and what dishonour would follow him for suffering to be deuested from it *Lodowike Sforce*, who not onely had put himselfe vnder his protection, and reapposed wholly in the hopes which he gaue him: But also, had bound himselfe to his succours by receiuing his money at sundry times, and in great quantities: He would no more heare the Embassadours of the French, and refused also all audience to the Agents of the *Venetians*, as vsurpers of certaine places appertaining to the Empire. And lastly, ioyning to the memorie of auncient ielousies & iniuries done to him and his predecessors in diuers seasons by the house of *France*, the inflamed compassion which he had of the miserable calamities of the two brethren: he held many generall diots and assemblies, to stirre vp the electors and other Princes of *Germany* to ioyne in the quarrell and reuenge of so high wrongs committed no lesse against him then the whole nation of *Germany*, to whom the imperiall dignity was proper. And to giue better operation to his purpose in the minds of the *Germane* Princes, he laid before them considerations of dangers that might happen, if the French king, presuming more and more by so great a patience of the Princes of the Empire, and rising into pride by so many fauours of victory and fortune, would so farre aspire, as to let the crowne Imperiall vpon the heads of french kings, and incorporate the soueraigne estate in that forreine familie as had bene done afore times: whereunto the Pope would consent easily, partly by necessitie (not able to resist his power) and partly for the respect of his sonne, whom he studied to make to excell in greatnesse & dignity, not remembring that those authorities are vniust, whose meanes be vnlawfull, and that the vertuous man should not obtrude into rule, but receiue it as if he were thereto compelled.

This was the cause why the king (not knowing to what end the race and course of his plottes might runne, tooke truce with his enterprises, and deferred till an other time the execution of his thoughts touching the warre of *Naples*. By reason & meane whereof, his men of warre being not intangled with other enterprise, he was contented to giue to the *Florentines* those bands & regiments which they did demand for the recouering of *Pisa* & *Pietrasanta*: And yet not without many doubts & difficulties, for that both the *Pisans*, the *Genowayes*, the *Siennoyes*, and they of *Lucqua*, made great instance to the contrary, offering to giue the king presently an hundred thousand crowns vpon condition that *Pisa*, *Pietrasanta*, and *Mont Pulcian* might be protected from the harmes and ambition of the *Florentines*, and to make to him a perpetuall payment of fiftie thousand duckats yearly, if the *Pisans* by his meanes obtained the fortresses of the port of *Lsuorne*, with all the region of *Pisa*. To these offers it seemed that the mind of the king was much inclined, by a couetous desire of money: notwithstanding (as was his familiar custome in things of importance), he referred the counsell and deliberation of all things, to the Cardinall of *Amboyse*, who was then at *Millan*: afore whom, notwithstanding the importunities & labours of the states afore named, did negociat with great diligence *I. Iacques Tryuulce*, and *I. Lowyes de Fie/que* they both nourishing an equall desire to manage the iurisdiction of *Pisa*, & in that respect offred to pay to the king for the graunt, a great proportion of money, alleaging withall that (the oportunitie & occasion concurring) it was an action meete for his suretie to hold vnder the *Florentines*, & keepe in weaknesse the other Potentates of *Italy*. But the Cardinall preferring integrity afore particular fauor, ioyned to the faith & promise giuen by the king, the consideration of the late merites of the *Florentines*, who, expressing a liberall and ready ayde to his enterprise & conquest of *Millan*, conuerted at his request into bands and strength of men, the payments of money which they were bound to pay in that case: and therefore it was resolved to refurbish the *Florentines* for the recouery of *Pisa* (besides the restitution of *Pietrasanta* and *Matron*) with a regiment of sixe hundred Launces paid by the king, and fise thousand *Smyssers* vnder the Bailiefe of *Dyon* with a proportion of *Gascons* at their owne charges, together with all such sorts of Artilleries and Munitions as should be necessaie for that enterprise. They had also against the kings will, and their meanings a strength

of two thousand *Swysers* more (such is the custome of that nation) of all which cōpanies *Monfr Beaumont* had the charge, for that the *Florentines*, retayning a memorie of his auncient readinesse to render to them *Lyorne*, reapposed more in him then in any other, and in that humor demanded him for their Generall, not considering, that in matters of enterprise, authoritie & knowledge in things of warre, is no lesse necessarie in a leader of an army, then faith: for that in warre, neither the multitude of souldiers, nor the puissance vnskilfull, can so much auaille to the victory, as knowledge and exercise. The king with a more sound and better counsell, had determined to giue them *M. D'alegre*, a Captaine farre more experienced in warre, and to whom, for his noblenesse of blood, and reputation of vertue the army would haue giuen a more readie and willing obedience: but the troubles and difficulties which accompanied the succours of the French, beganne euen now to appeare: for that the payment of the footmen beginning from the first day of May; they had spent all that moneth in *Lombardie*, in the seruice of the king, who desired by meane of that marching to draw money from the Marquesse of *Manua*, and the Lords of *Carpy*, of *Correge*, and *Myrandola*, to punish them for that they had ministred ayde to *Lodowike Sforce*. In so much that albeit the *Florentines* holding for suspected their slow proceeding, & that the intermission & discontinuance gaue oportunitie to the *Pysans* to prepare & prouide, were at a resolution to abandon the enterprise: yet, looking better into the necessity of their affaires, they held it lesse hurtfull to refurnish a second pay, & so make them march on, then to let money suppress so faire an occasion. At length the *L. of Carpy*, of *Myrandola*, & of *Correge* (for whom the Duke of *Ferrara* made intercession (cōpounded for 20000. duckats, & the labour being vaine to stay to force the Marquisse of *Manua*, who, on the one side fortified himselfe, & on the other side alleaged his poertie & want of money, and sending withall his Embassadors to the king to sollicite his pardon: the armie marched & encamped at *Montchiarnicola*, a village in the countrey of *Parma* appertaining to the family of the *Torelli*, who had succoured *Lodowike Sforce*: not so much for any desire the armie had to punish them, as to threaten *Iohn Bentiuole* by drawing vpon the limits of *Bologna*, hauing (amongst the residue) borne fauours to the cause of *Lodowike*. The perill of his condition, considered with the ill inclination of the time, made him to compound, paying the king forty thousand duckats, for the which his maiesty tooke him of new into his protection, together with the citie of *Bologna*, but with this expresse limitation, not to preiudice the prerogatiues or rights which the church had there. After the contract of *Bologna*, and *Montchiarnicola* taken by force, the armie returned backe to passe ouer the *Appenin* by the way of *Pontremo*: and as they entred the countrey of *Lunigiana*, following more their profits & appetites, then honour or equity, they ranne into many insolencies, and at the instance of the *Fregoses*, tooke the borough of *Massa* and other lands, frō *Aubry Malespina* being vnder the protection of the *Florentines*. Passing further in this course of behaiour, they of *Lucqua* (notwithstāding they were in great strife for the matter, the communitie much impugning it) deliuered ouer *Pietra Santa* to *Monfr Beaumont* in the kings name, who leauing garrison in the Castle, tooke not away their officers of the towne, for that the Cardinall of *Amboise*, in whom remained small reckoning of the promises made to the *Florentines*, for that he had receiued a certaine proportion of money of the *Lucquoys*, had receiued them into the protection of the king, with cōuention that his maiesty shold hold *Pietra Santa* in deputation vntill he had declared to whom the right did appertaine. But in these seasons, the *Pisans* seeing many intentions disclosed to their harmes & ruine, became the more resolute & obstinate in their defence, & had by the helpe of *Visellozze* (with whom they were ented into great coniunction, being also enemies to the *Florentines*) certaine enginists to dresse their fortifications, wherein might be discerned a wonderfull trauell both of men and women in great concourse and emulation who should labour most to set forward the workes. And yet (it is ordinary with men in faction & enterprise to dissemble) they forgot not to entertaine the french, submitting generall cōsent, their whole towne to the king, and in that regard sent instruments Autentike not onely to *Monfr Beaumont*, but also to *Philip Rabestin* gouernor for the king at *Genes*, who, with a singular rashnes accepted it in the kings name. And *M. Beaumont*, sending a Herald to *Pisa* to demand the towne, they made answer with many humilities, that they desired nothing with greater affection the to liue vnder the kings obediēce, & in that estate of loue & well meaning they were ready to giue themselves vp to his deuotion, so that his maiesty would assure them vnder his honour and word of a Prince, that he would not put the vnder the power of the *Florentines*: which protestatiō

Monfr Beaumont a chiefe leader of the french armies.

M. Beaumont sendeth to demand Pisa in the kings name.

The French
men afraid to
assault Pisa.

they followed with the teares and weepings of the Ladies, with all other sorts of meanes wherein they thought was vertue to perswade the Herald, that their harts, wils and affections were wholly dedicated to the Crowne of *France* which had first put them in libertie. These petitions were vaine to *M. Beaumont*, who looking further into their weaknesse and necessities, then bearing any compassion to their calamities, denied to accept the offers of their Embassadors sent to him, and encamped before the towne the last day sauing one of Iune, betweene the gate of *Plages*, and the gate *Calcesana* right ouer against the quarter called *Barbagianni*: he battered all that night with great furie, & continued the action the most part of the day following, in which time, the artillery, both good of it selfe, and planted to all conueniencie, had made euen with the earth threescore cubites of the wall: and as soone as the batterie ceased to shoote, the horsemen and footmen entremedled together, ran without order or discipline to giue the assault, not considering in what sort they might passe a deepe trench which the *Pisans* had made betweene the wall that was battered, and the rampier that was within: In so much as when they had discouered the greatnesse of it, & wondered much at his depth, they consumed the residue of the day rather as beholders of the difficultie then disposed to make good the assault. The fortune of this day, ioyned to the consideration of the impediments disclosed, made diminish more and more the hopes of the frenchmen to carrie *Pisa*: partly for that they fainted in courage, as well for the qualitie of the rampiers, as resolution of those in the towne: and partly, for that the *Pisans* renewing the practises and meanes which they were wont to vse, the ancient inclination of the french began to take new life and nourish new fauours towards them: in so much as the frenchmen, beginning to entertaine meetings and familiarities with those that were within the towne, communicating together with a friendship & libertie not suspected: and they for their parts recontinuing the same offers to resigne them selues wholly to the kings deuotion, vpon condition not to be eftsouenes passed ouer to the oppression of the *Florentines*. The cause of the *Pisans* was fauored through the whole Campe, and oftentimes defended with such declarations of good meaning euen afore the Captaines, that the greatest part of the Campe gaue them courage to maintaine their defence, wherein (besides the incitation of the frenchmen) they were specially encouraged by *Francis Trunulce* Lieutenant of the regiment of *Iohn Iacques*, and by *Galeas Paluoyfin*, which led a band in the french Campe. By the oportunitie of these disorders and sufferance of the Campe, *Tarlaryn* (of the towne of *Castello*) entred into *Pisa* on that side towards the sea, with certaine old soldiers which *Vstellozze* sent to the succours of *Pisa*: a man at that time but darke and vnknowne, but aspiring afterwarde to the place of Captaine, he continued and followed the defence of that Citie to the end, to his great honour. To this common inclination, many bands of horsemen and footmen, added many other insolencies, for that, desiring that the siege might be leuiued, they began to sacke and spoile the victuals that were brought to the Campe: and so farre multiplied they in all disorders (the authoritie of the Generall being not sufficient to restraine them) that the footbands of the *Gascoines* abandoned the army in maner of tumult, (their example breeding the like mutinie in all the residue:) and at parting, certaine footbandes of the *Swissers* which were come from *Rome*, according to the kings direction, stayed as prisoner *Luke d'Albisse* Commissarie for *Florence*. The occasion (as they alledged) was, for that their payes were detained which were due for a seruice they had bene at afore time within *Linorne*. The Campe disperfed by degrees, for that the regiment of *Swissers* and other footbands went away forthwith: onely the men at armes stayed somewhat neare about *Pisa*, where they had not spent many dayes in reposing themselves, but they returned into *Lombardy* without tarrying till they knew the kings will and direction; leauing the affaires of the *Florentines* in great disorder, for that they had dismissed all their footebands, to be more able to furnish the payes of the *Swissers*. The *Pisans* turned these confusions into an occasion of exploit and enterprise, and with an expedition agreeable to the consent and oportunitie of the time, they went & planted a Camp afore *Librafatta*, which they tooke easily, no lesse by the indiscretion of the enemye, then by their proper strength. The maner of that successe was this: Whilest the assault was in charging, all the footmen that were within running to the breach, some of those of the *Cape* by scaling ladders entred by the highest lawme of the Castle which was not guarded. Which surprise both sudden and terrible so astonished the footmen, that they yeelded themselves: And linking still their fortune with their victorie, they drew their Campe with a present speede afore the Bastillion *Ventura*, and whilest the assault was in action, the footmen yeelded, either by faintnesse of courage, or by treason

The Pisans
take Libra-
fatta.

of the

Captaine *S. Brandano*, Constable of the *Florentines*, of nation a *Lucquoys*, and there remaining in garrison. But as the conquest of these places was verie profitable to the *Pisans*, for that it had opened to them a larger scope on that side towards the *Lucquoys*, and given elsewhere almost a generall libertie: so yet, such successe of the things of *Pisa* troubled not a litle the mind of the french King, who saw how much it would diminish the reputation of his armie; besides that he bare very impatiently that one particular Citie, supported onely by her inhabitants, & wherein was not only one Captaine of name, should resist the armies of *France*, which had run through all *Italy* to the generall terrour and feare euen of the chiefe Potentates: wherein as men in things that be grievous to them, do oftentimes beguile themselves, he occupied in himselfe this perswasion, that the aduersities of *Pisa* happened by this default, that the *Florentines* had not made due provisions of victuals, Pioners, and Munitions as his people assured him for their discharge, beleueing that all other things had rather fayled in the Armie then valour; he complained also that fauoring too much the importunities of the *Florentines*, he yeelded to commit so great an Armie rather to *A. Beaumont* then to *M. D'Aligre*, by which indiscretion those disorders were happened. And of the other part, desiring to recouer the reputation lost, he sent to *Florence* *M. de Corou* his Chamberlaine, not so much to be informed if the reports of his Captaines were true, as to practise with the *Florentines*, that not loosing hope to haue hereafter a better successe; they would consent that his men at armes might returne to sojourne in the countrey of *Pisa*, the better to keepe that Citie for the winter following, in continuall feare and bridle, with intention; in the spring time to recontinue the siege with an Armie more reasonable, compounded of Captaines better experienced, & souldiers more obedient. This offer was refused of the *Florentines*, as despairing of anie better issue by the aide of the French armies, a matter which made worse their conditions, for that, a brute running in all places that the King had left them, the *Genoways*, the *Lucquoys*, and the *Siennois* began to minister openly to the *Pisans* both men and money. And at *Florence*, the diuisions so increased amongst the Citizéns, that they were not onely in disability to recouer the things lost, but also they provided not in anie sort for the disorders that were in their iurisdiction: for, some particular factions, falling into open armes and priuate force, there were done betweene them aswell in the towne as fields, many hostilities and burnings, proceeding sometimes with forreine aide, euen as if it were a warre ordained and set. To these insolent disorders, they applied no order, to the great reproch of their common weale.

In this time *Cesar Borgia* omitted no oportunitie to aduance his affaires: and albeit the King was much discontented with the Pope, for not aiding him to recouer his Duchie of *Milan*, the same being the cause why his Maiestie had deferred to send him bands of men to prosecute the enterprise begun against the Vicars of *Romagnia*: yet the desire he had to keepe amitie with him, made him change opinion, for the feare he had of the descending of the *Almaines*, hauing no meane to establish an accord with the Emperour. But much more was concurrant in that desire the authoritie of the Cardinall of *Amboise*, for the ambition he had to obtaine the Legation for the Realme of *France*. The Cardinall in this aspiring desire, had litle remembrance to the counsell of *S. Gregory*, that he that seeketh authoritie; let him consider how he cometh to it, and comming well to it, how he ought to lue well in it, and liuing well in it, how he must gouerne, and gouerning wisely, he must oft call to memory his owne infirmitie. Ambition is an humour verie vaneet for Church men, for that it hindreth to their humilitie and charitie, and generally altereth the whole vertue of their profession. It is hurtfull to raise a mind ambitious into high authoritie, for that he that is desirous of glorie; is soone stirred to do things against equitie: and to him that seeketh to be aboue all men, it is hard to keepe alwayes equitie; which is the chiefe part of iustice. The Pope estoones promised the King to aide him with men and with the person of his sonne, when soeuer he would aduance the enterprise of *Naples*, and to endue the Cardinall of *Amboise* with the Legation of the realme of *France* for eightene moneths, which was esteemed a great matter, aswell for that it was new and rare, as for that it diminished much the doings and profites of the Court of *Rome*. The King for his part, sent to him vnder the leading of *Adonfr d'Aligre*, three hundred Launces & two thousand footmen, making knowne to euerie one, that what soule soeuer would oppose against the enterprise of the Pope, he would take it to heart, as if the iniurie were done to his proper person. With which reputation, ioyned to his proper forces, containing fixe hundred men at armes and fixe thousand footmen, the Duke *Valentinus* entred already into *Romagnia*, tooke without

Saint Gregory against ambition.

Ambition. Nota

The french King sendeth aide to the Pope.

resistance, the Cities of *Peferà* and *Rimini* whose Lordes and owners fled. Afterwards he turned his force to *Faenza*, which had no other defence then of the people of the place: for, nor onely *John Bentiuole*, vncle by the mother side to *Astor* a litle child, was made contented, as wel for feare to stirre vp the armes of the Pope and his sonne, as to obey a commaundement he had receiued from the King: (the *Flórentines* and Duke of *Ferrara* doing the like for the same occasions;) but also the *Venetians*, who were bound to defend him, signified to him (observing the request the King made to them) that they had renounced the protection of him; a thing which they had likewise done afore for the same occasiō to *Pandolfe Malateste* Lord of *Rimini*. And which more is, to expresse with greater apparāce that they fauored the Pope, they created at the same time the Duke *Valentinois* Gentleman of their Towne, an action not accustomed to that common weale, but for recompence of benefices receiued, or in token of deare and straite amitie. The Duke *Valentinois* entertained in his pay *Dennis de Nalda* natieue of *Brisquolle* a mā of great opinion in the Vale of *Lamona*: by his meānes he tooke the towne of *Brisquolle* without danger, and with the same fortune brought vnder his commandement almost the whole valley: he tooke the old Citadell by force, and caried the new Castle by accord made with the keeper. He had also hope to enter into the Castle of *Faenza* by meane of a practise entertained by the said *Dennis* with the Castle keeper, who was of the same Valley, and had long time gouerned the estates of *Astor*: but the intelligence being discouered, he was made prisoner by the *Faentines*; who making their fortune no feare to them, shewed no signes of faint courage for that they were abandoned of euery one, and much lesse stood discomforted for the losse of the Valley which was of great importance: but as people resoluēd to vanquish their aduersities with their proper vertues, they determined to passe vnder all perils to continue their subiection to the familie of the *Manfredis*, vnder whose obedience as they had liued in easie gouernment a long time, so doubting the worst that might come by chaunge of Lords, they stood resolute in their faith and loyaltie, and carefully strengthened their Citie against the present dangers. From which disposition, the Duke *Valentinois* being not able to turne them, neither by promises nor threatnings, he encamped neare the wals of their City betweene the riuers of *Lamona* and *Maršana*, and planted his artillerie on that side that is towardes *Farly*, which albeit is incompassed with wals, yet commonly it is called the Suburbs, where the *Faentines* had erected a strong Bastillion: he battred it with great furie, together with that lawine or corner that is betweene the Suburbs and the towne, and the fift day he gaue the assault. But finding the resistance of the towne aboue his expectation, he sounded the retraite, (his souldiers bringing away many wounds and maines, & *Honorius Samella* a principall man slaine in the action.) The Campe suffered litle rest all the residue of the dayes it remained there, as well by a continuall affliction of the artillerie from the towne, as also by the vallour of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding they had a verie slender strength by forreigne souldiers, yet they made many issues and sallies, and skirmished with no lesse fortune then courage. But aboue all other perplexities, (albeit the moneth of Nouember was not yet finished) the time, which was more extreme then agreed with the custome and nature of that season, troubled him much, both for the snowes that fell, and the frosts that were intollerable (griuous impediments to the trauels of warre) and also for that his lodging was naked and open to the ayre, (the *Faentines* afore the Campe came neare their wals, hauing burned all their houses, and cut downe all such wood and trees as might giue succours to their enemies. These difficulties pressed so much the Duke *Valentinois*, that he leauied his Camp the tenth day, and dispersing his regiments to winter in places thereabouts, he bare his fortune with manifest impatience, specially for that besides his french forces, he had an armie flourishing with Captaines and souldiers *Italians*, wherein were *John Paule*, and *Iulso Vrsins Vitellozze* & *John Paule Bailon* with many men of choise: and hauing promised to himselfe in his ambitious conceits, that neither the seas nor the mountaines had power to resist him, he could not endure without perturbation of mind, that the reputation of his first exploits should be darkened, by a people that had long liued in peace, and at that time, had no other commaunder then a litle child: wherein he gaue such libertie to his passion, that he swore, and that with many sighes and vehement protestations, that as soone as the season of the yeare would giue leaue to his desire, he would returne to the siege, & recontinue the enterprise with a resolution of a man determined either to carrie the victorie, or to die in the action.

Duke Valentinois besiegeth Faenza.

Duke Valentinois leaueth his Campe.

Duke Valentinois disdaineth to be repulsed.

In which time his father the Pope, to the end there might be societie in their doings, hauing regard

regard to one end, created the same yeare to his great infamie twelue Cardinals, not off such as deſerued beſt, but of thoſe that offered moſt. And to omit no meanes to heape treaſures and money, he ſent out and ſowed thorough all *Italy*, and ſtrange prouinces, the *Lubile*; which being celebrated at *Rome* with great concourſe of people, was ſent with no leſſe deuotion beyond the mountes, giuing power that who could not come to *Rome* to obtaine it, ſhould communicate in the grace and benediction for certaine ſummes of money; the which, together with all other treaſures he could draw in what ſort ſoeuer, as well of the ſpiritual frutes, as treaſures temporall of the Church, he ſent to the Duke of *Valentinoss*, who ſtaying at *Furly*, made ſtrong preparation to recontinue the ſiege of *Faenza*; againſt whole intentions the *Faentins* provided by fortifications and other remedies conuenient to reſiſt an enemy ſo apparantly profeſſed. Theſe things were done in the yeare 1500. But matters of farre greater importance were ordained by the french king for the yeare following; and to haue the more liberty to execute them, he had ſought by continuall ſolicitation, to haue vnitie with the king of *Romaines*, wherby obtaining the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, he might haue ſufferance to aſſaile the realme of *Naples*: to which ends he vſed the meane & inclination of the Archduke his ſonne, who declared a readie diſpoſition to peace, for that his peoples, fearing the entercourſe of marchandiſe would ceaſe, brooked vnwillingly all perſwaſions to leaue warre againſt the French: but the thing that moſt ſupported this inclination, was, that the French king hauing no iſſue male, offered to giue in mariage his daughter Madam *Clawde*, to *Charles* ſonne of the Archduke, and to endue her with the Duchie of *Millan* for a dowrie when they had abilitie to conſummate the mariage, for neither of them had not yet three yeares of age. By theſe offers, and his interceſſion, (for that many difficulties hapning in the practiſe and negociation of the peace abſolute, could not ſo ſoone be reſolued) the french king obtained in the yeare following of *Maximilian*, a truce for many moneths, but not without the price of certaine proportions of money. This truce was voyd of all mention of the King of *Naples*, notwithstanding that *Maximilian*, in conſideration of fortie thouſand Duckats, with bond, to miniſter to him monethly fifteene thouſand Duckats (his neceſſities ſo requiring,) he had promiſed to make no accord without cōprehending him in it, and to vex the Duchie of *Millan* with inuaſions and warre when neede were to turne away the powers of the French king. Thus the king dwelling aſſured that the *Almaines* would not ſtirre, and hoping in ſhort time to make the peace perfect and abſolute, and to obtain the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, by meane of the ſame Archduke, turned all his thoughts to the enterpriſe of *Naples*; againſt the which, fearing leaſt the king of *Spaine* would make ſome obiection, and that both the Pope and *Venetians* (iealous ouer his greatneſſe) would ioine with him, he renued eſtſoones the practiſes that had bene begun in the time of king *Charles* for deuiding of the ſame realme, whereunto indeed *Ferdinand* king of *Spaine* pretended to haue right: for albeit *Alphonſo* king of *Aragon* had conquered it with rights & titles ſeparate from the Crowne of *Aragon*, and therefore had diſpoſed it to the perſon of *Ferdinand* his baſtard ſonne as his owne; yet, *Iohn* his brother which ſucceeded him in the kingdom of *Aragon*, and *Ferdinand* the ſonne of *Iohn*, had alwayes ſecretly quarelled that title as lawfully appertaining to the Crown of *Aragon*, for that *Alphonſo* had conquered it with the armes and treaſures of the ſame realme. Which quarell *Ferdinand* had couered with a ſuttletie & patience of a *Spaniard*, forgetting nothing, not onely of the dutie of a parent towards *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, and the others, but alſo more aſſuring and augmenting them with bondes of newe affinitie, for that he gaue to *Ferdinand* for wife, *Iane* his ſiſter, and conſented afterwarde that *Iane* the daughter of her, ſhould be married to young *Ferdinand*, wherein yet he could not worke in ſuch clouds, but the vaile of his couetouſneſſe was long time before made open to the kings of *Naples*. In ſo much as the french king and *Ferdinand* concurring in one inclination, the one to remoue all impediments & difficulties, the other to obtaine part of that he had long deſired, ſeeing there was no oportunitie to obtaine the whole, they made an agreement to inuade at one time the kingdome of *Naples*, and to deuide it betweene them, in this ſort: That the French king ſhould haue the Citie of *Naples*, with all the land of *Lanoro*, and the prouince of *Abruzzo*; and to *Ferdinand*s part ſhould fall the prouinces of *Pomylia* and *Calabria*: That either one ſhould conquer his owne part by himſelfe, the other not being bound to helpe him, but onely not to empeach or hinder him: but ſpecially it was agreed, that this contract ſhould be holden verie ſecret vntill the armie which the French

The Pope createth xij. Cardinals at one time.

Truce between the French king and king of Romaines, 1501.

The kings of Spaine and France deuide betweene them the realme of Naples.

king should send to execute that enterprife, were arrived at *Rome*: at what time the Embassadors of them both, alledging this contract to be made for the benefit of Christendome, & to invade the Infidels, should require the Pope with a ioynt voyce, to graunt the inuestiture according to the diuision that had bin made betweene them, receiuing *Ferismand* into faith & homage, vnder the title of Duke of *Pomylla & Calabria*, and the French king no more king of *Cicilia*, but king of *Ierusalem & Naples*: which title of king of *Ierusalē*, being once come to the Emperour *Federik* the second, who was king of *Naples*, by his wife which was daughter of *Iohn* king of *Ierusalem* (but in name not in effect) was alwayes kept by the kings following, notwithstanding that at one time, the kings of *Cipres*, being of the house of *Lusignan*, who likewise pretended to it, would appropriate it to them with a couetousnesse as apparant & great as the rest: So violent are the desires of Princes to embrace colours by the which they may with any honest couerture (albeit most often against all law and reason) torment and invade the estates that are in the possession of another, not considering what a world of calamities, vniust warre and oppression do draw with them, & much lesse remembring that right may be troden downe, but not troden out, but hath her secret meanes to support her, and her seasons appointed to reuiue and reuert. This capitulation was no sooner established betweene the two kings, then the French king began immediatly and openly to prepare his armie.

But whilest these practises were in working to their execution, the Duke of *Valentinois*, returning by night in the first dayes of the new yeare to the Suburbs of *Faenza*, and working by conspiracie and intelligence, made an vse of a number of skaling ladders: but that labour and triall resolving into smoke and vanitie, & reposing no more hope in treason, he tooke in few dayes after *Ruffi*, with the other places of that countrey, and lastly returned eftsoones with his Camp to *Faenza* in the beginning of the Spring: and incamping before the Castle, he battred the wall on that side, and followed the assault *Pellemelle* with the French & Spanish that were in his pay: who going to the seruice in disorder, retired without honor or profit. But three dayes after (obstinacie notwithstanding) he recharged it with another assault with the strength of the whole Camp: The first charge fell to *Vitellozze* and the *Vrsins*, who, culling out the flower and choise men of their bands, marched to the breach with a wonderful boldnesse, & very well assured order, their valours giuing great hope at that time to carie the victorie: but those that were within fighting for their liues and libertie, were no lesse resolute to defend, then the others were valiant to assault: They had so intrenched and fortified the place, that their industrie made amazed their enemies, who finding afore them a great ditch for depth & largenesse, & being beaten in the flanks with the furie of the artillerie, were constrained to retire, *Ferdinand* of *Farnesa* remaining dead with many other men of marke, without reckening the great numbers whose bodies smarted in the wounds they receiued: The chaunces in warre are diuers, and haue in them many hidden fortunes, which neither the wisdom of the leaders can foresee, nor the vertue of the souldiers resist, nor any counsell of man assure, but running gouerned by certaine swift destinies, seeme to communicate in the qualitie of the wind which no humane wit can make settled, but is caried by incomprehensible motions from one quarter to another in a moment. For notwithstanding the resolution of the *Faentines* to fight it out to the last man, committing their liues and liberties to one perill, yet hauing receiued great harmes by this assault, they began to take such counsell of their present condition, that seeing on all sides generall apparance of daunger, and no expectation of succours in a state so abandoned, their confidence began to turne into feare: and as there was no possibilitie, that their proper valours only without fresh succours, could make long resistance against so great an army alwayes renewed: so they saw that with increase of more harmes & worse conditions, they should in the end either be taken by force, or constrained as a last necessitie, to put them selues vnder the power of the victors: And therefore their fortune making these feares reasonable in them, they yeelded to the Duke vpon couenant to haue their goods & liues saved, & that *Asfor* their Lord should remaine in his libertie, and to enioy wholly the reuenue of his proper possessions. These couenants the Duke kept faithfully on the behalfe of the people of *Faenza*: But *Asfor*, a young man of xviij. yeares and of an excellent beautie, his age and innocencie yeelding to the disloyaltie and crueltie of the victors, was retained by the Duke with very honorable demonstrations, vnder colour that he should remaine in his Court: but within few dayes after being sent to *Rome*, after (so went the bruite) some had satisfied their vile vnna-

Faenza yeelded to the Duke.

turall lust on him, he was secretly put to death, together with his bastard brother.

After the victorie of *Faenza*, the Duke marched towards *Bologna*, laying his plot not only to occupie that Citie, but also to molest the *Florentines* which were now become much vnderfoot, hauing added to the first discontentment of the French king, new occasions of disliking : for, being wearie of the huge expences which they had made, continuing still for the furnishing of the warre with *Pisa*, & hauing suspicion of the forces of the Pope and Duke *Valentinois*, they payed not to the king (notwithstanding his great instance) the residue of the moneys which had bin lent them by the Duke of *Millan*, nor yet those sums which he pretended to be due to him for the *Swissers* who he had sent against *Pisa*. The *Florentines* (contrary to their contract established with the Cardinal of *Amboise*) refused to furnish one pay for them to returne into their country, for that they departed, long afore the terme of the seruice, for the which they had receiued pay, was expired. But the king, to entertaine alwayes that nation in good friendship, made good their pay of his proper treasure, which he redemaunded of the *Florentines* with sharpe words, not admitting the excuse of their inabilitie, which was made greater by the ciuill discords that tooke their beginning of the disorders which were in the gouernment popular : wherein no man hauing a sound care of the affaires, and many of the principall Citizens being suspected either for friends to the *Medices*, or as men desiring another forme of gouernment, things were ouerruled more with confusion then with counsel. By occasion of these troubles ciuill, they made no prouision to satisfie the demaunds of the king, but letting passe without effect, the respits and delayes which he had giuen them, they had made him much discontented : & increasing his anger by the occasion of their weaknesse, he required them to prepare to contribute to him the moneys and other aides, which they promised for the expedition of *Naples*. He said, that albeit they owed him none according to the couenants that were made between them (vnlesse they had recouered *Pisa*) yet, as touching him, they ought to hold it for recouered, seeing it was through their owne fault, that their victorie agreed not with their expectation. Of this was the cause, either the desire of money, which of his owne nature he loued much, or the discontentment that they had not obserued the respites he had graunted them, or rather the opinion he had, that for the disorders in their gouernment, and the great number of friends the *Medices* had in *Florence*, he was able to make no foundation in the occurrence of affaires : and to bring them by sharpnesse to that, which his authoritie could not leade them vnto, he deliuered publicly very angrie termes to their Embassador resident about his person, whom he assured, that he was no more bound to their protection, for that, they failing to accomplish the capitulation made at *Millan*, in not making him satisfied at the time appointed of the moneys promised in the same, he was at libertie from all right or lawes of obseruation. By meanes wherof, *Julian de Medicis*, being gone to his court with the priuite and recommendation of the Pope, to beseech his maiestie in his name, and in compassion of his brethren, to be restored to their countrey, promising him great quantities of moneys ; he heard him willingly, and deuised continually with him of the meanes for their returne. And on the other side the Duke *Valentinois* vsing the oportunitie of these occasions, & pushed forward withall by *Vitellozzo* and the *Frsins*, then in his seruice & pay, and who were iust enemies to the *Florentynes*, the one for the death of his brother, & the other for the coniunction he had with the *Medices*, had, for that cause sent afore to the succors of *Pisa*, *Lymerot de Ferme* with an hundred light horsemen, & since the conquest of *Faenza* stood determined to molest them, notwithstanding that neither his father nor he, had receiued of the no hannes, but rather pleasures and commodities, seeing at their requests, they had renounced the protection of them of *Risara*, whereunto they were bound, and consented to libertie and passage of victuals thorough their lands to his Campe : being then departed out of *Romania* in this deliberation, & since the conquest of *Faenza*, being declared by the Pope, with the iustification of the consistory, Duke of *Romania*, & enjoying also the inuestiture of the same, he entred with his armie into the territories of *Bologna*, with great hope to occupie it : but the same day that he lodged in the borough of *S. Peter*, standing almost vpon the confines between *Imola* & *Bologna*, he receiued comandement from the French king to proceed no further in the subduing of *Bologna*, nor to chase out of it *Iohn Bentinolle*, for that he had taken aswell him as the Citie into his protection. His maiestie alleaged, that the expresse exception which he had made, not to preiudice the rights of the Church, ought to be vnderstood of those rights and preheminences which the Church did then enioy, for that being construed without distinction, and not according as the words sounded, as the Pope pretended,

it had bin a thing vaine & of no moment, for the *Bolonois* & for the *Bentiuoleis*, to receiue them into his protection. Therefore the Duke leauing for that time, with no smal complaints of the Pope and the king, the ambitious hopes he had conceiued, made a couenant with *Bentiuolle* by the meane of *Pawle Vrsin*, which bare these articles: That they of *Bologna* should giue him liberty of passage and victuals: That he should pay to him yearly nine thousand dukats: That he should serue him with a certaine proportiō of men at armes & footmen for his expedition into *Tuskane*: And to leaue him *Castelbologna*, a place betweene *Imola* & *Faenza*, And of the iurisdiction of *Bologna*, which he gaue to *Pawle Vrsin*. When this accord was made, *Bentiuolle*, either for a fearefull suspitiō he had of himselfe, or for that Duke *Valentinois* (as the saying was) to make him more hatefull in that City, had told him that the famuly of the *Mariscotties* (a faction puissant and of great fauours, and for that reason, and for his insolency much suspected of him) had desired him to make the enterprise of *Bologna*: he caused present slaughter to be made of almost all that famuly that were within *Bologna*, vsing for ministers in that cruelty, together with his sonne *Hermes*, many Noble young Gentlemen, to the end that for the memory to haue defiled their hands in the blood of that faction, and by that meanes become enemies to that famuly, they should be the more assuredly bound to the preferuation of his estate: weake surety, whose foundation is builded vpon the blood of innocents, and a lamentable example, to purge surmised suspition, by vnlawfull slaughter.

The French bands folowed no further the Duke *Valentinois*, hauing assignment to ioine with the army of the king, which contained a thousand Launces & ten thousand footmen marching vnder *M.^r Aaubigny* to the enterprise of *Naples*: but the Duke *Valentinois* tooke his way through the countrey of *Bologna*, to the lands of the *Florentyns*, with an army of feuen hundred men at armes & fiue thousand footmē of choise, & with fiue hundred mē at armes & two thousand footmē, which *Bentiuolle* gaue him vnder the leading of his sonne the Pronotory. He sent to demaund of the *Florentyns* passage and victuals through all their lands, & marching on without tarying their aunswere, he entertained with gracious words the Embassadors which they had sent to him, vntill he was past the *Appennyn*: but alioone as he was arriued at *Barbarina* (his sweet words turned into sowre meanings) he required that they would make confederation with him: And that they wold take him into their pay with such regiments of men at armes & other cōditions as agreed with the greatnesse he held: And that chaunging the present gouernment, they wold establishe another, such one as he might repose more in. The thing that gaue him this boldnesse, to demaund these things, was not so much his power or strength (for he had no great army or artilleries to batter wals) as the ill estate of the *Florentyns*, who had very few men at armes, or other footmē then they of the countrey whom they cōmaunded dayly: he was also much furthered in this actiō, by the feare, suspitiō, & great disagreements that were in *Florence*, for that he had in his army *Vstellozze* & the *Vrsins*, & for that by his directiō, *Peter de Medicis* was abiding at *Loiana* in the countrey of *Bologna*: And lastly, for that the people were ful of oficialosies by an opiniō they had cōceiued, that the greatest citizens had procured his cōming, to the end to erect a gouernmēt according to their fancies. Notwithstanding the Duke *Valentinois* had no great desire to reestablishe or set vp againe *Peter de Medicis*, for that he esteemed not the greatnesse of the *Vrsins* & *Vstellozze* conuenient for his enterprise, with whom he knew that *Peter* had great affinity, & being repossessed of his countrey, wold minister no smal strength to them. Jointly to this, I haue vnderstood by men worthy of faith & credit, that he kept fixed in his mind, the remembrance of an auncient grudge against him, whē being Archbishop of *Pampeluna*, & his father not yet Pope, he studied the cōmon lawes in the schooles of *Pisa*, for that he went to *Florēce* to cōplaine to him of a certaine crime cōmitted against him by one of his familiars; & waiting in vaine many houres to haue accesse to him (being occupied either in his affaires or pleasures) he returned to *Pisa* not so much as speaking with him, esteeming himself much disgraced & iniured: and yet he made other semblance to the *Vstelly* & *Vrsins*, rather to entertaine them in deuotion, thē that his thoughts were simple, or his intentions not dissembled: but much more to augmēt the mutinies & disagreements of the *Florēns*, by the which he hoped either to range thē to better cōditiōs, or to be able to occupy some place of importāce in their iurisdiction: but finding by many tokēs apparant, that the French king brooked not his entry in that sort into their countrey, when he came to *Campy* six miles from *Florence*, he accorded with them in this sort: That betweene the common weale of *Florence* & him there should be a confederation indifferent for the defence of their estates, with prohibition to ayde rebelles either, of the one or other

other part, and chiefly that the Duke should not succor the *Pisans*: That the *Florentines* should pardon to whosoever, all faults committed by his coming, and should not oppose themselves against him for the defence of the Lord of *Plombyn*, who was vnder their protection: That they should entertaine him for three yeares with three hundred men at armes, and pay of fixe & thirty thousand duckats for every yeare, & he to send that ayd to them as often as they should haue need, either for their owne defence, or to offend another. After this accord was ratified, he went to *Sigüna*, marching by easie iournies, and remaining certaine dayes in euery reposing place; did great harmes in the countie by fire and robberies, no otherwise then if he had bin an enemy professed. He demaunded besides (according to the custome in the paies of men at armes) the fourth part of the money due for one yeare, and that they should prepare for him artilleries for the enterprise of *Plombyn*. The one of which demaundes the *Florentines* denied him flatly, as being not bound vnto it, the other they deferred, for that they had not taken counsell to obserue that, which he went about to make them promise by force. By the aduertisements of their Embassador with the French king, they hoped to be deliuered from those oppressions by his authority, a hope which they had not altogether vaine, for that it nothing displeased the king that the Duke should threaten them, but not assaile them: as well for that the change of the present gouernment would haue bin to his discontentment, as also, albeit he could haue wished another form of gouernment, yet, it wold haue greatly displeased him, if it had bene introduced with other forces, or other authority then his. In which regard, as soone as he vnderstood that the Duke was entred vpon the dominions of the *Florentines*, he ministred to him a sharpe direction to depart with speed, & commaunded *M. d'Anbigny* who was in *Lombardy* with the army, that in case of the Dukes disobedience, he should oppose against him by compulsion & force of the whole army. This directio of the king brought the Duke into alteration of intention & purpose, and not tarying so much as for a quarters pay, nor any furniture of artillery, he tooke his way towards *Plombyn*, & gaue order that the *Pisans*, who by meane of *Nitellozzo*, whom he had sent thither for artillery, were intamped before a borough of the *Florentines*, should withdraw and leauy their siege.

Being entred into the territories of *Plombyn*, he tooke *Superetta*, *Scatella*, and the Iles of *Elba* and *Pianosa*, and furnishing euery peece with sufficient garrison, as well for the defence of the places already occupied, as to entertaine continuall vexatio vpon them of *Plombyn*, he returned to *Rome* with the residue of his regiments, to follow the kings army that marched to the enterprise of *Naples*: whereof one part led by *M. d'Anbigny* was entred into *Tuscanie* by the way of *Castrocaro*, and the other folowed by the countrey *Lunigiana*. The whole army assembled in one strength, contained a thousand Launces, foure thousand *Swissers*, and fixe thousand footmen, of nation French and *Gascoynes*, to whom was ioyned (according to their manner) a great quantity of artilleries. About the same time also, the army by sea departed out of *Provence* for the same expedition, vnder the leading of the Lord of *Ranastyn* gouernour of *Genes*, wherein were three Caracks of *Genes*, & sixteene other ships, together with many other small vessels fraught with bands of footmen. Against these mouings & preparations of warre, king *Federik* (ignorant that the Spanish armies vnder shadow of friendship were prepared against him) solicited *Consaluo* (abiding in *Sicilia* with the regiments of *Spaniards*, & making semblance to succour him) to come to *Caserta*, after he had put into his hands certaine places of *Calabria* which he demaunded, to the end to make more easie the conquest he intended, but vnder colour that it was for the suretie of his people. King *Federik* made his reckening, that *Consaluo* being ioyned to the army, his strength in particular wold containe seuen hundred men at armes, fixe hundred light horsemen, & fixe thousand footmen, compounded vpon bodies, partly entertained already by him, and partly of such as the *Colonnos* leauied at *Marina*: a force which he supposed sufficient to resist the French men, without being constrained to inclose himselfe in townes, notwithstanding he nourished no great hope in the ayde from the Prince of the *Turkes*, of whom he had required succours with no smal instance, shewing him that he had more reaso to feare peril by the victory of the present king, then of the late king his predecessor. And to make cleare way to an actio of so great importace (it is a chiefe surety to Princes to cut off treasures in the beginning) he apprehended & put in prison, the Prince of *Bisignā* & the Count of *Meloste*, accused afore him to haue had secret intelligēce with the Count *Caiasse* who was in the French army. With these hopes (hauing also sent *Ferdinād* his eldest son being very yong to *Tarēta* more for his surety if things succeeded ill, then to defend the city) he encāped with his army

THE COMPTON
OF THE
FRENCH ARMY.

The computa-
tion of the
French army.

at *S. Germain*: where attending the succours of *Consaluo* and the bandes which the *Colonna* le-
uied, he hoped to accomplish a more happie action in the defence of the entrie into the king-
dome, then *Ferdinand* his nephew had done against the enterprise of king *Charles*.

The Pope gi-
ueth the inue-
stiture of the
kingdome of
Naples to the
French and
Spaniard in-
differently.

In this estate & disposition of affaires, all the regions of *Italy* were replenished with incredible
doubts & perplexities, euery one iudging that this enterprise would be a beginning of inost great
calamities: for that as the preparations of the French king seemed not so mightie, as to be able to
surmount the ioynt forces of king *Federike* and *Consaluo*, so wise men occupied this opinion, that
the spirits of so mightie kings beginning once to waxe angrie, both the one & other partie would
continue the war with far greater forces, which would sit vp easily through all *Italy* both great &
dangerous motions, for the diuerse inclinations of the other Potentates. But as soone as the French
army was ariued at *Rome*, the world saw easily into the vanitie of those discourfes: for that the Em-
bassadours of *France* & *Spaine*, entring together into the Consistorie, made publication afore the
Pope & Cardinals, of the league made betwene their kings, intending chiefly (as they said) to an
expedition to be made against the enemies to Christian religion: and demanding the inuestiture of
the kingdome according to the tenor of the conuentio made, it was agreed vnto by the Pope with
the same speed it was required, thinking it but reasonable to performe that which he made no diffi-
culty to graunt. In so much as no man doubting now what wold be the end of this war, the feares
of men were conuerted into admiration, euery one wondring at the doings of the French king,
who, by suffering the moytie of the realme to fall rather into the hands of the king of *Spaine*, did as it
were leade by the hand into *Italy* (where before he only was the Arbitrator of all things) another
king, to whom such as might be discontented with him, might haue recourse, & was also straightly
allied to the king of *Romans* by many bonds of affinitie, then to endure that king *Federike* might
remaine Lord of the whole, acknowledging to hold it of him, and yeeld him tribute for it; as by
sundrie meanes he had sought to obtaine it. But the vniuersal conceptions of men were no lesse de-
uided touching the integritie and faith of *Ferdinand*, who, by an ambitious lust to occupie one
part of the kingdome, had conspired against a king of his blood; & to draw him the more easily to
his ruine, he had alwayes entertained him with false promises to succour him; wherein he had not
only defaced the reputation of the title of king Catholike, which he & *Queene Elizabeth* his wife
had obtained certaine yeares before of the Pope: but also had stained that renowme and glorie
which held their names raised vp to the heavens, for driuing the *Moares* out of the realme of *Gra-
nado*, no lesse for the zeale they bare to religiõ, then for regard of their proper interest. To these im-
putations, or rather reproches imposed vpon both the one and other king, there was answered no
other thing for the French king, but that his power was sufficient to remedie all those disorders in
conuenient season, not remembring that where things are deuided, the suretie is intricate, & where
there be competitors to one thing, & they no lesse equall in strength, then all one in ambition, there
distrustes are nourished, and no part free from suspition, but all things intangled with confusions.
For *Ferdinand*, it was sayd, that albeit king *Federike* had giuen him iust occasion to be moued a-
gainst him, as knowing that he had long time before practised secretly with the French king to his
preiudice: yet that had not stirred him, but the consideration of the kings pretence, determining
in what sort soeuer it were, to performe an enterprise vpon the realme of *Naples*, brought him to
this necessitie either to defend it, or abandon it. In taking vpon him the defence, he should kindle
so great a fire, that it could not but send daungerous sparkes ouer all the common weale of *Chri-
stendome*, chiefly the *Turkes* armies being so strong and mightie against the *Venetians* both by
sea and land, and if he should abandon it, he knew his realme of *Sicilia* stood in manifest perill;
and besides, it was a thing that wrought too much to his detriment, that the French king should
occupie the realme of *Naples*, which of right belõged to him, & might eftsoones reuert to him by
new rights, if the lyne of *Federike* should faile: & therefore amyed so many difficulties he had chosen
the way of deuiding, with hope that by the ill gouernment of the French, their moytie might also
descend to him in time: and that in this case, as the regard of publike vtilitie counselled him, which
he had alwayes more highly esteemed then his proper profite: so he might either keepe it
in himselfe, or restore it to *Federike*, or rather leaue it to his issue and children, holding his
name almost in horrore, for that he knew, that afore the French king did any action vpon the Du-
chy of *Millan*, he had practised with the *Turkes*. These were the reasons generall alledged on the
behalfs of both the kings, supporting their actions more by strained colour, then equitie of title, &
applying

applying to the aduersitie of the king of *Naples*, their vniust ambitioⁿ, they made litle care to keep their particular moities, that had no conscience to euiet the iust owner out of the whole.

The league of the two kings brought such astonishment to *Federike*; that notwithstanding *Consaluo*, seeming to reiect that which was published at *Rome*, promised him with one constancie to come to his succours: yet, he chaunged his first counsels, and retired from *S. Germain* towards *Capua*, where he expected the effect of his direction for the bands leauied by the *Colonnos*: who, leauing garrison within *Amilian*, abādoned all the residue which they held in the territorie of *Rome*, for that the Pope by the cōsent of the Frēch king, had takē armes to occupy their estates. In which difficulties, *Consaluo*, being well aduertised that the French armie was passed *Rome*, discouered at last his commissions, & sending to *Naples* six gallies to bring away the two old Queenes, the one sister, & the other neece to his king, *Prosper Colonne* aduised king *Federike* to retaine the gallies, & drawing all his power into one strēgth, to make resistance to the enemies in the field: for that in making a triall of fortune, there would be some hope of victorie, the issues of battels being farre more incertaine, then all other humaine actions: Otherwise he saw nothing but manifest perill, two so mightie kings ioyning against him, and he nothing strengthened from the forreine, and lesse assured amid the treasons of his owne people: he told him, that in a daunger so present, celeritie was more necessarie then counsell; and against enemies so neare approaching, his greatest suretie stood in the expedition of the battell, hauing no other meane to make head against two so mightie kings inuading him in diuerse parts of his kingdome. But *Federike*, whose minde was wholly ouerruled with feares and doubts, found litle hope in this counsell; & therefore determined to looke to the garde of his townes, remembring that lesse in any other humane action, then in the successe of battell, the innocencie of the cause getteth the vpper hand. Therefore, *S. Germain* with other peeces neare about it, being already drawne into rebellion, yea euen before *M. d' Aubigny* marched from *Rome*: he determined to make the first defence in the towne of *Capua*, wherein he bestowed *Fabricio Colonne* with three hundred men at armes, certaine light horsemen, and three thousand footmen, and ioyned with him *Riunco de Marciano*, whom he had newly taken into his pay. He left *Prosper Colonne* for the garde of *Naples*, and him selfe, with the residue of his companies, entred *Auerso*. But as open warre ministreth many occasions to reuenge particular wrongs: so *Monsieur d' Aubigny* in his marching from *Rome*, burned *Marma*, & *Caua*, with certaine other peeces of the *Colonnos*, being angry that *Fabricio* had put to executioⁿ in *Rome*, the messengers of certaine Barons of the realme holding with the French, which were gone thither to cōtra^{ct} with him. Afterwards he tooke his way to *Mōtfortin*, where he thought *Iulio Colonne* would make resistance: but hauing left it abandoned with verie litle honour, *M. d' Aubigny* passing further, commaunded all the places which be along the way to *Capua* vntill the riuer of *Vulturno* neare *Capua*, which being too deepe for the armie to passe ouer without perill, the vertue of their Generall found out a way to passe, by marching vp more high towards the mountaine: wherof *Federike* being aduertised, retired to *Naples*, & abādoned *Auerso*, which with *Nola* & many other places gaue theselues to the Frēch, whose whole strēgth was now brought into the cōfines of *Capua*, where they cāped, some on this side, & some beyōd the riuer, on the vpper side where the riuer beginneth to run neare the towne: and putting force to their fortune, they battred it on all parts, & charged it afterwards with a furious assault, which albeit was not pleasant to them, but were constrained to retire from the wals with their many harmes: yet imparting no lesse terrour and daunger to the defendants, the mindes of the Captaines and souldiers began to incline to accord, the people of the Citie beginning to draw into mutinie, together with the regiments of Peasants withdrawne thither in great numbers. But as in warres there be some insolencies which the Captaines cannot bridle, and many negligences which befall instruments and occasions of perill: so *Fabricio Colonne*, the eight day after the Camp was planted, hauing begun to parley with the *Count Caiarze* vpon a Bastillioⁿ, the negligent garde of those that were within (as often hapneth when men be nearest accord) gaue occasion to the enemies to enter: and they, vsing the law of victors, tooke libertie to turne all things to the reward of their aduenture: in so much as what for the greedinesse of pillage, and desire to reuenge the harmes receiued at the first assault, they put the whole towne to sacke, and made a wonderfull slaughter, retaining onely for prisoners, such as remained free from their crueltie. The licentiousnesse of the victors was such, that their crueltie raged vpoⁿ all ages, sexes, & qualities

Prospero Colonne aduisech king Federike to adventure the battell.

Great cruelties of the French.

Insatiable lust
of Duke Val-
entinois.

of creatures, not sparing the virgins in religion, whose bodies were a miserable pray to the lust of the souldiers: and as many of them were sold afterwards at *Rome* for a verie small price, so some of them esteeming it agreeable to their vertue, to feare death lesse then the losse of honor, threw themselves into wels, & offered vp in riuers an oblation of their vndeified bodies. It is said, that besides other abominations worthie of perpetuall infamie, many of the womē which had escaped the first furie, being withdrawne into a Tower vnder none other confidence then such as follow creatures in miserie, the Duke of *Valentinois*, who followed the army as the kings Lieutenāt, went to take a view of them, accompanied onely with the Gentlemen of his house and his guard; and after he had considered, not of their estates, but of their beauties, the cōpassion he shewed, was, that he retained for his owne vie fortie of the most fairest of them. *Fabricio Colonne*, *Dom Hugo* of *Cardona*, and all the other Captaines and men of condition were made prisoners, amongst whom *Rinuccio Mariano*, who at the assault had receiued a wound with a crosbow shot, being in the keeping of the souldiers of the Duke, died within two dayes, not without suspicion of poison. The losse of *Capua* cut off all hopes to king *Federike* to be able hence forward to defend any thing. *Caietta* yeelded with a speed according to the felicitie of the victors. And *M. d' Aubigny* being come with his armie to *Auerse*, and the Citie of *Naples* left abandoned, which made composition for threescore thousand Duckats, *Federike* retired into the new Castle, and immediatly after (hauing onely regard to his life in such extremitie of fortune) made couenant with *Monfr d' Aubigny* to deliuer vp within fixe dayes all the townes and forts, which he held appertaining to that moytie of the diuision, which should descend to the French king: reseruing onely for fixe moneths the Ile of *Yschia*, during which time it should be lawful for him to go whither he wold, except in the realme of *Naples*: and to send an hundred men at armes to *Tarenta*: that he might take out of the new Castle and the egge Castle what he would, except the artilleries of king *Charles* which remained there: that free pardon should be giuen to all faults committed since the late king *Charles* conquered the realme of *Naples*: and that the Cardinals *Colonne* and *Aragon* should still enioy those ecclesiasticall reuenues which they had in the kingdome. But within the rocke of *Yschia* might be seene drawne into one shew, a true resemblance and figure of all the infelicities of the line of the old *Ferdinand* (which was a spectacle verie pitifull:) for that besides the aspect of *Federike* newly diuested of so noble a realme, the consideration of his litle children, ioyned to the lamentable condition of *Beatrice* his sister, redoubled his sorowes. To the calamitie of his sister, this increase of miserie happened; that after the death of her late husband *Matthias* that renowned king of *Hungary*, she receiuing promise of mariage of *Launcelot* king of *Bohemia*, inducing her to ayde him in the conquest of the same realme: she was refused by him with great ingratitude, after he had filled his delights with the sweete fruites of her bodie, and afterwards married another by the dispensation of Pope *Alexander*. To this infelicitie was also ioyned, *Isabell* afore time honored with the titles and dignities of Duchesse of *Millan*, but now no lesse wretched then the others, for that almost at one time, she suffered priuation of her husband, of her estate, and of her onely sonne. Amongst these tragicall accidents, I may not forget this notable example of the affection of a sonne to his father, a matter so much the more strange, by how much in those times the loue of children was rare towards their fathers. One of the sonnes of the *L. G. Montpensier* being gone to *Pozzuolo* to visite the sepulcher of his father, suffred him selfe to be so much ouerruled with passion, that after he had washed all parts of the monument with his lamentable teares, he fainted, and fell downe dead vpon the sepulcher of his father, who had as litle sence of those his latest sorowes, as he had feeling of so great a fault, to giue such libertie to the rage of nature.

The sorowes of
king Federike
redoubled.

A strange af-
fection of a
sonne.

Federike in
mind to com-
mit himselfe to
the honour and
clemency of the
French king.

“ To men afflicted this is one consolation, to know the vttermost of their mishaps, and when
“ the perils be past that nourished their feares, they returne to a comfort, not to consider what they
“ haue suffered, but to remember that no worse can happen. Euen so king *Federike* making the
extremest reckening of his aduersities, was resolued (bearing a settled hate to the king of *Spaine*,) to recommit him selfe wholly to the honour and clemency of the French king, to whom he sent to demanda safe conduct; and hauing obtained it, he left all the residue in the rocke of *Yschia*, where remained also *Prosper* and *Fabricio Colonne*: and the Ile remaining as it did before vnder the gouernment of the Marquis of *Gnast* and the Countesse of *Francqueuille*, after he had sent part of his people to the defence of *Tarenta*, he went into *Fraunce* with fise Galleys: a counsell
cuill

euill taken (sauiug that men in aduersitie haue no libertie of election) for that if he had bene in a place of libertie, seeing to what termes the warres grew afterwards betweene those two kings, he might happily haue bene holpen with many occasions afterwards to returne into his kingdom: but chusing rather to sit downe with the sweete frutes of a quiet life, then to follow the bitter trauels of a kingdom broken, his fortune brought him to this humilitie, to accept such conditions as were offered him by the king, who gaue him, to the end he might remaine in *Fraunce*, the Duchy of *Anjou*, with so liberall a pension, that it amounted euery yeare to thirtie thousand Duckats. At his departure he sent order to those in whose confidence he had left the gouernement of *Tschin*, that they should deliuer it vp to the French king, & shewing no lesse readinesse to render it then they were vnable to keepe it, he told them that the way to desie their fortune, was, not to giue her leaue to exercise her malice to their vttermoſt ruine.

Consaluo was marched at the same time into *Calabria*, where albeit was a generall inclination and desire to liue rather vnder the rule and Lordship of the French, yet their aduersities ouerruling their dispositions, he found almost no resistance, but with affections compelled, was receiued into euery towne, except *Manfredonia* and *Tarenta*. But the destinie of the countrey running with his fortune, after he had forced *Manfredonia* and the Castle, he incamped with his armie in the confines of *Tarenta*, where albeit he found greatest difficulties, yet in the end he had it by accord, for that the Count *Potensò*, to whose garde the young Duke of *Calabria* had bene recommended by his father) & Frier *Leonard* of *Naples*, Knight of *Rodes*, and gouernour of *Tarenta*, seeing no hope or possibilitie of further defence, compounded to giue vp the Citie and Castle, if within foure moneths they were not succoured. In which composition they receiued of him a solemne oath vpon the Sacrament, that he would leaue in libertie the Duke of *Calabria*, who had secret commandement from his father to come to him into *Fraunce* when he could no more resist his fortune: but neither the feare of God, nor regard to his honor, had more force, then the interest of the estate: for *Consaluo*, iudging what a matter of importance it would be in time to come, if the person of the Duke were not in the power of the king of *Spaine*: thinking it lesse sinne to dispense with his oath, thē to loose that oportunitie, would not suffer him to depart, but as soone as he could, sent him well accompanied into *Spaine*, where the king receiued him, and reteined him neare about him in high familiaritie and honours due to his greatnesse.

The eldest son
of king *Federick*
sent into
Spaine.

In these seasons the affaires of the Pope proceeded with a prosperitie accustomed, for that he had easily got all the estates which the *Colonniois* and *Sauelles* held in the confines of *Rome*, of the which he disposed one part to the *Ursins*. And the Duke *Valentinois* continuing his enterprise against *Plombyn*, sent thither *Uitellozze* and *Iohn Paule Baillon* with new regiments: for whose coming, and the ill disposition of his businesse, *Iacques Appyan* the naturall Lord, leauing the towne and Castle manned with garrisons according to his fortune, went with speede into *Fraunce*, to see if he might obtaine of the king (who long afore had receiued him into his protection) that for the regard of his owne honour he would not suffer him to perishe. The king, without couering his infamie by art, answered him roundly, that hauing promised the Pope not to oppose against him, he could not minister to his distresse without doing wrong to the league sworne. But as nothing is more swift then aduersitie, which keepes his course by the violent motion that driues him: so, whilst the miserable Lord of *Plombyn* was in vaine soliciting for succours, *Pandolfe Petrucci* rendered the towne to the Duke of *Valentinois*, and within few dayes after, the Castle, (his industrie no lesse thē his fortune, turning all things to his discomfort). In this course of the Popes felicities, he married his daughter *Lucrecia* (wife afore to three husbands, and now widow by the death of *Gismon* Prince of *Viselle*, bastard sonne to *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, whom the Duke *Valentinois* had slaine) to *Alphonso* eldest sonne to *Hercules D'Este*, with a portion of an hundred thousand Duckats in ready money, and many other giftes of great value. To this mariage so vnworthy for the house of *Este* which was wont to seeke societie with the families most noble, *Hercules* and *Alphonso* consented, partly for that the French king desiring to satisfie the Pope in all things, was an importunate procurer of it; but chiefly they thought by this meane (if against so great a disloyaltie there be any suretie sufficiēt) to assure thēselues of the armes and ambition of the Duke *Valentinois*; who bearing a great power by the treasure & authoritie of the Sea Apostolike ioyned to the fauours which the French king bare him, was the only man that was feared throughout the greatest part of *Italie*, euery one knowing that his ambi-

tion was infinite, & his couetousnesse without limite. The French king continued with great diligence the negotiation of peace with *Maximilian Caesar*, not only for the hopes he had to shake off by that meane, expences and suspitions, & to obtaine of him the inuestiture of the Duchie of *Millan* which he desired much: but also to haue oportunitie to offend the *Venetians*, as being perswaded that his prosperities were griuousto them, and with all nourishing this opinion, that they laboured secretly to breake the peace betweene *Cesar* and him. But that which most stirred him to this inclination, was a couetous desire (as well for himselfe as at the perswasions of the *Millanois*) to recouer *Cremona* and *Gusaradadda*, townes which himselfe had accorded to them a litle before: and also to get againe *Bresse*, *Bergame*, and *Creme*, auncient apertenaunces of the Duchie of *Millan*, and lately possessed by the *Venetians* in the warres which they had with *Philip Maria Visconte*. To debate these things to better effect, & to ordaine the prouisions necessary for the expedition of *Naples*, he had long time before sent to *Millan*, the Cardinall of *Ambosse*, the tongue and authoritie of whom, were the proper tongue and authoritie of the king, and who had remained there many moneths, being not able, for the ordinarie variatōs of the king of *Romains*, to establish any thing with him. About this time, the *Florentins* solicited by meane of the Cardinall, to be receiued of new into the kings protection: but they made a vaine labour of it, for that the king propounded hard conditions, and declared a great alienation and estrauing of minde from them. Wherein pretending to be no further bound to the couenants made at *Millan*, he caused to be assigned ouer to the *Lucquois* (receiued of new into his protectiō) *Pietrasanta* and *Mutron*, as being auncient members of that Citie: but not without the summe of foure and twentie thousand Duckats, which he receiued of them as Lord of *Genes*, for that the *Lucquois* anciēt owners of *Pietrasanta*, had by reason of some necessities, engaged it for the like summe to the *Genoways*, from whom it was discēded afterwarde to the *Florentins* by force of armes. Besides, the Cardinall treated with them of *Sienna*, *Lucqua*, & *Pisa*, to knit them altogether for the reestablishing of *Peter de Medicis* in *Florence*: wherein as the Cardinall cast his plot, that the king should obtaine by this action a round summe of money of euery of them, so his intention tooke such proceeding, that they were almost at accord, and yet the deuise dissolved without effect, for that there was no agreement amongst them to satisfie the proportion of money that was demanded.

At length the Cardinall, winning by litle & litle vpon the inclination of the king of *Romains*, had a more certaine hope then before to contract some accord: and in that regard he went to *Trent*, to communicate with him, where they treated of many things concerning the establishment of Madame *Claude* the kings daughter, with *Charles* the eldest sonne to the Archduke, with concession of the inuestiture of the Duchie of *Millan* to both the one and other of them: they treated also to leaue war against the *Venetians*, to recouer those places which either of them pretended to be vsurped vpon them: and lastly, they consulted to call a generall Councell to reforme the Church, not onely (as they protested) in her members, but also in her head. Which motion the king of *Romains* seemed to entertaine with a semblance of consent, to nourish the hopes of the Cardinall of *Ambosse* to obtaine the Popedom, whereunto he aspired with manifest ambition, the king his maister being a speciall furtherer of the action for the interest of his proper greatnesse: Such a raging humour is ambition, that it tempteth those men to sollicite high honors, who for their proper vertues, are vnworthy of them: It makes them blind in their desires, and impudent to hope to compasse euē things that are without their reach. On the behalfe of the French king, it was accorded in that contract, that what confederation or alliance he had made, it should bee vnderstood with this clause, sauing the rites of the Empire, by meane whereof it should be lawfull to the Emperour to challenge it aswel for those that should be now named by the king, as for such as he had afore taken into his protection. There rested onely the principall difficulty touching the inuestiture, for that *Cesar* refused to graunt it to the issue males if the king should haue any. They stood also vpon termes for restitution of the exiles of the Duchie of *Millan*, which being instantly demanded by *Cesar*, the king refused flatly to graunt; for that besides they were many in number, there were also personages of importance and authoritie. At last by compulsiō of the kings importunities, he was content to giue libertie to Cardinall *Ascanius*, & hope of the like grace to *Lodowik Sforce*, with assignation of pension of twentie thousand Duckats by yeare to furnish his countenance in the Realme of *France*. By reason of these difficulties,

ties, they fell not otherwise to accord, then with hopes to be able to introduce some conuenient forme, & therefore the truce being eftsfoones prolonged, the Cardinall returned into *France*, holding almost for certaine, that the matters which they had debated, would with speede diuolue to their perfectiō: which opinion was augmented by this occasion, that a litle after, the Archduke, before he went into *Spaine* to receiue in his person, & the person of *Lane* his wife eldest daughter of the king there, the oath of fidelitie of the peoples, as ordained to that successiō: he made his way by lād accompanied with his wife, & met at *Blois* with the French king, who receiuing him with many honors, they rested agreed touching the mariage of their children. In this yeare dyed *Augustin Barbarin* Duke of *Venice*, who managed his principality with such happinesse & authority, that in many actiōs it seemed that he ouercame the degree of his predecessors: therefore the power of his successors being limited by new lawes, *Leonard Loredan* was elected in his place, the common weale feeling no change in publike things, neither by the death of the Prince, nor for the election of a new: so excellent was the forme of his gouernement.

In this yeare, the *Florentins* and the *Pisans* (contrary to the customes of the yeares before) brought forth no great actions one against the other: for that the *Florentins*, being no more vnder the protection of the French, and standing in continuall suspition of the Pope and the Duke *Valeuinois*, studied more to keepe that was their owne, then to offend others: and the *Pisans* not hauing of themselues any power to vex them, had lesse possibilitie to do it by the ayde of others, for that there were none that stirred otherwise in their fauours, but onely to sustaine them when they were in perill of ruine. But in the yeare 1502. might be scene a recontinuatiō of their actions accustomed, for that the *Florentins*, almost in the beginning of the yeare, contracted of new with the French king, after they had ouercome all difficulties, more by the benefit of fortune, then by the disposition of the king or other occasions: seeing the king of *Romains* (since the Cardinall of *Amboise* departed) being possessed of new thoughts & purposes, & refusing to accomplishe to the French king the inuestiture of the Duchie, yea euen to his daughters married, sent as his Embassadours into *Italie*, *Hermes Sforce*, whom the king had acquitted of his imprisonment, and the Prouost of *Bessina*, to deale with the Pope and the other Potentates touching his descending into *Italie*, to take the Crowne of the Empire. These Embassadours, omitting no oportunitie wherein occasion was giuen, as they sojourned certaine dayes in *Florence*, obtained promise of the same Citie to contribute to his ayde with a hundred men at armes and thirtiethousand Duckats, as soone as he was entered into *Italie*. In which respect, the French king (Princes are iealous one ouer another touching amities & forreine confidences) who feared least the *Florentins* dispairing of his friendship, would turne their fauours to *Maximilian*, was content to qualifie the immoderate demands he had made to them, & contracted an accord vnder conditions more tollerable: the generall parts wherof were these: That the king receiuing them into his protectiō, should be bound for three yeare following, to defend them with armes at his proper expēces, against who so euer would directly or indirectly molest the touching the state and dominions which at that time they possessed: That the *Florentins* should pay to him within the said three yeares, six score thousand Duckats, euery yeare a third part: That all other capitulations made betweene them, with all bondes and promises depending on the same, should be made dissolued and voyde: That it should be lawfull to the *Florentins* to proceede with armes against the *Pisans*, and all others that occupie their lands.

Accord betweene the French king and the Florentines.

In regard of which confederation, the *Florentins* recomforted and taking a new hart, determined to giue the spoyle to the cornes and graines of the countrey of *Pisa*, to the end that by time and famine, they might reduce the towne of *Pisa* to their obedience, seeing they had so vnluckily trauelled to force them by siege. This counsell was propounded in the first yeare of their rebellion by a certaine well experienced Citizen, alledging that by those meanes, more certaine, but further off, they should afflict and consume the *Pisans*, with litle expences and lesse danger: he told the that in regard of the present cōditions of *Italy*, much troubled & molested, if they would make store of their treasures, they might make them serue their turnes in many occasions: but if, with the wast of their money, they would range them by force & cōpulsion, they should find the enterprise both doubtful & dangerous, for that the suretie of that Citie was great by the situation & strength of the walles, and full of inhabitants well resolute to defend it: besides also, as often as there should be perill to lose it, it would be rescued by all those that to the enuie of our well doing, haue ioyned a settled disposition to see it preferred: in so much as the expences being greater then the hopes,

we should alwayes nourish our proper daungers, and cut out occasions to stirre vp new trauels: All violent attempts being set forth without counsell, at the beginning seeme mightie, but in continuance they are found insufficient, since in the field, armor and weapons are to small purpose, if at home a sound counsell set not downe a good direction. The counsel of this gracie Citizen being rejected in the beginning for hurtful, after the course of many yeres, was found profitable, but in a time wherein they had wasted huge expences & treasures, & attempted the victory with many intollerable dangers. After they had ouerrun their corne, hoping that the authority of the kings protection wold defend all me from rising in the succours of the *Pisans*, they planted their siege before *Licopisan*, for that not many dayes before, the *Pisans* had taken it from them by treason of certaine souldiers that were within: and the Captaine of the Castell not abiding for the succours which should haue arrived within few houres, did render it to them with great cowardise. They made no doubt to cary it, by the penury of prouision and victuals, which they knew could not suffice for fifteene dayes, and they had good confidence to let that none should enter, for that by the benefite of their Bastillions, which they had builded separate vpon the mountaines, they commaunded all the passages: and in the same season being aduertised, that *Fracasse* but poore and without pay, was going with a few horsemen to enter *Pisa*, in the name and with letters of *Maximilian*, they gaue direction that he should be charged on the way, where his fortune being no lesse enuious then his condition was poore, he was made prisoner, seeking his safetie in a Church within the iurisdiction of the Duke of *Ferrara*. These accidents fell in *Tuscan*, no man as yet perceiuing what would happen by them contrary to the expectation of euery one.

The French & the Spaniards do disagree vpon the deuiding of Naples.

But farre more, great and daungerous motions, and of the which were to descend in time to come, effects of right great importance, beganne to be disclosed in the kingdome of *Naples*, by the discords which hapned the yere passed betweene the French and Spanish Captaines. They tooke their beginning, for that in the diuision made betweene both the kings, the countrie of *Lanoro* and *Abruzzo* being adiudged to the one; and to the other, *Powilla* and *Calabria*, the confines and limites of the prouinces were not well expressed in the diuision, in so much as either one began to pretend, that that part which is called *Capitainato* did distantly and particularly appertaine to him. To this controuersie gaue a great occasion, the alteration and chaunge made by *Alphonso*, of *Aragon* King of *Naples*, first of that name, touching the auncient denomination and diuision of the prouinces: He, looking to make easie the exactions of the reuenues, deuided all the kingdome into these fixe principall prouinces, *Lanoro*, *Principato*, *Basilicato*, *Calabria*, *Powilla*, and *Abruzzo*: Of these *Powilla* was distinguished into these three members, *Otranto*, *Bary*, and *Capitainato*, which *Capitainato* adioyning to *Abruzzo*, and diuided from the residue of *Powilla* by the Riuer *Lofanto*, aunciently called *Ausido*, the Frenchmen, taking rather the aduantage of the auncient diuision, then ruled by the late denomination, pretended, that either *Capitainato* was not comprehended vnder any one of the foure prouinces deuided, or else that it was rather part of *Abruzzo* then of *Powilla*. In this contention, the importance of the countrey ledde them not so much, as the consideratiō of these two infirmities; the one, for that not possessing *Capitainato*, they had no part in the reuenue which was drawne of the tribute of cattell, a reuenue of greatest profit in all the Realme of *Naples*: the other, for that *Abruzzo* and *Lanoro* being naked of graines and corne which came to *Capitainato*, whose prouinces in times of sterilitie might be easilie reduced into great extremities, as often as the Spanish would make restraint that none should be fetched out of *Powilla* and *Sicilia*. But it was alleaged on the contrary, that *Capitainato* could not appertaine to the French, for that *Abruzzo* which is ended in the high places, stretcheth not so farre as the plaines: and for that also in cases of difference of the names and limits of prouinces, the vsage present is alwayes considered. Notwithstanding these controuersies suspending, they were content for the yere present to deuide equally the reuenue of the cattell: but in the yere following, falling from that obseruation, either partie tooke as much as he could get, whereunto were added afterwards new quarrels, nourished til that time (as the bruite went) more by the wils of the Captaines, then of the consent of their Lords and Kings. For the Spaniards pretended that *Principato* and *Basilicato* were included in *Calabria*, which is deuided into two parts, *Calabria Cyra* and *Calabria Ultra*, that is, the one higher and the other lower: and also that the valley of the *Beneuent* which the French held, was part of *Powilla*, and therefore sent officers to keepe

Courts

Courtes of iustice at *Tripaldo* within two miles of *Anelino*, where were resident the French magistrates. These beginnings of open dissention being troublesome to the principall Barons of the realme, they interposed betweene *Consaluo* and *Lewys d'Arminack*, Duke of *Nemours*, Viceroy for the French king, and by their intercession, *Lewys* being come to *Melfe*, and *Consaluo* to *Atele* a towne of the Prince of *Melfe*, after the trauell of certaine moneths (in which time the two Captaines spake together) finding in them no conformitie to any forme of accord, they brought them to agree to expect such resolution as their kings should set downe of the controuerse, and that in the meane time they should forbear to innouate any thing. But the Viceroy for the French, presuming much that he was the mightier in power and force, within few dayes after, published another declaration, protesting to make warre vpon *Consaluo*, if he would not vpon the sight leaue *Capitinato*: and with a speede as swift as his counsell was rash, he made his souldiers runne vpon euen to *Tripaldo*, of which inuasion the warre tooke his beginning, wherein the French perseuering with actions of hostility, they folowed their purpose without regard, to occupy by force in *Capitinato* and other quarters, the townes which the Spanish held. Which outrages were not onely not redressed by the French king, but being aduertised that the Spanish meant not to yeeld him *Capitinato*, he conuerted himselfe wholly to the warre, and sending by sea for the strength of his people, two thousand *Swizzers*, he kept still entertained in his pay the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignian*, and other of the principall Barons: besides, the kings person came to *Lyon*, to the end in his owne presence to furnish more conueniently the prouisions necessary for the conquest of the whole kingdome, whereunto (the places in question were lesse then to satisfie his ambition) he aspired manifestly, with intention to passe into *Italy* if neede require: a voyage which he was constrained to performe with a speede aboute his expectation, to suppress the new tumults hapned in *Turkane*, to the which *Vittellozze* gaue beginning with the priuity and consent of *I. P. Baillon*, and the *Yrmins*, but epecially by the counsell & authority of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, who all ioyned in one desire, that *Peter de Medicis* might be re-established in the estate of *Florence*.

The beginning
of warres in
Naples vnder
K. Lewis the
twelfth.

Of this begunne the mutiny: *William Pazzi* Agent for the *Florentyns* in *Aretze*, being aduertised that certaine of the Citizens had conspired with *Vittellozze* to stirre the City to rebellion against the *Florentyns*, beleued that in such a commualty of wise Citizens, the mind of euery one was not corrupted, nor remembring that to fauour the suspicion, makes the treason more dangerous. And occupying with himselfe this perswasion, that the authority of the name publike, would supply the want of forces, he omitted to areare a sufficient strength to oppresse the conspirators and such as had power to resist him, and onely apprehended for prisoners, two of the accessaries and competitors to the treason: a dealing too milde in so great perill, for that he gaue opportunity to the residue of the conspirators, to raise the people, by whom (according to the ill affection they bare the *Florentyns*) the prisoners were easily reskued, and the Agent apprehended, together with the residue of the officers, suffering this danger more by their owne credulity and negligence, then any prowesse or vertue of their aduersaries. The whole City forthwith published the name of liberty, and made manifest declaration of rebellion, the Citadell onely remaining in the deuotion of the *Florentyns*, to the which, in the beginning of the tumult, was retired *Cosma* Bishop of the same place, and sonne to the Agent, seeking his safety where either his feare or fortune would leade him. After this beginning, the men of *Aretze* sent speedily to *Vittellozze*, who was not well content that the matter was burst out afore the time he had agreed with the conspirators, for that it was to intercept him in his pollicy, as hauing not yet set downe sufficient direction for the prouisions he meant to make to resist the bands of the *Florentyns*, if (as was very likely) they made any attempt to enter *Aretze* by the Citadell: For feare whereof, and to satisfie with his presence the minds of the Citizens, he went from *Citta de Castello* to *Aretze*, accompanied with his men at armes and a choyse strength of footmen, and leauing order that they should looke diligently to hold those in the Citadell straitly inclosed, to the end that through it there might be no action against the Citie, he returned estsoones to *Citta de Castello*, promising to come againe with the same speede, but with a greater strength: In all humane actions, there is nothing which with lesse perill may not temporise and expect, then rebellion, in the oppression whereof there is no greater vertue then expedition of action: For that, by how much it is suffered, by so much it riseth into degrees of worse nature, euen as a soare that,

Aretze rebel-
lith against
the *Florentyns*
in fauour of
*Peter de Me-
dicis*.

is lingred, breedeth a cure doubtfull. They of *Florence* to whom appertained to provide for this mischief, considered not well in the beginning, of what importance it was: for, the principall Citizens, by whose counsell the waighthy affaires of the City had wont to passe, giuing this direction, that the regiments which were incamped before *Vicopisan* (a number so sufficient, that marching with diligence they might haue vanquished all resistance (should be conuerted to *Aretze*. Many others which occupied the greatest romthes and offices (their knowledge being lesse then their authority, and their ignorance slaunderous to the places they occupied) maintained that it was a matter but of small moment, and that they might redresse it with the forces of their other subiects, neighbors to the same city. Their ignorance made the suspect the soundnesse of the other counsell, and according to their wilfull credulity, they beleueed that those good Citizens, bearing minds estranged from the present gouernment, made the daunger farre greater then it was, for a desire they had to hinder the action of *Vicopisan*, and by that meane to take away the oportunity to recouer *Pisa*. By which variation & wandering in counsel, they deferred so long to send strength thither, that *Vitellozze* taking courage of their delayes, returned to *Aretze* with an increase of forces, drawing thither after him with other bands *I. P. Baillon*, and *Fabio* the sonne of *P. Vrsin*, *Peter de Medicis* and the Cardinall: who hauing receiued munitions from *Sienna*, they began to batter the Citadell, wherein (according to the custome of many which are more craefull to erect new fortifications, the diligent to preferue the forts already builded) was no lesse want of victuals, then of all other prouisions necessary to defence. And to adde the last discomfort to men in extremity, they enuironed it so straightly with trenches and mounts on the out side to giue impediment to the succours that might enter, that they made them naked of all comfort, other then such as men in misery may hope for: and therefore, waighing with their wants within the Castell, the weaknesse of the *Florentyns* to minister sufficient succours, and in due season (being come but to *Quarata*, and durst not passe further) they rendred by necessity, that which they could not hold by their vertue, making only this agreemēt, that the residue remaining in liberty, the Bishop with eight others which they of *Aretze* would chuse, should abide prisoners, to exchange them for some of their Citizens which were prisoners at *Florence*. The cōmons of *Aretze* dismantled the Citadell, & the army of the *Florentins*, fearing least *Vitellozze* & *Iohn Pawle*, who were farre stronger then they, would charge them, retired to *Montemarcho*, leauing to the discretion of the enemies, all the places there about. It was beleueed, that this enterprise was made without the priuity or knowledge of the Pope and Duke *Valentinois*, in whom was no contentment that *Peter de Medicis* should returne to *Florence*, for that he was straightly allied with *Vitellozze* and the *Vrsins*, whom they had secretly determined to oppresse: and yet hauing alwayes giuen them hope of the contrary, they consented that *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Pawle* and *Fabio*, mercenary in their pay, should prosecute the enterprise: Yea they did not dissemble that they were very glad, of the rebellion of *Aretze*, hoping, that by those displeasures done to the *Florentyns*, it might happen, that either they might get some part of their dominion, or at least constraime them, for their profit, to some hard condition. But the *Florentyns* not beleueing but that they were the authours of the whole mischief, were so much the more terrified, and therefore reposing litle in the remedies which of themselues they were able to apply, for that, by the ill disposition of the City, they had in their pay but a very small proportion of men at armes, & not able to refurbish their power so soone as the necessity of their danger required: they had speedy recourse to the French King, laying afore him not only that which they could challenge by his honour, binding himselfe so lately to their defence, but also the apparent daunger to the Duchy of *Mullan*, if the Pope and Duke *Valentinois* (against whom was no litle suspicion to be the kindlers of this commotion) became Lords ouer *Tuskane*. They debated with him by liuely reasons, that the Pope and the Duke were mighty in armes, hauing an army compounded vpon excellent Captaines and souldiers of choise, and that by the declarations they made, neither *Romania* nor *Tuskane* would suffice their infinite ambition, aspiring into matters more ample and immoderate. And lastly, seeing they had offended the honour of the King, by inuading such as were in his protection, necessity now constrained them, to thinke no lesse vpon their owne suretie, then to take from him the meane to be reuenged of so great an iniurie.

The Florentins
haue recourse
to the French
king.

These reasons moued not a litle the King, who had already begunne to mislike with the infolency and ambition of the Pope and his sonne: and considering that the warre was begun in the kingdom:

kingdome of *Naples* betweene him and the Spanish, and the negotiation of accord with *Maximilian* broken, and lastly that he was not (for many reasons) to trust the *Venetians*, he began to doubt least the inuasion of *Tuskane* (supported by some secret counsell of others) turned not to his great disadvantage. In which opinion he was confirmed greatly by certaine aduertisements from *Charles d'Amboise* the Cardinals Nephew, and Lieutenant to the King in all the Duchie of *Millan*, who suspecting such innouations, perswaded the King to provide carefully for his proper daunger: and therefore with a counsell resolved, and direction equall to the importunity of the businesse, determining to make march into *Italy* with all speede his army, and to succour readily the *Florentins*, he gaue charge in the meane while to the sayd Lord *Charles*, to send forthwith to their rescues, foure hundred Launces, and dispatched an Herald in post to commaund not onely *Vitellozzo*, *John Pawle*, *Pandolfe*, and the *Vrsins*, but also the Duke *Valentino*, to forbear to offend any more the *Florentins*; whetein himselfe made great instance to the Popes Embassador, and threatned with very sharpe words *Julian de Medicis*, and the agents of *Pandolfe* and *Vitellozzo* which were in his Court.

But in this time, the Duke *Valentino*, who since the accident of *Aretze*, was come out of *Rome* with his army, making semblance to take *Camerin*, whither he had sent before the Duke of *Grassino* and *Liuero de Ferme* with part of his bands, to make spoyle and hold it besieged, but in true meaning to surprize vnder that semblance the Duchy of *Vrbino*. After he had reassembled his armie vpon the confines of *Perousa*, he demaunded of *Guidobaldo* Duke of *Vrbino*, money and artillery: which was easily agreed to him, for that it was neither for his surety to refuse a Prince who had his strength so neare, and also hauing a little before compounded with the Pope touching the controuersie of a tribute, he had no occasion to feare. The Duke *Valentino*, hauing by this meane made the other lesse sufficient for his owne defence, departing sodainely from *Nocero*, and marching with a diligence so well disposed as he would giue his men no leasure to repose or bayte, he arriued the same day at *Cagly* a towne of the Duchy. The suddenesse of whose coming, and against a people vnprovided, brought such a generall amaze, that the Duke and *Francis Maria Romero* Prefect of *Rome*, his nephew, had scarce leasure to find safety in flying: such a passion is sudden feare, that it makes men runne, not whither counsell directs them, but whither their fortune will leade them, not suffering them to consider of their perill, but makes them oftentimes to throw away their weapons, and refuse the thing that should be their safeguard, but the Duke *Valentino*, putting diligence to the disposition of his fortune, obtained in very few hours, a victory of all that state, except the Roocke of *Saint Leon*, and *Manniola*; to the great displeasure and feare of *Pandolfe*, *Vitellozzo*, and the *Vrsins*, who now began to discern their proper perils, by the harmes of another.

After the conquest of the Duchie of *Vrbino*, the Duke *Valentino*, who iudged all aduentures inferior to his fortune, was raised into diuerse thoughts: somtimes he determined to make an end of the enterprise of *Camerin*, and somtimes he resolved to inuade openly the *Florentins*. In which counsell he had stood settled, if the commaundement he receiued from the French king, had not bridled his ambition, hauing assured knowledge, that notwithstanding the Popes trauell to alter him, his maiestie had sent men at armes in fauour of the *Florentins*, & was resolutely determined to defend them, and in that inclination he prepared to passe in person into *Italy*. These doubts drawing diuerse reasons; with no lesse variation touching the ende of things, so incombered his thoughts, that he staid within *Vrbino* to consider what he had to do, and what would be the successe of things, during which time the Pope & he solicited many matters with the *Florentins*, hoping to bring them somewhat to condescend to their desires: & on the other side, he suffered many of his souldiers to go continually to the Campe of *Vitellozzo*: who hauing assembled an army of eight thousand horsemen and three thousand footmen, and for the better reputation of his doings, calling his army the Camp Ecclesiasticall, had, since the fending of the Citadell of *Aretze*, occupied *Mount S. Souny*, *Chastillon d'Aretze*, and the city of *Cortono* with all the other townes and boroughs of *Valdichiano*: of the which not one of them taried an assault, both for that they saw the succours of the *Florentins* not in readinesse, & also, the time seruing them to gather the fruits, it stood not with their abilities to lose the profit of their reuenues, alledging that in that respect they were not rebels to the *Florentins* seeing *Peter de Medicis* was in the army, for whose restoring it was

Duke Valentino
now takes the
Duchy of Vr.
by force.

sayd that enterprise was made: and it is not to be doubted, that if *Vitellozze*, after the taking of *Cortona*, had suddenly entred the countrey *Casentin*, but it had bene in his power to haue marched euen to the wallés of *Florence*, both for that the French bandes were not yet come, and also the most part of the *Florentine* footmen were disperfed, for that almost (the townes being loft) the occasion of seruice ceased: and they were returned to their houses. But as it hapneth oftentimes that verie small impedimentes hinder the execution of many high enterprises, so the desire hee had to winne for him selfe the borough of *S. Sepulcher* (a place neare to *Citta de Castello*) hindred the better counsell, notwithstanding (to couer his couetousnesse) he alledged that it was not sure to leaue behinde his backe any place that was enemye: therefore hee turned towards *Anguiano*, which place, albeit it onely had this constancie to abide till the artilleries were planted, being too weake to resist so strong an enemye, yeelded to discretion without excepting any thing. From thence he marched to the borough *S. Sepulcher* which he took by accord, hauing no better abilitie of resistance then the rest, and so drawing towards *Casentin*, and arriuing at the village of *Rassina*, he sent to summon the towne of *Poppie*, of strong situation, but wherein were verie few souldiers: but the reputation of the French armes supplied their weaknesse & want of fortres, for that two hundred Launces arriued alreadie neare *Florence* vnder Captaine *Imbault*, and not daring for lacke of footmen, to affront the enemye, were marched to *S. Iohn d'Arno*, with intention to reassemble in that place all the bands. Which being knowne to *Vitellozze*, and fearing least his absence would be inconuenient for them of *Aretze*, hee retired with diligence from *Lanernia* within two miles of *Quaratta*, and from thence drawing on to declare that he feared not the enemye, & to assure *Rhondina* with other places there abouts, he encaped in a strong place on that side to *Rhondina* hauing left certaine bands of footmen for the gard of *Cimitella* and *Gargonse*, which were the ports or gates by the which the *Florentin* bands might enter into the countrey. These companies (being also arriued two hundred Launces more vnder Captaine *La Hire*) assembled betwene *Momenuarche* & *Laterina*, with intention, that as soone as they had gathered a strength of three hundred footmen, to go incampe neare *Vitellozze* vpon some high hill: A resolution against his suretie, and therefore neither able to keepe that place, nor leaue his Camp without great daunger, he retired neare to the wallés of *Aretze*: but the French taking the field with their whole armie, and incamping right ouer against *Quaratta*, he was driuen to retire within *Aretze*. Where albeit he had sayd to many, that hee would performe a notable defence in the same Citie, yet new accidents hapning, he was constrained to turne to new thoughts. For, *Iohn Paule Baillon* was come to *Perouse* with his regiment, fearing (by that that was done to the Duke of *Urbino*) least he should fall into daunger of the like oppression. By reason of which examples, and no lesse for that which hapned in *Camerin*, *Vitellozze*, *Pandolfe Petrucci*, & the *Ursins*, fell into great confusion of minde: For in the verie time that the Duke *Valentinois* communed of accord with *Iules de Varana* Lord of *Camerin*, hee surprised the Citie by suttile meanes, and hauing *Iules* in his power with two of his sonnes, he caused them to be strangled with the same inhumanitie which he vsed against others. But that which most amazed *Vitellozze*, was, that the French king, alreadie come to *Ast*, sent *Louys Trimonille* into *Tuscan* with two hundred Launces, & great strength of artilleries: who marching to *Parma*, expected there three thousand *Swysers*: which the king sent for the recouerie of *Aretze*, at the charges of the *Florētins*. The king being greatly kindled against the Pope, had an intentiō to despoile the Duke *Valentinois* of *Romania* with other estates occupied by him, and for that effect, had sent for all those that either feared his power, or had bene offended by him, whom he assured that he would execute that intention in person, and protested publicly with great affection, that it was an enterprise no lesse full of pietie and deuotion, then if the action were dressed against the *Turks*. He layd also his plot, at that time to chase out of *Sienna* *Pandolfe Petrucci*, for that he had sent mony to *Lodowike Sforce* when he returned to *Millan*, and alwayes had made open profession to be Imperiall. But the Pope and Duke *Valentinois* knowing that they were not able to resist so great a storme and rage of anger of the French king, had recourse to their suttleties and well experienced craftes, with the which they forged excuses, that the actions against *Aretze* were done by *Vitellozze* without their knowledge, & that their authority sufficed not to restrain him, & much lesse to keepe fro aiding him, the *Ursins*, and *I. P. Baillon*, who albeit were in his pay, yet they were ouerruled with the regard to their proper interests: & the better to bring the mind of the king to moderatiō, Duke *Valent.* sent to tell *Vitellozze*, that if he restored not *Aretze*

Tyrannicall
murder vpon
the Lord of
Camerin and
his two sonnes
by Duke *Valentinois*.

and the other places of the *Florentins*, he would come with his whole army, and compell him to render that, which he had vniustly gotten. Which summons ioyed to the consideration of the present estate of the affaires, bred no litle astonishment in the mind of *Vitellozze*, fearing least (as hapneth for the most part) that the strongest being reconciled, the indignation of the king would turne against him, which was the weaker in strength, and farre inferior in all other meanes: and therefore to auoyd his peril so apparant, he called into *Aretze* the Captaine *Imbault* (contrary notwithstanding to the wils of the *Florentins*, who desired that the townes lost might be redeliuered freely in the field) who compounded that *Vitellozze* departing immediatly with all his companies, should consigne *Aretze* with all the other places to the French Captaines to hold them in the kings name, vntill the Cardinall *Vrsin*, who went to the king, had spoken with his maiesty: and that in the meane while, there should not enter into *Aretze* other companies then of the French Captains with forty horsemen: for whose surety, & no lesse for obseruation of the articles promised, he should giue two of his Nephewes in ostage to Captaine *Imbault*. As soone as the accord was passed, he went with all his companies and artillery from *Aretze*, leauing to the French men, the whole possession of all the other places, which forthwith were deliuered ouer to the *Florentins* by the kings commission. Whilest the Parley of the accord continuèd, Captaine *Imbault* answered in scorn to the complaints, which the *Florentins* made, that he could not discerne wherein consisted that great celebration of spirit and wisdom in the *Florentins*, seeing they knew not, that the sooner to assure the victory without difficulty and expences, and to auoide peril of other disorders, how to desire that *Aretze* might fall into the hands of the king, who was not bound to beare regard (but in sort as he thought good) to the promises made by his Captaines to *Vitellozze*. But the *Florentins* more by their fortune then their vertue, being deliuered with great facility, but not without huge expences, of so terrible & vnlooked for assault, began to looke to the reordaining and redressing of the pollicy of their common weale, by the confusion and disorders of which, experience had made them find out, yea euen to the estate of the communalty, that they were falne into so great and sundry daungers, for that by the often chaunge of magistrates, and for the name of a few that were suspected to the people, there was not one whether he were publike or a priuat person, in whom rested a perpetuall care of the affaires. But for that tyrannie was abhorred almost of the whole city, & the authority of personages most honest was suspected of the multitude, and for that by the president of times past, they held it not possible to ordaine with common deliberation, a perfect forme of government, the ignorant sort and incapable being not able to be conuincèd with reasons only: it was determined to introduce for the time, this only new thing, that the *Gonfalonier* of iustice chiefe of the dominion, & whose creatiō (together with it) was for the time of two moneths, should be chosen hereafter for his whole life: so might he keepe a continuall study ouer the affaires publike, that through negligence they might not fall effsoones into so great daungers. It was hoped, that with the authority which the quality of his person would giue him, and for that he was to remaine perpetually in so great dignity, he should winne such opinion of faith & credit with the people, that with time he might easily reestablish the other parts of the gouernment, & withall, placing Citizens of greatest condition in some degrees honourable, he might constitute a meane betweene himselfe & the communalty, by the which the ignorance and liberty popular being tempered, and all such bridled as should succeede him in the same dignity, if they would aspire or rise too high, he might leaue established a wise and honourable gouernment, with many good circumstances to containe the City in peace. After this deliberation was well debated and resoluèd, there was chosen for *Gonfalonier*, by the great Councell with a concourse and consent of almost all the Citizens, *Peter Soderin*, a man for his age very ripe in counsell and experience, for his countenance, of very great wealth and furnishings for his house, noble aboue most of the residue of Citizens; for his credit, mightie in opinion & affection with the people; and bearing a reputation of integrity, continencie, and to haue alwayes nourished great cares of the publike businesse. Lastly, he was without children, a point not of the least consideration, for that they might breede occasions to lift vp his thoughts to ambitious purposes.

But now to returne to the affaires common and generall: As soone as the French king was come to *Aff*, all the Princes and free Cities of *Italy* (according to their custome) ranne to him: some in person, & some by Embassadors: amongst whom was *Baptistum Vrsin* Cardinall, who went thither

*Disorder in
Florence
during the
gouernment.*

*Peter Soderin
chosen chiefe
magistrate du-
ring his life.*

*The French
king in Aff.*

against the Popes will, to iustifie his brethren and *Vitellozzo* touching the action of *Arezzo*, and withall to stirre vp the king against the Pope and Duke *Valentinois*, against whom, by the consideration of the vehemencie shewed afore by the king, all *Italy* expected with great desire, that the French forces might be opposed. But experience declareth this to be true, that that which many desire, succeedeth rarely, for that the effects of humaine actions depending ordinarily of few, and the intentions and ends of them differing from the meanings and ends of many, hardly can things succcede otherwayes then according to the intention of those that giue their first motion: euen so it hapned in this case, for that interelts and ends particular induced the king to make deliberations contrary to the desire vniuersall. Wherein the thing that moued the king, was not so much the diligence of the Pope, who ceased not by the negociation of men speciall, to labour to appease him, as the suttile counsell of the Cardinall *Amboise*, nourishing a perpetuall desire to enter amity betweene the Pope and the king, induced perhaps thereunto (besides the weale & vtility of his king) for his owne profit and purpose particular: both for the Pope recontinued his legation ouer the realme of *Fraunce* for eightene moneths, and also studying carefully to lay foundations to raise him to the Popedom, he sought to be able to obtaine of him, the promotion of his parents and dependences whilest he was in the Cardinalship, and withall he iudged that to haue the name and reputation, to be a louer and protector of the estate Ecclesiastike, was a thing that might do much to serue to his intention. Touching these deuises, the conditions of the time present were very conuenient to draw the king to fauour his counsels, for that as he was in suspition with the Emperour, who could not be appeased; so hauing of new sent to *Trent* many bands of horsemen with a certaine proportion of footmen, he made also great offers to the Pope to ayde him to passe into *Italy* to take the Crowne imperiall.

Amid these doubts, euery enterprise of the Emperour fell into more great consideration, for that the king knew that it stood not with the liking of the *Venetians*, that the Duchy of *Millan* and realme of *Naples*, should be ornaments of his Crowne. To these was added the controuersie which he had with the foure Cantons *Swissers*, who required him to giue y^e to them the rights he had to *Bellinzane*, and withall to redeliuer to their possession the *Vale Veltolino*, *Schafonse*, with other things immoderate, threatning him that his deniall to these demaunds would drie them to enter confederation with *Maximilian*: difficulties which seemed to the king so much the more great and desperate, by how much he was out of all hope at that time to accord with the king of *Spaine*: For, albeit the French king had made motions to haue *Federyk* restored to the kingdom of *Naples*, for which occasion he offered to bring him with him into *Italy*, and that the negotiation still continued to establish a truce for a time, euery one reteining that he possessed: yet both in the one and other practise, there concurred so many obiections and impediments, that the French king with melancholy moodes and discontentments tooke occasion to dismisle from his Court the Spanish Embassadors. The Pope ioyning himselfe to these occasions, and no lesse he then the Duke *Valentinois*, watching the aduantages of times and accidents, had sent eftsloones to his maiestie, one *Troccio*, Chamberleyne to the Pope, and of his secret credence, promising to ayde him with all their power in the warre of *Naples*. In which respects, he determined to recontinue in the amitie of the Pope: and therefore vpon the returne of *Troccio* to *Rome*, the Duke *Valentinois* following the aunswere he brought, went secretly in post to find the king arriued then at *Millan*, of whom, contrary to the common expectation, & no lesse to the displeasure of euery one in particular, he was welcomed with honours and demonstrations fatte greater then was the kings custome. The king vpon reconcilment with the Duke, holding it now no more necessary to keepe his army in *Tuskane*, sent a countermaund to haue them come into *Lombardy*, hauing afore receiued into his protection the *Siemois*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, with condition to pay him forty thousand Duckats at dayes limited. After these chaunges and contracts of amities, the stirres of *Maximilian* began to grow cold and dissolue, insomuch as the kings thoughts had now no other exercise, then to deuise vpon the things of *Naples*, which, if till then seemed to haue succeded happily to him, he nourished for time to come hopes of greater prosperity: For, he was no sooner come into *Italy*, then he dispatched thither by sea two thousand *Swissers*, and more then two thousand *Gascois*, who ioyning to the strength of the *Viceroy* (occupying already all *Campaniat* except *Manfredonia* and *S. Ange*) encamped before *Canosa* which *Peter* of *Nauarra* kept with sixe hundred Spaniards: who, after he had made a valiant resistance for many dayes, and

Duke Valentinois
now with the
French king.

and receiuing direction from *Consaluo* not to abide the extremity of daungers, for feare to lose so many well trained & resolute bodies, rendred the towne to the French, their goods & liues failed. By reason of this accident, and the Spaniards holding now no more place neither in *Powylla*, *Calabria*, nor *Capitinaso*, except, besides the peeces afore named, *Barletta*, *Andria*, *Galipoli*, *Tarente*, *Cosenze*, *Quierace*, *Semmare*, and a few others by the sea, and being farre inferior in strength and numbers: *Consaluo* retired with the army to *Barletto*, without m oney, with scarcity of victuals, & with no lesse want of munitions (aduersities intollerable to an army.) But touching the last want, he was somewhat recomforted by a secret consent of the *Venetians*, who did not restraine him to buy at *Venice* a great quantity of saltpeter. The French king making this suffrance an occasion of complaint against the Senat, was answered, that it was an action without their knowledge done only by certaine marchants particular, & that at *Venice*, which is a City free, it was neuer defended to any to exercise their negotiation and traffike for marchandise. When *Canoza* was taken; the French Captaines (debating the present difficulties, but chiefly that for want of water the whole army could not continue incamped about *Barletta*, an opinion maintained against the counsels and protestations of *M. d'Aubigny*) determined that one part of their people, which they sayd were in number a thousand and two hundred Launces, and ten thousand footmen of all natures, should remaine still to continue a forme of a siege about the confines of *Barlette*, and the other part shold be employed to recouer the residue of the realme. A deliberation (in the coniectures of wise men) which ioyned to the ordinary negligence of the French nation, brought great hurt to their enterprife. The Viceroy immediatly vpon this resolution, made himselfe Lord of all *Powylla*, except *Tarenta*, *Otrante*, and *Galipoly*. After which successe he returned to the siege of *Barlette*. *M. d'Aubigny* at the same time (communicating in the fortune of the others) entring into *Calabria* with the other part of the army, sacked the City of *Cosenze*, the Rocke remaining still in the power of the Spanish, who, being all drawne into one strength that were in that province, and ioyning the other bands that were come from *Cicilia*, were afterwards broken by *M. d'Aubigny* in one encounter. These prosperities being all happened, or vppon the point to succeed whilest the French King was in *Italy*, made him not only negligent in the continuation of necessary prouisions (by the benefit whereof he might easily haue chased the enemies out of the whole kingdome) but also brought him into this opinion of security, that he had no doubt to returne into *Fraunce*, & that so much the more, by how much he hoped to obtaine (which hope was not in vaine) a long prorogation of truce with the king of *Romains*.

But at his departure out of *Italy*, men began to discern to their great maruell, what had bene treated vpon with the Duke *Valentinois*, whom (accepting his iustification touching the action of *Aretze*) he had not only receiued againe into grace, but also in recompence of the oath and promise made by the Pope and him, to ayde his maiesty in the warre of *Naples* when neede should be, he had for his part, giuen them promise to support the Duke with three hundred Launces to conquer *Bologna* in the name of the Church, and to oppresse *Iohn Pawle Baillon* and *Vitellozze*. He was drawne to beare such immoderate fauours to the greatnesse of the Pope, either for the ill aduised opinion he had to make him his whole and true friend by so great benefits, which would be a meane that not one durst offer to attempt any thing against him in *Italy*: or else for that he did not so much assure himselfe of his friendship, as he feared his ill will. To these respects were adioyned, the particular disdaine which he bare against *Iohn Pawle*, *Vitellozze*, and the *Vrsins*, for that they made no reckening of the authority of his commandements to forbear to offend the *Florentins*: and *Vitellozze* in particular, had refused to restore the artilleries he tooke at *Aretze*, and also to come to the kings presence, hauing obtained safe conduct for his safety. Besides all these, the king held it a thing not vnprofitable to the course of his affaires, to hold the Italian Captaines oppressed, beginning to feare least they and the *Vrsins* (in mercenary souldiers constancie is the least vertue) might in the end embrace the faction of the Spanish king, and enter into his pay. The Duke *Valentinois*, hauing leaue of the king, returned with no little contentment into *Romana*, notwithstanding the king afore had giuen hopes to such as feared his ambition, that for the common suretie, he would take him with him into *Fraunce*. His returning touched not only the minds of those against whom were kindled his former indignations, but also it disordered the cogitations of many others, for that the same feare occupied *Pandolfe Petrucci* & the *Vrsins*, who were conioyned almost in one selfe cause with *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Pawle Baillon*: The Duke of

Duke Valentinois in grace with the French King againe.

Ferrara, by how much more he held for suspected his infidelitie and the ambition of his father, by so much lesse made he reckening of any assurance in regard of parentage or other cause conductible. And touching the *Florentins*, notwithstanding they had recouered their places by the kings fauour, yet they had no lesse feare then the others (being ill prouided of men at armes) for that the king, reposing not wholly in the Marquis of *Montana*, for the intelligences he had with the Emperour, at such time as he had feare of his armes, and albeit at *Millan* he receiued him to reconciliation and grace, yet wold he neuer consent that they should entertaine him as their Captaine generall: knowing withall by many signes, that the Pope and Duke *Valentino* continued in the same will and inclination which they had against them, and specially, for that (to keepe them in perpetuall suspicion) they reassembled and gathered together all the exiles of *Aretze* and the other townes. And as feare brings into the cogitation of the minde all things that may either be doubted or suspected, so it increased so much the more in these seuerall estates and men, by how much they considered how mightie were such enemies, in armes, in money, and in authoritie, how much in all actions they had bene supported by the fauours of fortune, and lastly, that notwithstanding the glory, riches, and greatnesse they had gotten by their victories, yet their ambition was neuer the more satisfied, but their desires the lesse moderate, according to the propertie of a fire, whose rage becomes more infinite by the increase of matter wherewith it is nourished and fed. Besides, it was feared least they abusing the respect the king bare them, would rise into boldnesse to attempt all things euen against his will, wherein both the father and the sonne, forgot not to publish with open mouth, that it repented them too much of the great regard and doubt they had vsed touching the action of *Aretze*, being assured that the king, according to the French nature, and by the many fauours and meanes they had in his Court, would yeeld tolleration to the things they should doe, notwithstanding they were to his disliking. And to those that were occupied with these feares, this was one increase of calamitie, that they were not assured vnder the warrantie of the kings protection, for that of very late and fresh memorie, notwithstanding his word and promise of a Prince, he had suffered the Lord *Plomby* to be dispoyled, and much lesse tooke to reuenge the outrage that was done to the Duke of *Vrbino*, whom he had taken into his defence, with fiftie men at armes which he deliuered to his armie for his seruice in the warres against *Naples*. But the exāple of *Iohn Bentinolle*, being much more present, was so much more agreeable to their terrours and feares: for, notwithstanding his maiestie in the yeares before, had commaunded *Valentino* not to molest those of *Bologna*, alledging that the bonds and couenants which he had with the Pope, were not to be vnderstood but touching the preheminance and authoritie which the Church had there at that time that the confederation was made betweene them: yet in that very season, *Bentinolle* hauing recourse to his maiestie for succours, fearing the great preparations that were made against him, the king chaunged the interpretation of the wordes according to the diuersitie of his endes & intentions, and making gloses vpon the capitulations past, rather like a Lawyer then as a king, he answered, that the protection by the which he was bound to defend him, hindred not the Popes enterprise, but touching his person and goodes particular: for that notwithstanding the wordes were generall, yet they were expresse with this relation, not to preiudice the rightes of the Church, to the which it could not be denied that the Citie of *Bologna* did not appertaine: and for that also, in the confederation he had made with the Pope, which was the first which he contracted in *Italie*, he was bound that what couenants so euer hee should make with others, they should be without construction of preiudice to the rightes of the Church. He was so impudent in this deliberation, seduced onely by the Cardinall *Amboise*, contrary to all the residue of his counsell, that hee sent an expresse messenger to signifie at *Bologna*, that that Citie appertaining to the Church, he could not, nor would not desist from fauouring the enterprise of the Pope: and that in vertue of his protection, it should be suffered to the *Bentinolles* to remaine at *Bologna* as persons priuate, enioying their particular goods in libertie and peace.

“ Such licence is taken by Princes oftentimes to dispense with their promises, expressing surety in
 “ their wordes, and keeping their intentions dissembled: an order much derogating the reputation
 “ and maiesty of a Prince, whose honour and conscience are so much the more guiltie and burdened,
 “ by how much their protections are but baits to bring priuate men into perill, and vnder a disguise
 “ sed assurance of their faith, to betray the innocency of their friends & subiects, euen to the extreme
 “ danger of their life. But this full prosperity of *Valentino*, was not only suspected to those men,
 but

but euen the *Venetians* began to enter into ieaiousie ouer his ambition,ioyning to their indignity this occasion,that not many moneths afore, he had rauished the wife of *Iohn Baptista Caraciolla* the Generall of their footmen,as she passed through *Romania* to seeke her husband. Therefore, to induce occasiō to the King to proceede more moderately in his fauour, shewing that the respect that led them, was the amity they bare him, and the ieaiousie of his honour, they put him in remembrance by their Embassadors with words worthy of the grauity of such a common weale: That he ought to consider how deeply he was charged to fauour so greatly *Valentinois*, & how ill it became the Noblenesse of the house of *Fraunce* and the glorious title of Christian King, to support such a tirant, seeking the ruine of peoples and prouinces, & thirsting so strongly after mans bloud, that he stood to all the world an example of most horrible cruelty and infidelity, vnder whose faith as by a publike theefe, had bene slaughtered so many Lords and Gentlemen. And not abstaining from the bloud of his brethren and nearest kindred, sometimes by the sword, and sometimes with poison, he had stretched forth his cruelty euen ouer such ages and qualities of persons, as would haue moued the most barbarous harts of the Turkes to conscience and compassion. To which words (the intercession of the *Venetians* making him perhaps more firme in his opinion) the king answered, that he neither wold, nor could restrain the Pope to dispose according to his will, of the places that appertained to the Church. In so much as where others abstained in his regard, to oppose against the armes of the Duke *Valentinois*, such as were nearest the daunger determined to prouide for themselues: therefore the *Vrsins*, *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Pawle Bailion*, & *Lyneros de Ferme*, who albeit as souldiers of the Duke, had newly receiued money of him, yet they retired seuerally their cōpanies into places of suerty, with intention to knit together for a cōmon defence: to which deuce gaue a speedy furtherance, the losse of the Castle *S. Leo*, which reuerted into the power of the Duke of *Vrbyn*, by the meane of a peasant hauing the gard of a certaine wall. After which beginning, their naturall Duke being called home by all the voyces and peoples of that estate, he recouered with a swift fortune all the Duchy except the fortresses. And to confederate more strongly against *Valentinois*, the Cardinall *Ursin*, *Pawle Vrsin*, *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Pawle Bailion*, *Lyneros de Ferme*, *Hermer* the sonne of *Iohn Bentiuolle*, and in the name of the *Signor*, *Anthony de Venafre*, in whom *Pand. Petrucci* reposed much, drew together, and made an assembly in the countrey *Perousa*, where, after they had discoursed of their generall daungers, and considered what oportunitie they had by the rebellion of the state of *Vrbyn*; and lastly, the weakness of *Valentinois* (whom they had now abandoned) by his want of men, they made a confederation for their common defence against *Valentinois*, and for the succours of the Duke of *Vrbyn*, binding themselues one to another, to put into the field seuen hundred men at armes, & nine thousand footmen, with couenant that *Bentiuolle* should make warre in the territories of *Tmola*, and the others with a greater strength shold draw towards *Ryminy* and towards *Pesero*. In this league the confederates, hauing great care, not to incense the mind of the French King, & yet hoping that it would not much displease him, that *Valentinois* were vexed by the armes of others, they declared vnder an expresse article, that they both meant, & would be bound to rise readily in their proper persons and with their ioynt forces, to obey any commaundement or request of his against all men. And for that occasion, they did not admit into that vnion, the family of the *Colonnys*, notwithstanding they were great enemies of the Pope, who had alwayes tormented them. Besides all these, they sought to haue the fauour of the *Venetians* and *Florentyns*, offering to *Florence* to procure restitution of *Pisa*, which they sayd was in the ability and deuotion of *Pand. Petrucci*, for the authority he had with the inhabitants. But the *Venetians* remained in suspence, as awaiting what would be first the inclination of the French King: which also the *Florentyns* did, both for the same occasion, and also holding both the one and other party as enemy, they feared the victory of either of them. This accident vnlooked for, hapned to the Duke of *Valentinois*, in a time wherein he being vpon the point to vsurpe the estates of others, he thought nothing lesse then that others would make inuasions vpon him. But yeelding nothing to the greatnesse of his perill, he lost neither courage nor counsell, and reposing much for himselfe in his good fortune, he looked with great industry and wisdom into the remedies that were conuenient, as the good Phisition

What once finding out the humour that offends, doth easily apply the medecyne that may cure. And for that he saw himselfe almost altogether disarmed, he sent to solicit succours of the French King, declaring to him how much it imported him in all aduentures, to serue his turne rather of the

The Duke of
Vrbyn recou-
ers his estate

Confederation
against Valen-
tinis.

Duke Valen-
tis demands
the succours of
the French
King.

Pope and him, then of his enemies, & how fraille was the confidence of *Vitellozza* & *Pádolfe*, who, besides they were the chiefest counsellours & inducers of the residue, had in times past, giuen many demonstrations of an ill minde to his maiestie, as in ministring aide to the Duke of *Mullan*, and entertaining intelligēces with the king of *Romans*. And as he negociated in this sort with the king, so he forgot not also to make leauies of new companies, & to ioyne with his father in the practise of their old sutleties and ambushments: for the Pope for his part, sometimes excusing things that were too apparant, and sometimes denying such as might be doubted, laboured with great study, to appease the minde of Cardinall *Vrsin* by the trauell of his brother *Iulius*: and the Duke *Valentinois* with disguised apparances and faire promises, sought to entertaine and ioyntly and seuerally assure them, as well to hold them negligent in making their prouisions, as in hope that those counsels and practises separate, would in the end breed betweene them some suspition and disagreement, keeping alwayes this resolution, that much lesse that he would depart from *Ymola*, afore he were furnished with a mightie armie, seeing (of the contrary) hee was resolved to keepe it and the other places of *Romagnia*, without giuing succours to the Duchie of *Vrbain* in which determination he gaue direction to *Dom Hugues de Cardona*, and *Dom Michel*, (who were for him in those quarters with a hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, and five hundred footemen) to retire to *Rimini*, a commaundement which they refused to obey, folowing another occasion presented to them to recouer and sacke *Pergola* and *Fossambrona*, whereunto they were induced by the Castle keepers of those places: but, as in matters of warre it is a daungerous errour to transgresse direction, and hunting after fortune, to preferre a light occasion, afore a counsell well debated: so it was easily discerned by effect, how much better it had bene to them to haue folowed the deliberation of the Duke, for that as they marched towardes *Cagli*, they encountred neare *Fossambrona*, *Paule* and the Duke of *Granina* (both of the familie of the *Vrsins*) and reposing much in the valour of their companies, which were six hundred footemen of *Vitellozza* well trayned & resolute, they gaue the charge, and finding fortune to fauour their vertue, they brake and disordered the troupes of the Duke *Valentinois*, of whom many remained slaine, as *Barth. Caprauigno* Capitaine of three score and ten men at armes, and many were led away prisoners, as *Dom Hugues de Cardona*, both men of chiefe place about *Valentinois*: *Dom Michell* fled to *Fano*, but by the commaundement of *Valentinois* he retired eftsouones to *Pesero*, leauing *Fano* as a place most faithfull in the power of the people, for that his strength was not sufficient to minister defence to both the places. In the selfe same seasons, the regiments of the *Bolonnois* which were incamped in the borough of *S. Peter*, made incursions to *Doccio* neare to *Ymola*; and truely the affaires of *Valentinois* had bene brought into hard straites and perils, if the vertue and expedition of the confederates had bene equal to the oportunities that were offered: but whilest they stood in expectation one of another, either for that the regiments of men agreed vpon at the dyot, were not yet ready, or else that the practises of accord held them in suspence: the occasion, which at the beginning shone with a fauourable light towardes them, was vanished and turned into a cloud: for that the French king had giuen direction to *Monsieur Chaumont*, to send foure hundred Launces to the Duke *Valentinois*, and to aduance besides, all his other meanes to redresse and reduce his affaires to reputation which being knowne to the confederates, and they not a litle confused and amazed with it, euery one began to looke to his proper businesse. In which respect the Cardinall *Vrsin* continued the practises he had begun with the Pope, and *Anthony de Venafra*, (sent by *Pandolfe Petrucci*) went to *Ymola* to solicit with *Valentinois*: with whom likewise treated *Iohn Bentiuolle*, hauing at the same time sent an Embassadour to the Pope, and made to be restored the things that were robbed at *Doccio*. These practises were nourished with a wonderfull art by the Duke *Valentinois*, who, judging that *Paule Vrsin* would be a good meane to dispose the residue, he made as though he reposed great confidence in him, in which affection, he sent for him to come to *Ymola*, and for his suretie, the Cardinall *Borgia* went to the lands of the *Vrsins*: The Duke *Valentinois* vsed very gracious wordes of Court *Paule*, wherein, to giue a better shadow to the treason he intended, he complained not so much of him & the residue, (who hauing serued him long with so great fidelitie, were of late estranged from him for some vaine suspitions) as of his owne indiscretion, being himselfe the very occasion of their iust iealousies, and the onely instrument of that distrust that hath bene nourished betweene them: but he hoped that this contention and alienation of affection, growing by no other occasion, would turne it selfe into another habite, and in place of grudge and ill will, would

would breede betweene them and him, a perpetuall and dissoluble friendship, since amongst vertuous men reconcilment hath this property, to knit with greater surety of faith and constancy, the harts that haue liued in separation. For himselfe, as he referred them to consider how farre it was from their power to oppress him, seeing the French king was so well determined to support his greatnesse: so, on the other side being made wiser by the experience of harmes past, he confessed frankly that all his felicities and reputation proceeded of their counsels and vertue: and therefore desiring much to returne to that auncient communion of faith which had beene so familiar betweene them, he was ready for his part, not only to assure them in what sort they would, but also to make them iudges (so that there were regard had to his dignity) of the quarels that were betweene him & the *Bolonnois*. To these words appertaining generally to them all, he added particular demonstrations of the great confidence he had in *Pawle*, whom he filled so full of hopes and peculiar promises, that his art and subtlety carying shewes of innocency and true meaning, he betrayed the simplicitie of *Pawle*, who beleued that words so vehemently pronounced, could not draw with them intentions dissembled. A thing easie to the Duke by the property of his nature, and no lesse familiar, by the quicknesse and custome of his wit, but most ready by the forwardnesse of his passion, which nourished nothing with more sweete delight, then the deuice that might betray the liues of them to whom he offered his faith. But whilest these things were in solicitation, the people of *Cameryn* called home againe *Iohn Maria de Varana* sonne of the late Lord of *Cameryn* who was in *Quilea*: And *Vistellozze*, with the great complaint of *Valentinois* and *Pawle Vrsin*, tooke the Rocke of *Fossambrona*: in so much as the Castell of *Vrbis* being likewise lost with the fortresses of *Cadly* and *Agobia*, there remained no more to him in that state, but Saint *Agatha*, hauing also lost all the countrey of *Fano*: and yet notwithstanding, *Pawle* continuing the practise begun, after he had gone many times from *Imola* to *Bologna*, to establish some forme to the affaires of the *Bentiuoles* who were his parents (for his slaughter was married to *Hermes* the sonne of *Iohn*) he contracted with *Valentinois* in this sort: but with this relation: That the contract should be approued by the Cardinall *Vrsin*, by whose aduise all the residue were governed: That all old hates and grudges should be defaced, together with the memory of all iniuries past: That the auncient payes should be confirmed to the confederates, with further obligation to go as soldiers to Duke *Valentinois* to the recouering of the Duchie of *Vrbis*, and other estates which were rebelled: but for their surety they should not be bound to serue in person, otherwise then one at a time, nor the Cardinall *Vrsin* to remaine in the Court of *Rome*: That touching the matters of *Bologna*, there should be made a compromise in the persons of the Duke, Cardinall *Vrsin*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci*. With this conclusion, *Pawle Vrsin* (assuring himselfe euery day more and more of the good intencion of *Valentinois*) went to find the residue, to induce them to ratifie the articles. But *Bentiuole*, holding it neither honourable, assured, nor reasonable, that the arbitration of his affaires should be passed quer to another, sent the Pronotary his sonne to *Imola*, and receiuing hostages from *Valentinois*, he made an accord with him and the Pope, whereunto they condescended so much the more easily, by how much they considered that the French king, comming better to consider either what an infamie it would be to him, or how much it would import him that the City of *Bologna* were in their deuotion, wold alter his first deliberation, & not suffer them to obtaine it. These were the conditions of the accord: That there should be a perpetuall confederation betweene the Duke *Valentinois* on the one part, & the *Bentiuoles* with the comunalty of *Bologna* on the other part: That the Duke should haue of the *Bolonnois*, appointment of an hundred men at armes for eight yeares, which should be conuerted into the pay of twelue thousand ducats by yeare: That the *Bolonnois* should be bound to serue him with a hundred men at armes, and a hundred Crosbowshot on horsebacke, only for the yeare to come: That the French king and the *Florentyns* should promise obseruation for both the one & other parties: That for the better assurance of the peace, the Bishops sister of *Luna* (who was Nephew to the Pope) should be married to the sonne of *Amball Bentiuole*.

But for all these, *Valentinois* ceased not to sollicite the comming of the French bands, and the three thousand *Swissers* which he had taken into his pay, vnder shadow that he would employ them, not for the confederates, but for the recouery of the Duchy of *Vrbis* and *Cameryn*, for that the confederates were already at a point to ratifie the accord past. The Cardinall *Vrsin* being then in *Sienna*, was bucguled by the perswasions of *Pawle*, much helping the reasons and authority of

Capitulation
betweene the
Vrsins and D.
Valentinois.

P. Petrucci and after long contradiction consented also *Vitellozza*, and *John P. Baillon*, who (notwithstanding) held the faith of *Valentinois* much suspected. After the ratification of these men, the Pope hauing likewise ratified: the Duke of *Urbino*, notwithstanding the importunities of his people (promising to dye at his feete) not to go from thence; yet hauing more feare of his enemies, then confidence in their popular voyces, he returned to *Venice*, and gaue place to the furie of the enemies, hauing first dismantled all the fortresses of the state, except *Leox Mainola*: the people (*Anthony Sanzonin* who was afterwarde Cardinall, going thither with commission and power from *Valentinois* to pardon them) agreed to returne vnder his obedience: the Citie of *Camerino* did the like, for that their Lord was fled to *Naples*, his feares being no lesse then his astonishments, for that *Vitellozza* and the others, hauing sent for their bandes which were in the countrey of *Fano*, prepared to go against him as souldiers to *Valentinois*. In which times as the Pope made the Campe march to *Palombaro*, which the *Sanelles* had recouered together with *Senzana* and other places appertaining to them, and that by the occasion of the armies leauied by the confederates: so, Duke *Valentinois*, who had no greater desires then to execute his most secret thoughtes, went from *Imola* to *Cesena*, where he was no sooner arriued, then the French men at armes who were come thither a litle before, & eftsoones reappealed by *Monsieur Chaumont*, departed from thence with the same speed they came: not by commission from the king, but (as was supposed) for a particular indignation hapned betweene him and *Valentinois*, or perhaps at his request, to the end he might be lesse fearefull to those, whom he desired greatly to assure. At *Cesena*, he looked to redresse his bandes, which were stronger then the report that went of them, for that expressly he had made xxy few great leauies of men, but well payd, and entertained continually many Launceknights and particular Gentlemen: a strength though not mighty in numbers, yet well assured by the vertue of the persons, who are so much the more worthy then men mercenarie, for that the one go armed with honour and reputation, and the other haue no regard but to their pay: the one forward for his credit sake, the other subiect alwayes to compulsion: the one following seruice with a voluble libertie of minde, where the other hauing a courage no lesse vile and abiect, then his intentions are corrupt, followeth warres for rauine and spoyle, the basest respect that can be in the mind of a souldier. At the same time *Vitellozza* and the *Vrsins*, being sent by his direction to encamp afore *Sini Galle*, tooke the towne and Castle, from whence the widow of the Prefect being sister to the Duke of *Urbino*, fled when she was left abandoned and desolate, notwithstanding her little sonne was vnder the protection of the French king, who excused himselfe, for that she was a competitor to the league made at *Maisons*. After the taking of *Sini Galle*, *Valentinois* went to *Fano*, where after hee had stayed certaine dayes, to reassemble all his companies together, he aduertised *Vitellozza* and the *Vrsins*, that the day following, he would come to lodge at *Sini Galle*, and that in that regard they should bestow the souldiers that were with them within the towne, abroad in the plaines: which was executed according to his direction, the footemen being lodged in the suburbs of the towne, and the men at armes dispersed seuerally in the countrey. The same day that the Duke appointed to be at *Sini Galle*, there went to meete him, *Paulo Vrsin*, the Duke of *Gratiana*, *Vitellozza*, and *Lyuerot de Ferme*, who being receiued by him with great honour and many graces of Court, accompanied him to the gate of the towne, afore the which all the bandes of *Valentinois* were bestowed in order: a maner of dealing, which albeit they could not but suspect, specially to behold a strength greater then they looked for: yet, offering to take their leaue to withdraw to their lodgings which were without the towne, they were desired to enter with him into the towne, seeming to haue neede to communicate with them in some priuate matter. They were driuen to yeeld to that willingly, which they were not able to refuse by any resistance: and as in matters of perill, the minde hath a certaine sence & coniecture of the ill that is to happen; so the tokens that appeared made them deuine rightly of the mischiefe that was prepared; and yet as men without remedie in their fortunes, they followed him by whom they saw their ruine intended. When he was come to his lodging, he withdrew the with him alone into a chamber a part, where, after he had left them vnder colour, to go shift his apparell, he sent men armed into the chamber to apprehend them all prisoners, & at the same instant appointed other companies to strip their souldiers. The day following being the last of December, to the ende that that yeare might determine with this tragedie, hee retained the other prisoners, and made to be strangled in a chamber, *Vitellozza* and *Lyuerot de Ferme*, whereof the one had no power to escape the destinie of his house, to dye

A wise & true
iudgement,

Vitellozza and
the *Vrsins*
made prisoners
by treason.

1503
Vitellozza and
Lyuerot de
Ferme strangled.

dye by violent death, as did all his other bretheren after they had won great experience and reputation in armes, the mischiefe hapning to oue after another according to the succession and measure of their ages. But touching *Lyneros* no man could denie, that he had not an end worthy of his wickednesse, being but iust and reasonable, that he should die by treason, who a litle before had killed by treason (to make himselfe great in the Citie of *Ferrara*) his owne Vncle, together with many of the principall Citizens, whom he had inuited to come banquet with him.

That yeare brought forth no other thing worthy of memorie; sauing that *Lodowyk* and *Federyk* Counts of *Mirandola*; who were of the familie of the *Piques*, being chased afore by *Iohn Francisque* their brother, and pretending (notwithstanding his prerogatiue of yeares and age) that they had the same rights that he had, expelled him by force by the helps of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Iohn Iacques Trisnulle* father in law to *Lodowyk*: a matter not so much worthy of memory for it selfe in perticular, as for that in times after, the quarrels of his brethren ingendred effects of some consequence.

The yeare following was farre more full of things notable and accidents daungerous, then any of the former yeares: to the which the disloyalty and impiety of the supposed Prince of Christian religion, gaue an unhappie beginning, not knowing what was to happen that yeare aswell to his person as to his affaires. For the Duke *Valentinois* having aduertised his father (according to a private resolution betweene them) how well his ambushes had succeeded with him at *Simi Galle*: the Pope for his part, holding secret aswell the conspiracy, as the aduertisement, called to the Pallace of *Vatican* vnder colour of speciall occasions, the Cardinall *Vrsin*, who, trusting in the surety of the accord, and no lesse in the faith of him, who all the world knew neuer to keepe faith with any man, but much more driuen by his destinie, then by reason, was a litle afore gone to *Rome*: he was no sooner entred the Pallace, then he was made prisoner, feeling in his owne person, the very calamity which his brother and friends suffred. At the same time were also taken in their houses, *Re. Vrsin* Archbishop of *Florence*, the Pronotory *Vrsin*, the Abbot *Aluiano*, and *Iacques de S. Croix* a Romaine Gentleman, one of the principallest of that faction: and after they were led to the Castell *S. Ange*, the Pope sent his sonne the Prince of *Squillace* to take possession of the lands of *Paulle* and the others, and with him went the Pronotory, and *Iacques de S. Croix* to make deliury of them, who afterwards were returned vnder the same guard that kept them before. The Pope vaunting with a Spanish suttlety at the traine which his sonne had made, scoffed and sayd; that *Paulle Vrsin* & the others being the first that had falsified their faith to him (for that they were bound to go to him but one at once, and came notwithstanding altogether) it was no lesse lawfull to him to breake his promise with them: a manner of dealing very slaundersous to the reuerence of his profession, but not vnaccustomed to those that haue sit in his place; with whom nothing hath bene more familiar then conspiracies, nor any thing lesse esteemed then to protect innocency, hauing their hats as full of crueltie, as their mouthes were full of blasphemy: It had bene a crime sufficient against his habit & conscience, to prostitute his faith against the ruine of men, and not with a mind preiudiciall, to vaunt of the offence, seeing by the scripture, the sinne is so much the more accursed, by how much it is aggrauated with glory and vaunting. The Cardinall remained prisoner about twenty dayes, the Pope alledging that he had imprisoned a Cardinall so ancient in place, in age, and in authoriey, for many reasons: but he did not expresse them, condemning himselfe by his proper silence, or at least fearing his infamy would be the greater, if his reasons were disclosed: but at length the bruite bearing that the Cardinall was sicke, he died in the Pallace, of poyson as is assuredly beleueed: And the Pope, to take away the opinion (but not the imputation of the act) albeit it was his custome not to care for infamies, caused the dead body to be caried to his graue in the broad day and all bare, accompanied with the kindred of his house, and all the other Cardinals. The other prisoners were deliuered a litle after, vpon surety to be eftsoons represented when they were called.

The Duke *Valentinois*, seeking to ioyne recompence to his wickednesse, departed immediately from *Simi Galle*, and addressed himselfe to the towne of *Castello*, where finding that such as yet remained of the family of *Vitelly*, had abandoned the City, he continued his way to *Perouza*, from whence *Iohn Pawle* fled, who was competitor in the miserable destinies of the others, his punishment being greater, though the time and manner were slower, being by suspicion made wiser then the residue touching his going to *Simi Galle*. The Duke left both the one and other

1503

Cardinall Vrsin made prisoner.

The death of Card. Vrsin.

Cities vnder the name of the Church, hauing reestablished within *Peroufa*, *Charles Baillon*, the *Oddies*, and all the other enemies of *Iohn Paule*. And as it is one chiefe vertue in men of enterprife to imbrace occasions, so, he forgot not to applie to his fortune, the oportunitie and fauour of the time, by the benefite whereof, his ambition made him assay to make himselfe Lord ouer *Sienna*, being followed with certaine exiles of the same Citie: and drawing with the whole armie (wherein were newlie arrived the aydes promised by *Beniuolle*) towards the Borough of *Piena*, where knowing that the Cardinall *Vrsin* was prisoner, he made strangle the Duke of *Gratina* and *Paule Vrsin*, and sent Embassadors to *Sienna* to warne them of the towne to chase out *Pandolfe Petrucci*, as his enemy in particular; and the common troubler of the tranquillitie of *Tuscan*: he ioyned to the message this condition and promise, that as soone as they had expulsed him, hee would esloones retorne to *Rome* with his armie, forbearing to do anie other oppression to their frontiers. And on the other side, the Pope & he, burning in one bloudie desire, that as *Pandolfe* had bene a companion to the others in life and actions, so also hee might communicate with their last extreame fortune and death: they studied to lull him asleepe with the same charme, wherewith they had enchanted the others to their destruction, writing to him, billets and letters full of office and humanitie, and solliciting him by messengers expresse, promising no lesse assurance of faith, good meaning and affection. But the suspicion that occupied the people of *Sienna*, that the Dukes intention was to vsurpe that citie, made his enterprife against *Pandolfe* more hard, for that albeit many of the Citizens were oftentimes ill contented with the gouernment of *Pandolfe*, yet, they held it better to temporize vnder the tyranny of one Citizen, then to fall into the seruitude of a straunger. In so much that as at the beginning, he could obtaine no answer by the which might be hoped the expulsion of *Pandolfe*: so for all that, continuing vnder the same semblance, that he desired no other thing, he wonne dayly on them, hauing passed *Pienza*, *Chiusa*, with other places neare to *Sienna*, which yielded to him by composition. By which advantages, wonne vpon them, as it were by stealth and suttletie, the feares increased so in *Sienna*, that not only the people, but also some euen of the chiefeest, began to murmur, that it was not reasonable, that to support one Citizen, the whole Citie should suffer so great a danger: which made *Pandolfe* determine to do that which the good liking & fauour of euerie one, which he feared to be constrained to do in the end with the vniuersall hatred of the Citie, and his owne danger; and therefore by his consent it was signified to *Valentyn*, in the publike name of the Citie, that they were content to gratifie his demands, so that he would retire, with his armie from their frontiers. This resolution was accepted (notwithstanding the Pope and he were fixed vpon an enterprife of greater importance) for that they knew how hard a matter it would be to take *Sienna*, both for the greatnesse & strong seat of the town, and also for the vertue of *Iohn Paule Baillon* commaunding within it, who with the souldiers & naturall people of the place, would ioyn in one strength to resist him, if they were once assured that his intentions were contrarie to the publication of his promises. To this were added the feares of the Pope, who held it necessarie, that for his proper suerty, his sonne should retire his armie to *Rome*, where he was iealous of some conspiracie, for that *Iulio* and others of the *Vrsins* with manie horsemen were withdrawne into *Peskhano* and *Fabio*, and *Organtyn Vrsin* into *Cernetra*: *Mutso Collonno* also newlie come from the realme of *Naples*, was entred *Palombara* to succour the *Sauelleis*, who were newly entred into alliance with the *Vrsins*, and had intelligence with them. But that which tooke from the one and the other, the hope to occupie *Sienna*, was, that it was now manifestly perceiued, that the enterprife was directly displeasing to the French king: for albeit he could haue wished (and it was for his good pollicy) that *Vuellozza* and the other confederates should be kept vnder, yet hee sawe that their whole ruine ioyned to the conquest of so great estates, made the Pope and *Valentinois* too mighty. And withall the citie of *Sienna*, together with the life and whole estate of *Pandolfe*, being vnder his protection, & no member of the Church, but an appertenance of the Empire, he thought he might with good equitie and reason, oppose himselfe against the conquest: a consideration necessarie to the vertue of the French king, hauing by the mouth and word of a Prince, assured the protection of the Citie: but far more agreeable to the policie of his affaires, which could not without perill, suffer such an aspiring ambition in the Pope and his sonne: he began to see that the mind which he meant should climbe no higher then his shoulders, had intentions to aspire aboue the crowne of his

his head, & therefore he held it a lesse transgression of honour & promise to reſtraine his ſupportation from one whom his authoritie & countenance only had aduanced, then to leaue to perill ſuch as reposed altogether in his faith, honour, & reputation of his promiſes. The Pope and his ſon had hope that the removing of *Pandolfe* would cauſe ſome conſuſion in the gouernment of that City, & that by that meane, time would breed occaſion to giue ſome colour to their enterpriſe: but *Pandolfe* ſeeing more into their ſuttleties, then able to turne away his owne calamities, departed ſo out of *Sienna*, as he left the ſame guard & the ſame authoritie to his friends & dependants, in ſo much as it ſeemed that nothing was changed of the gouernment, & lesse expectation of their enterpriſe by his expulſion. *Valentino* (according to the direction of the Pope) tooke his way to *Rome*, to make deſtruction of the *Vrſins*, who, with the *Sanelyes*, had won the bridge *Lamentano*, & run ouer the whole country: but they ſtaied fro further action, by the arriual of the Duke *Valentino*, who expreſſed his firſt power & malice vpon the eſtates of *Iohn Iordan*, without any regard that he was not declared againſt him: that he had the order of *S. Michael*: that he was in the protection of the French king, & at that time in the kingdome of *Naples* in his ſeruiſe. Which oppreſſion vniuſt & vnreaſonable, the Pope ſeeeking to abuſe the king with his iuſtifications, alleadged that he was not moued by any deſire to deſpoile him of his eſtates, but only for that he could not account him his aſſured neighbour ſo neare, the great quarels and offences continuing betweene him & the familie of the *Vrſins*, & that therefore in recompence & conſideration of his harmes, he was content to giue him the principallitie of *Squillace*, with other lands of the ſame value and reue[nue]. But the French king not taking theſe reaſons for painment, retained a ſpeciall memorie of that inuaſion, not for that the regard to his protection preuailed more with him then of cuſtome, but becauſe his affaires in the kingdome of *Naples* not drawing the ſame fortune and ſucceſſe they had wont to do, he began to hold for ſuſpected the pride and inſolency of the Pope and his ſonne, ioyning to this coniecture the remembrance of their oppreſſions in the yeare paſt, both how they had aſſailed *Tuſkane*, and afterwards aſſayed to inuade *Sienna*, notwithstanding he had promiſed to protect it. Wherein conſidering that by how much they had already obtained of him, and for time to come ſhould obtaine: by ſo much more was their ambition growne great, and hereafter their pride would be redoubled, he ſent to commaund *Valentino* with a ſharpe meſſage to forbear to moleſt the ſtate of *Iohn Iordan*, who was come to *Bracciano* by wayes vnknowne, and not without his perill. Beſides this, he conſidering how neceſſarie it were to be aſſured that there ſhould riſe no commotion in *Tuſkane*, ſpeciallie for that he vnderſtood that in *Sienna* there was ſome beginning of ciuill diſcords: he ioyned himſelfe to the counſell of the *Florentins*, to ſollicite that *Pandolfe Petrucci* (who was retired to *Piſa*) might returne eſtſoon to *Sienna*: that betweene the *Florentins*, *Siennois*, and *Bolonnois*, might be contracted an vnitie for their common defence, rendering *Mont Palcian* to the *Florentins*, to take away all occaſion of diſſention. And laſtly, that euerie one of them, according to his power, ſhould make prouiſion of men at armes for their common defence, the better to cut off from the Pope and his ſonne, all meanes to ſtretch further their iuriſdiction into *Tuſkane*.

In this meane while the Duke *Valentino*, with one part of his armie, tooke *Viconaro* where in were fixe hundred men for *Iohn Iordan*: but hauing receiued commandement fro the French king, he left, to the great diſpleaſing of the Pope and him) the enterpriſe of *Bracciano*, and went to incampe afore *Cery*, where, with *Iohn Vrſin* Lord of the place, were Raſe his ſonne, with *Luſo* and *Frauncis* of the ſame familie. And to ioine to the actions of the ſonne, the authoritie of the father, the Pope proceeded at the ſame time by way iudiciall againſt all the houſe of *Vrſins*, except *Iohn Iordan*, & the *Count Perillano*, againſt who the *Venetians* would not endure any ſuch vniuſt violence. *Cery* is a towne verie auncient, & no leſſe notable for the ſtrong ſituation, for that it is ſeated vpon a litle rocke hewed out of one ſtone only, whither the ancient *Romaines* in their perils againſt the French men, ſent all their virgins veſtals, and the moſt ſecret and celebrate images of their goddeſſes, with many other things ſacred and religious, as into a place of ſpeciall ſuretie: and for the ſame reaſon in the times following, it was free from violation in the rage of the *Barbarians*, at ſuch time as by the declination of the *Romaine* Empire, they hauockt all *Italie* with wonderfull furies. By meane whereof, as well by his naturall ſtrength, as for that it was manned with companies reſolute, the enterpriſe ſeemed hard to *Valentino*, who, to aduance his vertue aboue their ſtrength & power, forgot no diligēce nor induſtry to win it, vſing, beſides the ordinary

engines of warre, certaine instruments of wood to surmount the height of the walles : but whilest he was busie in that action, *Francis Nardy* (sent to *Sienna* by the French king,) published his Maiesties intencion, that *Pandolfe* should eistsoones returne, hauing receiued his promise before to continue in his deuotion, & for his suretie, to send his eldest son into *Fraunce*, to pay to him that which was due of the residue of the fortie thousand Duckats which had bene accorded; and to restore *Mont Pulcian* to the *Florentins*: a resolution plausible to them of *Sienna*, who, because there should be no impediment to the comming of *Pandolfe*, ioyned to the reputation of the kings name, the open fauours of the *Florentins*, & the disposition of those in the towne that were his friends; who drawing into armes and strength the night before he should come, held suppressed, or at least kept in a compelled quietnesse all such as supported the contrarie opinion. This hapned to the great displeasure of the Pope, whose affaires in other places ranne in a happie course, for that *Palombaro* with other peeces of the *Sauelleis*, were rendred to him: as also those that were within *Cery*, suffering many and continuall afflictions of warre, after the furie of fundrie assaults, offered restitution, with couenant that the Pope should pay a certaine proportion of money to *Iohn*, who was Lord of the place, and to leaue in libertie, suretie, and safetie of life all the residue within *Petillane*, which was sincerely obserued, contrarie to the custome of the Pope, and expectation of euerie one.

“ Fortune hath a free will to come and go when she list, not regarding times, persons or causes,
 “ but making her prerogatiue absolute, she takes authority to make her will a law ouer the Prin-
 “ ces of the earth: & as in no humaine thing, she is either certaine or resolute, so chieflie in the ad-
 “ on of warre she sheweth most mutability and variation, not giuing successe to such as deserue
 “ best, but to those that she fauoureth most, her iustice not regarding the vertues & merits of men,
 “ but guiding things to their successe according to the inclination of her fauour and liking. For, the
 “ affaires of the Frenchmen, which followed the seruice of *Naples*, proceeded not in such full felici-
 “ ty, being incobred with many difficulties euen from the beginning of the yeare: For, the *Count de*
Millete being encamped at *Villeneuve* with the regiments of the Princes of *Falerno* & *Bisignan*,
Don Hugues de Cardona, passing from *Messina* into *Calabria* with eight hundred footmen Spa-
 nish, an hundred horsmen, with eight hundred other footmen aswel *Calabrians* as *Sicilians*, mar-
 ched towards *Villeneuve* to rescue it: which assoone as the *Count Millete* vnderstood, he lea-
 ued his siege from before *Villeneuve*, and went to meete him. The Spaniards drew all along a
 plaine strait and narrow betweene the mountaine and a riuer, where was not much water, but is
 ioyned to the way with a litle rising: and the French men who were the greater number, marched
 right to them beneath the riuer, desiring to draw them into a large place: but seeing how they
 marched close and in firme order, & fearing that if they cut not off their way, they would get in
 safetie into *Villeneuve*, they passed ouer to the other side of the riuer to charge them: in which
 encounter they were broken, the valor of the Spanish footmen no lesse then the aduantage of the
 place, helping indifferently to the victorie. Soone after arriued by sea out of *Spaine* at *Messina*, two
 hundred men at armes, two hundred horsmen mounted vpon Iennets, & two thousand footmen,
 all led by *Manuel de Benauide*, with who came into *Italy* at that time *Anthony de Lena*, who, of
 a meane souldier, rising by all degrees of war, to the estate of a Captaine General, made his vertue
 notable in *Italy* by the reputation of many goodly victories. These companies passed from *Mes-
 sina* to *Regge* in *Calabria*, which the Spanish had taken before (*M. d' Aubigny* being then in the
 other part of *Calabria*) and from thence encaped at *Lofarna*, within fiue miles of *Calimere*: into
 which place *Abricourt* was entred two daies before with thirtie Launces, & the *Count de Millete*
 with a thousand footmen, & presenting themselues the morning following before the walles of
 the towne, wherein were no gates but barres onely, they forced it at the second assault, the ver-
 tue and resolution of the defendants being lesse then the fortune & felicity of the assaillants, Cap-
 taine *Esprit* remained dead, & *Abricourt* made prisoner: but the *Count de Millete* in flying to the
 rocke, found safetie of life and honour, (the victors retiring forthwith to *Villeneuve* for feare of
M. d' Aubigny, who came on marching with three hundred Launces, three thousand footmen
 strangers, and two thousand of the countrey. After which accident, *M. d' Aubigny* encamping
 at *Pollistrina* within two miles of them, & their perill encreasing by necessity of victuals, they dis-
 caped secretly to go to *Quiercy*: & albeit they made the oportunitie of the night proper for their
 safetie, yet their fortune vāquishing all clokes of shadow & darknes, they were chased by bands of

*Anthony de
Lena.*

• *Monsieur d'Aubigny* vntill the rising of a crabbéd mountaine, where they lost threescore men at armes and manie footmen: and of the French (opinion and rashnesse carying them beyond discretion and experience) was slaine Capitaine *Gruyn*, whom they esteemed much, leading the regiment that was to *Comte Casazze* who died by naturall death a litle afore the taking of *Capua*. At the same time came out of *Spaine* into *Cicilie* these new bands, two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsmen, and two thousand footmen, gouerned by Capitaine *Porto Carrera*, who dying at *Regge* as he passed with his regiment, the charge remained to *Ferrand d'Andria* his Lieutenant: for the arriual of these supplies, the Spaniards (lately retyred to *Quiercy*) took new courage and comfort, and returned to *Villenensue*, where they fortified in that part of the towne which they held ioyning to the Castle, which was the entrie of a valley, wherunto is conioyned the residue of the towne: a fortification not in vaine, for the feare they had of *M. d'Aubigny*, who being come from *Polestrina* with a diligence far aboue their expectation, was engaged in that part which was not holden by the Spanish, euery one planting barres and fortifications requisite for their proper safetie. But as in *M. d'Aubigny* no vertue was more familiar the circumspection, which he vsed alwaies to resist suddaine perils, so as soone as he vnderstood that the Spanish regiments that were descended to *Regge*, drew neare to make one strength with the other bands, he altered purpose with the necessitie of the occasion, & retiring to *Lozano*, the enemies following the commoditie of victuals, put themselues altogether within *Seminaro*. Whilist things went in this course in *Calabria*, the Viceroy for the French returning towards *Barletto*, encamped at *Materno*, and dispersing his bands in seuerall places thereabouts, he lay to giue impediments that no victuall nor succours should enter, hoping that what by the plague, whose furie began to breed feare, & scaritie of victuals, which was vniuersall in *Barletto*, the Spanish could not by any reason or possibilitie remaine there long, and much lesse rescue theselues within *Trany*, where faced the same difficulties: neuerthelesse amid so manie incommodities and daungers their resolution and constancie was wonderfull, confirmed also by the vertue and diligence of *Consaluo*, who sometimes giuing them hopes of a readie arriual of two thousand *Almaine* footmen, which he had sent *Ottavian Colonna* to leaue, and sometimes promising present succours by other meanes, and lastly causing a bruite to bee published that he should go to *Tarento* by sea: he entertained them in their courage and vertue, but much more with his own expable, suffering in his person all their perplexities & trauels, ioyned to the want of victuals and miserable scaritie of all things necessary: Occasion dorth much to induce the minds of souldiers, but example is it that confirmeth their vertue, making them oftentimes resolute aboue their naturall inclination.

The warre suffering this alteration, & being false as you see into this estate of fortune & chage, those that till that day had bene inferiours, & as it were kept suppressed, began now by the negligent & insolent dealing of the French, to make their light shine & become superiours. For the men of *Castellanetto* (a place neare to *Barletto*) despairing, for the oppressions & wrongs which fiftie men at armes of the French, & garrisoned there, did them, drew into armes by common assent, and stripped them. And not many dayes after, *Consaluo* being aduertised by espyall that *M. de la Palisse* remaining with a hundred Launces & three hundred footmen in the towne of *Rubos*, twelue miles from *Barletto*, stood negligently vpon his guard, marched one night to *Rubos*, & drawing with him a wonderfull diligence & facilitie of the way, being plaine & hard, certaine peeces of great artillerie: he assaulted the towne with such a furie, that the French (to whom all other daungers had bene more tollerable) being so much more confused in their perill, by how much the assault was suddaine, made a certaine weak resistance, & in the end redred the place, *Palisse* with the residue remaining prisoners. The same day *Consaluo* returned to *Barletto*, without danger to receiue in retyring any damage of *M. de Nemours*, who a litle before was come to *Canosa*: his safety haply was by this occasion, that the French companies being disposed into seuerall places to keep *Barletto* besieged on many sides, could not be reassembled in sufficient time; besides that fifty French Launces, sent to make praie of certaine money caried from *Trany* to *Barletto*, were overthrowne by such as *Consaluo* had sent for the surety of the treasure. To these also might bee adioyned another accident which diminished greatly the valour of the French men, & which was the proper work & effect of valor, & not to be attributed to the iniquity of fortune: for a Trumpet going to *Barletto* to solicit the rancome of certaine souldiers taken at *Rubos*, certaine speeches were

*M. de Palisse
made prisoner.*

A combat of
xiii. Frenchmen
against xiiij.
Italians.

uttered against the French, by some of the Italian men at Armes, which being carried by the Trumpet to the French Campe, and answered eftsloones returned to the Italians, bred such enuie and inflammation of courage in both parts, that to iustifie the honour of their severall nations they agreed, that thirteene men at armes of the French, and thirteene Italians should fight in combat to the vterance within listes vntill the one were masters ouer the other: the place of the combat to bee assigned in a Champaine betweene *Barletto*, *Andria*, and *Quadrato*, where they should be accompanied with an equall number of assistants, to be Iudges of their valour. Neuerthelesse (to assure al ambuscados or suttile traines of cōspiracy) the Captains with the greatest part of both the armies, accompanied their Champions to the mid way, comforting the, that for that they were chosen out of the whole armie, they would with manifest action and courage make good the expectation that was on them, the same being such, that in their hands and valour was reposed by common consent, the honour of so noble nations. The Viceroy of the French declared to his, that their aduersaries were the selfe same Italians, who hauing no courage to abide the Frenchmen, had alwayes made them way, without expressing any tryall or experience of their vertue, euen since they had run frō the *Alpes* to the extreame bounds and limits of *Italie*: That they were not now pushed forward either with a new nature or new resolution of mind: but being mercenarie to the Spaniards and subiect to their commaundements, they had no libertie to resist the will of those men, whose custome being to fight not with vertue but with ambushes, made themselves beholders and idle lookers on the dangers of others: and that therefore as soone as the Italians were entred into the listes, and should see before them the armes and furie of such as had alwayes overcome them, they would either returne to their accustomed feares, or at least, if any seruile respect to the Spanish would push them to the fight, that compulsion, no lesse then their naturall feares, would make them an easie preie, the foundation layd vpon the vaine brags and braueries of the Spanish, being a Target too slender to beare the blowes of the puissant Frenchmen. On the other side, *Consaluo* prepared the mindes of his Champions with perswasions agreeable to the nature of the action they had in hand: he reduced to their remembrance the ancient honours of that nation, and the reputation and glorie of their armes, with the which they had earst tamed the whole world: That it was now in the power of a fewe, to declare that they were not inferiour to the vertue of their elders: And though *Italy* whose valour had vanquished the most regions of the world, had bene of late yeares ouer-runne by forraine armies, that it was by no other occasion, then the indiscretion of Princes, whose ambition accompanied with ciuill discords, had called in strange armies to roote out and ruinate one another: That the French had neuer obtained victorie in *Italie* by their owne strength or vertue, but by the aide & ministracion of the armes of the Italians, who had suffered the to passe so far into the bowels of their country, not by the terrour or agilitie of their armes, but by the furie of their artilleries, which were fearefull so long as they were new and vnaccustomed: That they were now to fight with the force and vertue of their proper persons, and that not onely in the presence of so great a Nobility of their owne side, but also in the spectacle and eye of the principall nations of Christendome; who, as well of the one part as of the other, had an honourable desire of their victorie: That they had to remember that they were raised by the most famous Captaines of *Italie*, and as by them they had had continuall nourishment and trayning in armes, so for their severall parts, they had in many perillous actions giuen an honourable experience of their vertue: And that therefore either the honour to readdresse the name of *Italy* with that glorie wherein it had bene not onely in the yeares of their elders, but also in the ages and times of themselves, was by destinie appointed to them: or else (so great an honour not being wonne by their hands) there can be no other expectation of the flourishing region of *Italy*, then to remaine dishonoured and in perpetuall seruitude and slaunder, by the pusillanimie of her proper children. With these perswasions ioyned to the comforts of other Captaines and souldiers particular of both the armies, the parties appointed for the combat, were led into the field: where both partes desirous by their proper vertue to bring glorie to their nation; as soone as the Assistants were placed according to the order of the field, and that the signe was giuen, they ranne furiously with their Launces: at which encounter, no aduantage inclining to either part, they shewed the same emulation of minde in the action of their other weapons: wherein as euerie one of the Champions shewed by his resolution and

agility

agilitie with what desire of glorie he sought to conquer his aduersarie: so it was secretlie confessed by all those that were lookers on, that out of all the armies on both factions, could not bee chosen bodies more worthy to performe a prooffe so honourable and glorious. But as in this heat of fighting, they had spent a good space of time, wherein the ground was couered with tronchions and peeces of their armour, and somewhat dyed with the bloud that dropped from all parts, without that the aduantage or better of the fight could be iudged. And as they were beholden with a wonderfull silence by such as were present, and almost in no lesse trauell and passion of mind, then if they had bene the immediate parties to the perill, it hapned that one of the Italians was striken from his horse by a Frenchman, who as hee furiously pursued his fortune to dispatch him, another Italian carefull of the danger of his companion, killed with a wonderfull blow the Frenchman. The *Italian*s had boarespeares, with the which they made slaughter of many of the French horses, by meane whereof the Châpions of *France*, beginning to decline, could no longer cloke their weaknes, but their vertue yeelding to the fortune of their aduersaries, they became prisoners to the Italians: who returning with victorie to *Consaluo* and their other companies, were receiued with those honors that appertained to their merits: and being congratulated as men whose valours had restored *Italy* to her former glorie and honour, they entered *Barlesso* in triumph, their prisoners led afore them, the aire sounding with Drummes and Trumpets, the artillerie shooting off, the people crying with praises of their vertue, and all other shewes and actions vsed, that might set forth the reputation of their victorie. It is incredible how much the fortune of this combat diminished the courage of the French armie, and lifted vp the Spaniards into fame and presuming, euerie one construing this experience of a few, to a prophetic of the absolute issue of the whole warre.

About this time the French king was molested in *Lombardie* by the *Swissers*, the matter being begun not by the whole nation, but by those three *Cantons* which had occupied *Belinzona*: who seeking to induce him to consent that that place might remaine to them in proper, assailed *Luzarno* and *Azurara*, which being a wall of great length vpon the lake *Maio* neare to *Luzarno*, giues impediment to descend from the mountaines to the plaine, by no other way then through a gate which onlie is in that wall: and albeit they could not carie it in the beginning for the defence which the French Garrison made, (*Monsieur de Chaumont*, lying at *Varese* and *Galeo* with eight hundred Launces, hoping well also of the abilitie and defence of the place:) yet the number of the *Swissers* increasing afterwards, and succoured also by the *Grisons*, after they had giuen many assaults in vaine, diuers regiments of them climbing a great mountaine which commaunded the wall, they compelled such as kept the gate to abandon it: and taking afterwards the borough of *Luzarno*, but not the Castle, their strength increased dayly, for that the other nine *Cantons*, notwithstanding in the beginning they offered men to the king for the alliance they had with him, began afterwards to giue succours to the three other *Cantons*, alleading that for the respect of fidelitie and societie, they ought not to faile to minister to the necessitie of their companions, being thereunto bound by their ancient leagues, which were to be preferred afore all the obligations they had with others. Whilest they had an armie of fifteene thousand about the Castle, the French not able to rescue it for the straightnesse of the passages, and good gard that was made, they made pillage of the countrey thereabout: and making all things lawfull to their furie, because the Castle-keeper of *Musocquo* (a place appertaining to *Iohn Iacques Trunulce*) refused to lend them artillerie to batter the castle of *Luzarno*, they sacked the towne of *Musocquo*, forbearing to vex the Castle for that it was inexpugnable.

On the other side the Frenchmen, whom this emotion did not a litle import, assembling all their strength which they had in *Lombardy*, and hauing obtained succours of *Bologna*, of *Ferrara*, and of *Mantua*, require the *Venetians* to furnish that proportion of men, which they were bound vnto for the defence of the state of *Myllan*. The companies were promised according to the kings desire, but there was vsed so litle expedition in the leauying of them, and so great intermission to send them, as they serued to litle purpose. *Monsieur de Chaumont*, who had bestowed good strength and garison in the Castles that were in the mountaines, kept his regiments in the plaine, hoping that the *Swissers*, hauing neither horse nor artilleries, durst not descend into places discovered, but in the ende would be made vvearie for the difficultie of the victuals, and for that they were without money, and lesse hope to do any thing that

Descending of
the *Swissers*
into the Duchy
of *Myllan*.

was of importance. In which estate the *Swissers* hauing remayned many daies, and the want of victuals increasng (for the French with their Nauie had sunke manie Barks, which brought victualles to the *Swissers* Campe, and restrained the course of manie other by the lake) the soldiers began to nourish faction amongst themselves, for that the enterprise, appertained not but to the *Canons* which posselt *Belinzon*, and the Captaines being corrupted by the French monneys, they were content in the end to retire themselves, restoring (except *Musocque* as not appertaining to the king) all the places which they had taken in that expedition, obtaining promise of the king not to molest them of *Belinzon* vntill a certaine time. The French were so far estranged from any euill will to the *Swissers*, that they were not ashamed not onely in that time, when they had warre with the king of *Spaine*, and that they feared the king of *Romains*, and had the *Venetians* for suspected, but also in all other seasons, to buy the friendship of that nation, enduing them with yearly pensions both publike and priuate, and to make contracts with them vnder vnworthy conditions. In this action perhaps the French were moued, both by the small assurance they had in the footmen of their owne nation, and also for that as men of warre, they knew that that Prince makes warre to his great disadvantage, that vexeth a people that hath nothing to loose.

*Philip Arch-
duke of Au-
strich in
France.*

The king deliuered thus from the emotions and warres of the *Swissers*, had no lesse hope in the same season to see some issue of his warres in the kingdome of *Naples*: for that after manie means and practises of peace without any profit, *Philip* Archduke of *Austrich* and Prince of *Flanders*, detetmined to make his voyage from *Spaine* to *Flanders* by land, notwithstanding the contrarie desires of his father and mother in law, of whom he obtained free power and commission to contract a peace with the French king, which he had long solicited whilest hee was in *Spaine*: But they lent him accompanied with two Embassadours with whom hee was to communicate in all actions, and without whose counsell he would not treat or conclude anie thing. It is incredible with what magnificence and honor he was receiued by the kings assignmēt through all the realme of *France*, not onely that the king desired to make him fauourable in the practise of the peace, but also to deserue to make a perpetuall friend of that young Prince who was to become mighty and great, being the next successour to the Empire *Romaine*, and immediate inheritour to the kingdoms of *Spaine* with all the dependāces: All such as had grace or authoritie about him were honoured with the same liberties, and receiued presents of great price and riches. To these demonstrations was answerable the magnanimitie and royall behauiour of *Philip*: for that as the French king, besides his word and faith giuen for his sure passing through *France*, had sent into *Flanders* many of the Nobles of his realme for the safetie of *Philip*: so *Philip*, as soone as hee was entred *France*, to declare that he reposed wholly in the kings faith, gaue order that the Ostages should be redeliuered. These so great tokens and apparances of amitie, were not vnaccompanied (as much as was in them) with lesse effectes: for assembling at *Bloys*, after they had spent certaine dayes in discourse and disputation of things, they concluded

*Peace between
the K. of Spaine
and France.*

a peace in this sort: That the kingdome of *Naples* should be possessed according to the first diuision: But that there should be left in deputation to *Philip*, the Prouinces for the which they first fell to difference and armes: That from the present, *Charles* his sonne and Madam *Claudia* the Kings daughter (betweene whom should be a confirmation of that marriage, which had bene afore solicited) should be intituled Kings of *Naples*, and Dukes of *Pomilia* and *Calabria*: That that part which appertained to the king of *Spaine* should bee from thenceforward gouerned by the Archduke, and the partition discending to the French king, to be ordered by the proper deputies of his Maiestie: But that the one and the other part should bee holden vnder the name of the two children, to whom, at the time of consummation of marriage, the king should giue his part for the dowrie of his daughter. This peace was solemnlie published in the great Church of *Bloys*, and ratified by othes of the king, and of *Philip*, as procurer of the king and Queene of *Spaine* his parents in lawe: a peace truelie of right great consequence, if it had brought an effect equall to the intention: for, not onelie armes surceased betweene so mightie kings, but also peace would haue followed betweene the king of *Romains* and the French king: which would not onely haue bred newe enterprises against the *Venetians*, but also the Pope being suspected to them both, and in euill opinion with the vniuersall sortes of men, would not haue bene without his feares of counsellers and other actions

actions which might haue brought diminution to his authority and greatnesse. But the King and the Archduke sending with expedition to publish the peace in the realme of Naples, with direction to the Captaines and commanders of men, to forbear to molest one another, attending the ratification of the Spanish king, and in the meane while their possession of things to continue, the ruler for the French offered to obey to his king: but the Spaniard (either for the hope he had of the victory, or for that he would not be contented with the only authority of Philip) answered, that he could not discontinue the warre vnlesse he had receiued expresse commaundement from his king: for the continuance whereof, he was so much the more encouraged, by how much the French king, gouerned by his hopes both in the practise and conclusion of peace, esteeming for certaine that which was yet vncertaine, had not only clallied in all other provisions of warre, but also had foreflowed the leauing of those regiments (that is three thousand footmen and three hundred Launces) which should haue bene embarked at Genes to be led to that enterprise vnder Monsieur de Perij. And of the contrary were arriued at Barletto the two thousand Alman footmen, which being leuiued with the fauour of the king of Romans; and embarked at Trieste, were passed in surety by the gulfes of Venice; not without the great complaint of the French king. In which respect, the Duke of Nemours, not able to assure a surceasing of armes, and lesse likely to refurbish his power, being made weake by the oppressions he had receiued before: yet, because he would occupy his whole strength, if either occasion or necessity compelled him to fight with his enemies, he sent for all the French bands that had bene dispersed into diuerse places, together with all the aides of the Barons of the realme, except those Lords and regiments which made warre vnder Monsieur d'Aubigny in Calabria. But in assembling them he found a fortune contrary to his expectation: for, the Duke of Arri, and Lewys d'Arri, one of those French Captaines which had their companies bestowed vpon the lands of Otranto, determining to march together to ioyne with the Viceroy, for that they were aduertised that Peter of Nauarre with many Spanish footmen, was in place apt to distresse them if they went separate and decided it hapned that Lewys d'Arri taking his oportunitie to passe surely, departed, without being careful of the danger of the Duke of Arri, who left alone, marched also with his companies, hauing espiall that Peter de Nauarre was gone to Matero to ioyne with Consaluo. But the counsels of men were not sufficient to resist fortune, for that the men of Ruylano (a towne in the countrey of Bari) who in the same dayes were reuolted against the Frenchmen, calling vpon the succours of Peter de Nauarre, who in their regard altered his way fro Matero towards Ruylano, and encountred the Duke of Arri, to whom the suddenesse of his peril brought him into many doubtfull cogitations what to do. But, as necessitie of daunger makes men resolute, so, in the end, seeing no surety in his retraite, he gaue his whole disposition to the battell: And as when men are driuen to fight, their constructions and iudgements do often varie, sometimes beguiling themselves with an overweening in their owne strength, and sometimes beleewing lesse of their enemy then his estate and power requires: so the Duke reposing much in the seruice of his horsemen (though his footmen were inferiour in numbers to the Spanish) whom he vainely supposed to be once wearied by the trauell they had made that night, vndertooke the battell, wherein euery one expressing his valour on both sides, his people at last were broken, his Vncle being slayne, and himselfe taken prisoner. And as it seldome hapneth that one fortune goeth without another, nor no aduersity vnaccompanied with another calamity, so foure French Gallies vnder the gouerning of Preian knight of the Rhodes, appeared in the haven of Otranto vnder licence of the Venetian Magistrate, promising to defend them from the inuasions of the Spanish Nauy, which vnder the Captaine Villemarino wasted in creeke thetherabouts. But after Preian was entred a little further in the haven, his forces little, and his fortune farre inferior to his enemies, he beganne to feare to be enuironed; and therefore to preuent that his damage and harmes should not turne to the profite of his enemies, after he had deliuered the Gallies and sunke his Gallies, he fought his safetie by land with his people, leauing his honour in suspicion by the greatnesse of his daunger.

The overthrow
of the Duke of
Arri.

The French King gaue commandement to his Captaines to stand onely vpon their gards, and not to seeke their enemies, assuring them that with speede they should either receiue the confirmation of the peace, or a competent proportion of succours: but the armies being so mighty and so neare one another, it was very hard to bridle the furie of the Frenchmen, or to bring them to this

*Monsieur
d'Aubigny
overthrowne
and taken pri-
soner.*

patience to draw the warre longer: It seemed rather that destiny began to sciance, and would no more defer the whole and absolute deciding of those affaires whose beginning hapned in *Calabria*: for after the Spaniards were ioyned in one strength at *Semmaro*, *Monsieur d'Aubigny* having assembled all his companies, and the power of the Barons that held the French faction, bestowed his footmen within the towne of *Gioia* three miles from *Semmaro*, and sent his horsemen to *Losarno* three miles from *Gioia*: and fortifying himselfe with foure peeces of artillery upon the shoare of the river; being the situation of *Gioia*, he stood ready prepared to oppose against his enemies if they made enterprise to passe the river. But the intentions of the Spanish were, other then he supposed, for the day they determined to passe, they caused their Vauanguard to march directly to the River; where *Manuell de Benavide* (who had the leading of them) being upon the shoare, began to parley with *Monsieur d'Aubigny*, who had led all his army to the bank contrary or opposite. At the same instant, the rearegard of the Spanish being followed with the battell, tooke another way to passe the River a mile and an halfe about *Gioia*: which being discerned of *Monsieur d'Aubigny*, he went in great hast without artillery to affront them afore they had all passed: but they were more happie in celeritie then *Monsieur d'Aubigny*, for that afore his coming they were all passed ouer, and raunged (albeit without artillery) in firme and set battell: and with that aduantage marched forth against the Frenchmen, who, by reason of their hast, either keeping no order at all, or at least by their smal numbers, not able to resist so great a strength, were there broken before the Vauanguard of the Spanish could passe the River. In which conflict *Ambri-court* was made prisoner with certaine other French Captaines, & the Duke of *Sonne* with many Barons of the kingdome. And albeit *Monsieur d'Aubigny* tooke the Rocke of *Angelo* for his safety, yet having no meane to issue out, his perill compelled him to yeeld himselfe prisoner, being ouerthrowne and taken euen in the selfe same places; where not many yeares before, he had with great glory triumphed ouer King *Ferdinand* and *Consaluo*, so inconstant are the properties of fortune, and the doings of men so subiect to alteration and chaunge. In this conflict perhaps nothing was more hurtfull to *Monsieur d'Aubigny* (of a franke and noble spirit, and one of the most resolute Captaines that the French king led into *Italy*) then that his owne too forward and violent inclination caried him too farre into the hope of the victory: a matter which likewise was hurtfull to the Viceroy in *Pomilla*, ioyning the report of the accident hapned in *Calabria*. For *Consaluo* not hearing of the victory of his people, and not able by the importunity of hunger and plague to remaine longer in *Barletto*, marched out of it, and leauing a very weak Garrison, he tooke his way to *Ciriguole*, a towne ten miles from thence, and almost in a triangle betweene *Canosa* (where the Viceroy was) & *Barletto*. The Viceroy (when dangers appeare, wise men fall into counsell) debated with his Captaines, whether were better to follow or flye the occasion of the battell: wherein many of his Captaines reasoned, that, in regard the Spaniards were increased in numbers, and his bands fall into great weakenesse and disorders, it was against policy to commit any thing to hazard, but to retire into *Melfe* or some other strong towne well provided of things necessary, and there to expect either a new succour out of *France*, or else the confirmation of the peace: a maner to temporise (which he was also bound to vse by commaundement) which he had newly receiued from the King. A contrary opinion was holden by other Captaines, to whom it seemed a thing daungerous to tarie till the army already victorious ouer *Calabria*, should ioyn with *Consaluo*, or at least should execute any enterprise of importance finding no man to resist him. They brought in the example of *Monsieur Montpensier*, chusing rather to retire into townes then to fight: That the memories of times past admonished them how farre they might hope for the long and vncertaine succours of *France*: That their Camp was nothing inferior either in force or vertue to the army of the enemy: & that the disorders that had hapned by negligence, ought not to be compared to the experience, which wold be shewed in plaine field with weapons and valours of men, and not with sleights or subtillties: That it was a more sure and honourable way, to make it the least with hope, an equall experience and triall of fortune, then eschuing the battell, and consuming themselves by degrees of temporising, to giue their enemy the victory without blood and without daunger: That touching the late message of the king, it was to be construed rather as an aduertisement, then in nature of a commaundement, in which degree, if *Monsieur d'Aubigny* had taken it, he had done well: But now the state of the war being changed by such a disorder, it was necessary likewise that their deliberations should alter. This

last opinion prevailed, & therefore having advertisement by their espials, that the Spanish bands either all or part were issued out of *Barletta*; *Monsieur de Nemours* in like sort tooke his way towards *Siriguole*, a way very inconuenient both for the one and other army, for that the country was barreine of fresh waters, the summer and hote season being of greater rage of drought then was wont to be in the beginning of May: the disposition of the time brought many afflictions both to the one and other army, for that the very day of remouing, many souldiers died of drought by the wayes. And the discommodities of the wayes by the which they passed, gaue no lesse impediment to their marching, the French not knowing whether the whole or part of the Spanish army were in the field, for that both *Fabricina Calonne* with his light horsemen, tooke away the certaine knowledge, and also the Lances of the men at armes holden upright, and the stalkes of fenels growing high in that country, dimmed their sight that they could not well discerne. The Spaniards were the first that arrived at *Siriguole* which the Frenchmen kept; and incamping betwene two vines, they enlarged (by the aduise of *Prosper Calonne*) a ditch or trench which was at the entree of their Campe. Whilest they were dressing their lodgings or Campe, the diligence of the French in marching had brought them to the place, but by the condition of the time drawing neare night, they stood doubtfull whether they should so suddenly accept the battell or defer it till day following: *Iues d'Alegre* and the Prince of *Melfe*, perswaded that the fight might be put ouer till the next day, a respite conuenient for the refreshing of their owne men; and to no lesse purpose to distresse the Spaniards, who, they hoped, would be constrained by necessity of victuals, to remoue their Campe. To this reason was ioyned also a consideration of waite; how much it would be to their disaduantage, to set vpon them in their lodgings, specially being ignorant of the disposition of the place. But as euery calamity is led to his effect by his proper meane, and mortall men in many things, are made the instruments of their owne harmes: so *Monsieur de Nemours* caried more by his rash inclination, then by the safe counsell of others, the Spaniards were charged with great fury as well by the French as *Swissers*; and the fire hauing taken the powder of the Spaniards either by chance or by other meane, *Consaluo* vsing the occasion of that accident, cryed with a courage well resolved, the victory is ours, God declares it by manifest tokens, specially when we see we haue now no more necessity of the seruice of artillery. There be sundry opinions of the state of this battell: the French publish that in the first encounter they brake the Spanish footmen, & offering to the artillery, they had won it, & set the powder on fire, only by the darkenesse of the night, their men at armes, by negligence and misknowledge, had charged their own footmen, by which disorder, the Spaniards reassembled. But others reason, that for the difficulty to passe the ditch, the Frenchmen beginning to intricate and intangle themselves, fell to flying, no lesse by their proper disorder, then by the vertue of their enemies, being most of all amazed: for the death of *Monsieur de Nemours*, who entring with the first into the fury of the fight, and as he was in the action of a noble Captaine to encourage his men to win the trench, was stricken dead with a bullet. There be others, who discoursing more particularly, say that *Monsieur de Nemours*, despairing to be able to passe the ditch, and labouring to turne his strength towards the flanke of the Campe to aduerture to enter on that side, cryed that they should giue backe; which voyce, to those that knew not the occasion, gaue a signe to flye, which ioyned to the chance of his death in the first squadron hapning also at the same time, caused all the army to turne their backs and enter into a manifest flying. Some acquite the Viceroy for taking the battell against the counsell of others, and do lay the blame vpon *Iues d'Alegre*, who, contrary to the intention and desire of the Viceroy to fight that day, reprehending his fearefulnesse, induced him to do that whereunto he bare no disposition; the battell was very small continuance, and albeit the Spanish passing ouer the ditch followed the chase of their enemies, yet euen as in calamities fortune is not without her fauours, so by the oportunity of the night couering all things with darkenesse, there were few that fell into the perils that they feared most, I meane that were either taken or slaine, specially of the horsemen, of whom *Monsieur Chandon* was one. The residue with losse of their carriage, and artillery, saued themselves by flying: the Captaines as well as the souldiers being dispersed into many separate places, not as their vertue wold, but whither their feare and fortune led them. This victory hapned the eight day after the ouerthrow of *Monsieur d'Aubray*, being both on Friday, a day which the Spaniards haue obserued to be happy vnto them. The French, after the fear of the chase was passed, reassembled againe as well as the violence of the time & their fortune

The ouerthrow
and death of
*Monsieur de
Nemours.*

would suffer, and a men whose greater perils were yet to come, debated many deuises: Sometimes they thought best to ioyne with the residue of the army in some place conuenient, to take from the victors all meanes to go to *Naples*, and eifoones they iudged it most conuenient for their safety, to sticke to the defence of *Naples*; and yet, as it hapneth that to men in aduersity their feares grow daily greater, and to such as be vanquished is left nothing but consideration of difficulties: so neither one of these deuises was suffered to be put in execution: for that neither had they any election of places for their safe abiding; neither was their possibility to defend *Naples* for the scarcity of victuals: for the prouision and furnishing whereof, the French had sent asore to *Rome* to buy a great quantity of corne, which they could not transport, either for the impediments that they of *Rome* gaue, seeking to haue their towne stand in good prouision, or rather by the secret perswasion of the Pope, which was not the least credible.

*Consaluo in
Naples.*

The consideration of these difficulties made *Alegre* the Prince of *Salerno*, and many other Barons to retire betweene *Caietto* and *Tracetto*, where they reassembled vnder their names, the most part of the residue of the armie. But *Consaluo* to whose vertue this one thing was peculiar and proper, to know how to follow his fortune as well as he was skilfull to get the victory; after this good successe, tooke his way with the army towards the towne of *Naples*, and as he passed by *Melfe*, he made offer to the Prince to leaue him possessed of his whole estate, so that he would remaine at the deuotion of the Spaniards: but he rather chusing to go his way with his wife and children, went to ioyne with *Lewys d'Ars* lying at *Venosa*: by whose departure *Consaluo* taking *Melfe*, followed his way directly to *Naples*, at whose comming those Garrisons of the French which were in the towne, retired into the new Castell, and the *Neapolitans* deprived of all hope but such as is left to men abandoned, receiued *Consaluo* the xiiij. day of May, *Capua* and *Aversa* doing the like in the same time.

The end of the fife booke.



THE SIXT BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT

THE French King makes his preparation to passe into Italy: Pope Alexander the sixt is empoisoned: His successor Pope Pius the third dieth within xxvi. dayes: In his the second created Pope: The Duke Valentinois is apprehended prisoner: The French are ouerthrown at Garillon: The Florentins faile to take the city of Pisa: Peace is established betweene the French King and the King of Spaniards.

THAT man etreth lesse who promisseth to himselfe a chaunge of the affaires of this world, then he that perswadeth that they are alwaies firme & stable. And albeit the mā wise & resolute, is seldom displeased with things which ought to be borne, for that whatsoever might happē to another, he neuer complaineth if it chaunce to him: yet (so is the state of man entangled with infirmities) ther hapneth no mutatiō which in some sort shaketh not the resolution and constancy of the mind: an example verified in the person of the French king: who, as soone as he heard the newes of so great a losse, and in a time wherein he had more expectation of peace, then of war, entred into no little alteration, concurring in that aduersity, not only the deprivation of a kingdome so mighty & flourishing,

-ishing, with the desolation and ruine of his armies, compounded of his chiefest nobilities and men
 of race and vertue: but also he considered the perill wherein stood all the residue of that which
 he held in *Italy*, which as he had already made the rewards of his glory and victories, so he referred
 to adioyne them (as perpetuall monuments) to the reputation of his Empire and greatnesse. But
 the humor which most fed this passion, proceeded chiefly of impatience against his fortune, esteem-
 ing his dishonor so much the greater, by how much he was vanquished by the king of Spani-
 ards, whose power he iudged to be farre inferiour to his; an error familiar with Princes, to esteeme
 lesse of their enemy then he is, and more of their owne forces then they are indeede. And as in
 these cases the despite of the iniury doth much to enforce a desire of reuenge, so the king deba-
 ting deeply the estate and nature of the wrong, which was, to be beguiled vnder hope, & promise
 of peace, determined to run vnto the remedy which commonly those men vse that hold them-
 selues iniured: that is, with all his forces and meanes to assaye to recouer the honour and kingdom
 he hath lost, and with armes to restore the reputation that had bin stolne from him by deceit, hol-
 ding it no iniustice to be. reuenged of him that did the first wrong. But afore he entred into the
 action of any enterprise, he complained grieuously to the Archduke not yet departed from *Blois*,
 recommending to him the infamy of infidelity, & how much it imported him to redresse the abuse,
 if he had any vertue to preferue his faith and his honour. By which instigation, the Archduke
 (whose innocency held him sufficiently acquitted) solicited greatly his father in law, to redresse
 the abuse, complaining in vehement termes that things were so handled to his great slander, &
 that in the sight and knowledge of all the world. It hath bene a custome with the Princes of the
 world to entertaine one another with vaine hopes and artificiall practises, esteeming more the oc-
 casions which the time offereth, then the faith and promises which themselves do make: for, the
 kings of *Spaine*, with many excuses, deferred to send the ratification of peace afore the victory, al-
 ledging somtimes, that hauing a custome to make their dispatches ioyntly, they could neuer be
 both together in one place as was necessary: and sometimes that they were so pestred with the
 multitude of affaires, that all oportunities to that expedition, were preiudicall. In which excuses
 may be manifestly discerned the ill disposition they had to embrace the peace, either for that their
 son in law had exceeded their commissions, or else for that after he was departed out of *Spaine*, they
 were entred into a better hope of the issue and successe of the warre: or at least for that it seemed
 straunge to them, that he had appropriated to himselfe their part of the realme, hauing no assu-
 rance (by the minority of the children) that the mariage of his sonne should take effect: and yet as
 they alwaies expressed inclinations to peace, & gaue continuall hopes to ratifie it; so, by deferring,
 they won as much time as they could, to the end to take aduice according to the euent of things.
 And obseruing stil the same sleight to temporize and entertaine, after they vnderstood by true ad-
 uertisement that their army remained victorious, albeit they were resolved to hold no reckening
 of the peace that was made, yet did they deferre to declare their intention to the Archduke, to the
 end, that keeping by that meanes the French king in suspence, he might haue the lesse oportunity
 to prepare for the rescuing of *Caietta* and the other places which yet remained. At length, con-
 strained by the importunities of their sonne in law (who was determined that otherwise he
 would not depart from *Blois*) they sent thither new Embassadors, by whom was declared, after
 disputation of certaine dayes, that it was not the intention of their kings to ratify that peace which
 had bene made in that sort, which neither in matter, meaning, nor circumstance, it caried either ho-
 nour or surety for them: and entring into controuersie with the Archduke, they told him, that it
 brought no maruell and discontentment to his father in law, that in the conditions of the peace, he
 had transgressed their will, and that albeit in regard of his honour his commission was free and
 large, yet he ought to communicate with the instructions that were giuen him, which were limi-
 ted and subiect to rule. The Archduke answered, that his instructions were no lesse free and vni-
 uersall then his commission, and that at his departure, his parents in law assured him that they de-
 sired the peace chiefly by his meanes, and did sweare vpon the Holy Gospell and image of Iesus
 Christ to obserue whatsoever he should determine: and yet for his owne part, he was conten-
 ted to trauell in it as in the person of a man regulated; and forbearing to vse the amplitude and au-
 thority of his commission, he alwaies communicated with the two personages which they had sent
 with him. These new Embassadors working all by art, propounded new meanes of accord, disclo-
 sing as it were that their kings had desire to render the realme to King *Federicke*. But those deuises

being discerned not only to be vaine, but also full of scorne and deceit, for that they tended to estrange from the French king the spirit of the Archduke, who looked to haue that kingdome for his sonne. The king in publike audience answered them, that he would in no sort treat or negotiate with them, if first they ratified not the peace that was made, and declared that the disorders hapned by it did much discontent them: He told them, that it seemed to him a matter not only maruellous, but also detestable and abhominable, that those kings who gloried so much to haue gotten the title of *Catholiques*, would hold so base reckning of their proper honour, their faith giuen, their oath sworne, and of the religion they professe, bearing no respect to the Archduke, a Prince so great, so noble, so vertuous, and their sonne and heire. With this answer commaimding them the same day to depart his Court, he turned immediatly all his wits to the preparations of the war, wherein taking occasion vpon the greatnesse of the wrongs that had bin done, he determined to aduance far greater prouisions both by land and sea, then had bin done in any times afore by any of the kings of *France*: So importunate is the passion of reuenge in the minds of mortall men, who notwithstanding find oftentimes more security to dissemble iniuries then to reuenge them.

In so much as he determined to send two mightie armies to the realme of *Naples*, the one by sea and the other by land. And least in the meane while *Caietta* and the Castels of *Naples* were lost, he prepared to succour them with diligence by sea, as well with new supplies of men of war, as with all other necessary things: and to giue impediment that there went no succours out of *Spain* (which had bin the cause of all the disorders) he resolved to inuade the kingdome of *Spain* with two armies by land, addressing one to the countrey of *Rossillon* which adioyneth to the sea *Mediterrane*, and the other to *Fontaraby* with the other places assitling vpon the *Ocean* sea: and also at the same time, to assaile with an army by sea, the coasts of *Catelogna* and *Valencia*.

The Castell of Naples taken by the Spanishe.

But whiles the French were diligent in preparing for these expeditions, *Consaluo* deuising how he might haue the Castels of *Naples*, planted his artillery against new Castell at the foote of the hill *Saint Martin*: from thence on a place somewhat raised, he beat the wall of the Citadell, whose situation being towards the sayd mountaine, was made strong with auncient wals, their foundations being almost vnder the earth. At the sametime also *Peter* of *Navarro* cast a mine to ouerthrow the wals of the Citadell, battring also the new Castell wals, and the Towre of *Saint Vincent* which *Consaluo* had won a few dayes before. New Castell had a forme & building after another fashion then it is at this day, for that now the Citadell being taken away, there beginneth a new circuit of wals, where were the wals of the same, and that stretcheth along the place of the Castell vntill the sea: this circuit begun by *Federick* & by him raised euen to the walt, being made of very strong matter of walling, & well founded, is very hard to be vndermined, for that it is subiect to countermines on all sides, & also the water runneth almost vpon the vppermost part of the ground. *Consaluo* had a determination, that as soone as he had taken the Citadell, and comming neare the vault of the Castell wall, he would destroy it with new mines: but either by the naturall rashnesse, or by the ill fortune of the Frenchmen, a greater occasion was offered to him, the aduersities of the French making all things happy to their enemies. For, after *Peter* of *Navarro* had put fire

The new Castell of Naples assailed.

to the mine which he had perfected, the fury of the powder blew open the wall of the Citadell, & at the same instant the Spanishe bands of footmen standing ready raunged in battell expecting the operation of the fire-worke, made entries on many sides, partly by those places of the wall that were broken, and partly vsing the seruice of scaling ladders, they commanded the wall in sundry other places not hurt by the mine, their fortune making those things easie, which by experience & reason seemed not without manifest perill. On the other side, the French, issuing out of the Castell of intention not to suffer them to remaine within the Citadell, charged them, but with a successe farre inferior to their vertue, for that being immediatly overlayed with multitudes of the Spanishe, as they retired towards the Rampier, the Spaniards entred pelmell with them, & running with the same fortune eue vpon the way that goeth to the gate, they so redoubled the feares of the French already appalled by the dispaire of their own estate, that standing in condition vtterly abandoned, in lesse then halfe an houre they rendred the Castell with their goods and liues to discreffion, the Count of *Montoire* remaining prisoner, with many other Lords. This conquest was so much the more agreeable to the Spaniards, & lesse for the purpose of the French, by how much there arrived from *Genes* the day following, for their succours, an army by sea of fixe great ships, with many smaller

smaller vessels freighted with victuals, weapon & munitions, & a regiment of 1000. footmen. At the discouerie of this Nauie, the Spanish armie at sea riding then in the port of *Naples*, retired into *Tschia*, whither the French Nauie pursued them vnderstanding the new Castle was lost: but the Spanish Nauie hauing sunke before them certaine Barks, to the end they were not compelled to fight, after they had bestowed certaine bolnes of shot one against another, more for pleasure then preiudice, they brake off, the one going to *Caietta*, and the other being reassured by the departure of the enemy, retired to the mole of *Naples*: fortune doing more for their safetie then their owne venue.

After the taking of new Castle, *Consaluo* fell to deuise by what meanes he might haue the residue of the realme, & therefore without tarying for the armie that was in *Calabria* (which laie there to conquer the vale of *Ariana* to take away all impediments to passe further) he sent *Prosper Colonne* into *Abruzzza*: and leauing *Peter of Nauarro* afore the Egge Castle, he marched with the residue of the armie towards *Caietta*, in the taking whereof he supposed did consist the summe of the warre, for that both the hopes & the dispaire of the French mē depēded whollie vpon the defence or losse of that Citie, strong by the oportunitie of the sea, & by the conueniencie & greatnes of his port, verie fit to receiue the armies that should be sent frō *Genes* to *Provence*. Touching the French men, they did not only hold *Caietta*, but also, besides the places thereabouts which were in their power, they comaunded in *Abruzzza*, *Aquilea*, the rocke of *Euandra*, with many other places: besides, the Lord *Lewys d'Ars*, hauing reassembled manie troops of horsemen & footmen, & being fortified with the Prince of *Melfa* within *Venoufa*, did great harmes to the countrie thereabout: Lastly, *Rossano*, *Matalona*, with many other strong peeces appertaining to the Barons of the faction of *Anion*, held out constantly at the deuotion of the French king, their valour notwithstanding being insufficient to resist their aduersities.

In this meane while *Peter of Nauarro* made certaine close or couered Barks, with the which approaching in more suretie the walles of the Egge Castle, he cast a mine on that side which prospects *Pizisalcona*, without the knowledge or priuie of them within, & as soone as he had intangled it with the fire, he blew into the aire in great furie one part of the wall, together with the bodies of men that stood vpon it: with the which, both for the action terrible, & the newnes of the deuise, strange, the Castle was immediatly taken to the special reputation of *Peter of Nauarro*, & general wonder of al men, for that as new inuentions to reuerse a strong place are most fearfull, hauing as yet no deuise to encounter them, so it was incredible to what estate of opinion this new experience brought *Peter of Nauarro*, against whose mines they thought that neither walles, fortresses, nor other working could make resistance, so readily is the nature of man raised into wonder when his mind comprehends not the reason of the things which the eye beholdeth performed in action. And sure in those daies it was a thing of great horror, that with the force of Cannon powder put into a Caue, or rather powred in the mine, men should throw downe to the earth, places & walles of greatest strength & most subtile foundation. The first that vsed this experience, of vndermining of walles in *Italy*, were the *Genowaies*, amongst whom, according to the testimonie of some, *Peter of Nauarro* exercised the art of warre in the person of a meane soldier on foote, it was in the yeare 1487, when they laie incamped afore the rock of *Serezanella* holden then by the *Florentines*, where, with a myne cast in this maner, they opened a part of the wall, missing notwithstanding the taking of the rock, for that the myne (by some error or imperfection) had not pierced so deepe vnder the rocke as was needefull, the same being the occasion that at that time the example of such an experience was not followed.

Consaluo, drawing neare to *Caietta*, *M. d'Aligre*, who had distributed 400. Launces & 4000. footmen of those which remained of the fortune of the battaile, between *Caietta*, *Fondi*, *Lixio*, *Tracetto*, & the rock *Guillaumo*, retired them all efsiones within *Caietta* wherein entred with him the Princes of *Salerno* & *Bisignan*, the Duke of *Tracetto* with many other Barons of the realme ioyned afore with him. After the retreat of these companies, *Consaluo* entred vpon those places which they had left abandoned, & also vpon the rock of *S. Germain*, encamping afterwards in the Suburbs of *Caietta*. And after he had planted his artillerie, he battered with an incredible furie that side towards the hauen, & the mountain commonly called *Mount Roland*, a hil conioyned & hath commandement ouer the Citie, & the which, the French men had then fortified with rampiers & Bastillions of earth, being afterwards by him inclosed with wal, he assailed in vaine to enter with two assaults (but not ordered) and forbearing at last to giue the assault ge-

neral, & disposed that day which he had determined to giue it, he saw it would be hard to haue it, aswel for the numbers & valours of those within, as also when he considered that though his army should enter by strength into the mountain, yet he should be but brought into greater perill, standing open to the shot of the artillerie planted in the monastery & other high places vpon the mountain. He forbore not for all this to plaie with his artillerie & to molest the town, which likewise was enuironed & besieged on that side to the sea, lying afore the hauē the xvij. Spanish Gallies which *Dom Raymon de Cardona* gouerned. But whilest *Consaluo* was busie in these actions, there arriued for the French a Nauie of six grosse Carracks *Genouaies*, six other ships, & seue gallies with good succors of victuals & footmen. Their commaunder was the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who by the death of *M. de Nemours*, the king had sent thither for their new *Viceroy*, the fortune of the warres notwithstanding, nothing altring though the person of the General was changed. The king desiring greatly to keepe *Caietta*, refurnished them estoones within few daies, what vpon those vessels & what vpo others, with 1000 footmen of *Corseigna* & 3000 *Gascoins*: in so much as by the comming of this new Nauie, the Spanish Fleete was cōstrained to retire to *Naples*, & *Consaluo* despairing to do any more good there, retyred his regimēts within the moale of *Caietta*, & within *Castellona*, whereby he kept *Caietta* besieged with a siege (as it were) more large, after he had lost many of his people, partly by skirmishing, & some in retyring, amongst whom *Dom Hugues de Cardona* was slaine by a shot frō the towne. But at the same time, all his other affaires of the kingdom trained a successe more happie, for that *Prosper Colonne* had newly taken the rock of *Euandro* & *Aquilea*, & reduced al the other piēces of *Abruzzza* to the Spanish deuotion, almost all *Calabria*, yeelding the like obedience by the contract which the Count *Capaccio* had lastly made with them. And there remained no other place free from their iurisdiction, but *Rossano* & *S. Senerin* where the Prince of *Rossano* was besieged, nothing resisting the felicitie of those men, whom fortune went about to make victors.

The Florentines in the country of Pisa.

Whilest these alterations trauelled the kingdom of *Naples*, the other regions of *Italy* were not altogether void of suspitions and troubles: for the *Florentines*, afore the fortune of the French began so headlong to decline in the kingdome of *Naples*, fearing indifferently the ambuscadoes of the Pope, & the ambition of the Duke *Valentinou*, forgate not to leaue prouisions of warre equal to the greatnes of the perill that threatned, holding it easie to suffer a mischief, whē they are sure of the remedie: they entertained into their paie for the leading of their armie (& yet without title of Generall) the Bailife of *Caen*, with fifty French Launces: a Capitaine for his own particular well recommended for the seruice of warre, & for the respect of the *Florentines* verie conuenient, for that being the kings subiect, & had brought his charge of fiftie Launces by the kings consent; they had opinion that those of whom they earst doubted, would now be better aduised what they would do, the king expressing vnder that degree of fauour & disposition to be readie to their aide in al necessities. As soone as he was come to their armie, they reassembled all their troupes, & for the second time, cut off the corne of the *Pisans*, but not through the whole countrey, for that to enter the vale of *Serle* was not without danger, hauing his situation betweene the mountaines and the waters, & in the midway betweene *Lucqua* & *Pisa*. Immediately after they had giuen this spoile to their corne, the Camp marched to *Vicopisan*, which was taken without difficultie, for that 100. French footmen being within it, the Bailife of *Caen* threatning to punish them as enemies to the king, & sometimes promising them of liberalitie a moneths pay, they exchanged their faith with feare & hope of profit, & issued out of the towne, the same being the occasion that *Vicopisan* was rendred to discretion. *Verucola* also wherein was but a slender garrd, was forthwith enuironed, to the end no succors should enter into it: and the artillerie being afterwards trailed thither not without great difficulties, for that the mountains therabouts, offered many troublesome impediments, those that were within, fearing more the thunder of the Cannon, then trusting to their proper vertue of fortune, yeelded, their goods & liues saued. The situation of *Verucola* being a litle fortresse situate vpon a high mountain during the warres in the country of *Pisa*, is of great importance: for that being within fife miles of *Pisa*, it hath not only a naturall aptnes to distresse the countrey thereabout, yea euen to the gates of the citie, but also by his prospect he discouereth all the bands & troops that come out of *Pisa*, whether they be on foote or horsemen. *P. Vitelli* & many other experienced Captaines made many tryals in vaine to carrie it since the warre began. And now the confidēce that the *Pisans* had, that *Vicopisan* would be defended, wthout taking the which, the *Florentines* could not encāp before *Verucola*, was the cause that they had not made sufficient prouision, wherein they helped forward the fortune of their enemies,

mies more by their proper negligence then by the others vertue, opinion beguiling them against reason or experience. Greatly did amaze the *Pisans* the losse of *Verucola*, in whom notwithstanding, neither the regard of the harmes they had receiued, nor the consideration of their other calamities being miserable by want of money & victuals, could worke no inclination to returne to the obedience of the *Florentines*, languishing (by one common infirmitie) in dispaire to obtaine pardon for the conscience of the great transgressions they had don: which dispositiō it was needfull, that such as in the gouernment bare geatest authoritie, should entertaine with a speciall diligence, for that those of the plaine countrey (without whom they were not able to continue defence) bare no small suspēctiō to run with the streame, & to varie in mind as their common fortune declined. And therefore nourishing them with diuers hopes, together with those estates of the common people that liued more by the benefits of peace, then troubles of warre, they published amongst them sundrie rumors vnder the authoritie of fained letters, amusing them with diuers inuentions, and confounding things false with those that were true; if any accident hapned in *Italy*, they tooke the oportunitie & made it serue for their purpose, communicating with the people that sometimes one Prince, somtimes another, were readie to come to succor them: they made perswasions according to the propertie of the time, vsing their tongues in stead of force, to staie those men vpon whom depended their own safetie. But in al these extremities they were not without some aide & succors of the *Genowases* & *Lucquois*, ancient enemies of the *Florentines*, & likewise of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, bearing litle remembrance of the benefits receiued: and (which was of geatest importance) they were also nourished in secret with certaine succors, but with far greater hopes, by the Duke *Valentino*: Ambition hath infinit operations, & in this abuseth the imaginatiōs of men, that it makes them seeme able to hold those things which they cannot gripe, & raiseth their mindes to conceiue matters about their power or possibilitie: For the Duke, in whom had long raged a desire to make him selfe lord of that citie, & in other times had abstained for feare of the kings displeasure, tooke now the aduantage of the time, and presuming much by the infelicitie of the French in the realme of *Naples*, he ioyned to him the consent of his father, & treated with the *Pisan* Embassadours whom they had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, to accept the iurisdiction, aspiring by that meane to occupie all *Tuskane*: a deuise, which albeit brought the *Florentines* & *Siennois* into no small suspicion of him, yet the vniuersall benefit being hindered by their particularities, there was no proceeding to that vnitie which the French king propounded betweene the *Florentines*, the *Bolonois*, & the *Siennois*, for that they of *Florence* refused to accept it if they were not repossessed of *Mont Pulcian*, as had beene solicited & promised from the beginning: and *Pandolfo* who bare a mind estranged from it (albeit he made other shew) alleaged that to restore it, would so stirre vp the hate of the people of *Sienna* against him, that he should be constrained yet once againe to forsake the towne, and therefore he said it was better (for the common benefit) to deferre it as yet, til time brought about a better occasion, then in restoring it presently to further the Duke *Valentino* with meanes to occupie *Sienna*. By these meanes, denying nothing, he kept things in longnesse & delaies, seeking to leaue the *Florentines* contented with hopes in stead of effects, which excuses by them reiecte were accepted & beleued in the Court of *France*, by the meane of *Franncis de Naruy* resident at *Sienna* by the kings commaundement.

But it was not the intentiō of the Pope & *Valentino* to put these enterprises to executiō, otherwise then the proceeding of the army which the king prepared, gaue them courage, and induced them by occasiōs to stick thore the one king then to the other: whereupon in that time they stood in suspēctiō & variatiō of thoughts, deferring as much as they could the declaratiō of their intentiō, which bare no fauour or inclinatiō to the French king further then there was feare to constrain them, for that the experience of things passed in *Bologna* & *Tuscan* tooke away all hope to attempt greater matters with his fauour: & for that reasons they had begun afore the victorie of the Spaniards to become more & more separat fro him in which after the victorie, rising in impudēcie & weening, they respected no more (as they were wont to do) neither his wil nor his authoritie, his aduersities disclosing their coruptiōs, which in his prosperities he rather suspected then discerned. And albeit, immediatly after the ouerthrows of the French, they gaue assurāce to embrace the kings quarrels, making démonstratiō to entertain men to send to the realme of *Naples*; yet, what by the ambition of new conquests, & greedy eyes they cast vpon the riches of *Tuskane*,

A prouerbe
vpon the Popes
dissembling.

the king requiring that they would declare them selues openly for him, the Pope answered in such miserie and doubt, that by how much lesse they were innocent in wordes or meaning, by so much more it was reasonable in the king to suspect them. Their simulation and dissimulation being so notable, that it was a prouerbe ordinarie in *Rome*, that the Pope neuer did that which he saide, and the Duke seldome spake that which he meant. Besides, the contention wherein they were with *Iohn Iordan* was not yet determined: for, albeit *Valentinois* fearing the kings displeasure, abstained to molest him vpon his Maiesties commaundement: yet the Pope declaring how much that greeued him, ceased not to sollicit the king to suffer him either by armes to reconquer the estates of *Iohn Iordan*, or els by some other degree of compulsion to see that he had recompence for them: giuing to vnderstand that that which moued him was not ambition, but a iust feare of his neighbourhood, proceeding vpon this suspition, that finding amongst the papers of Cardinall *Vrsin* a blanke signed with the proper hand of *Iohn Iordan*, it was an argument, that in those things which were negociated at *Maisons*, he had one selfe will and intelligence against him with the *Vrsins*. In which thing the king more regarding profit then honestie, had proceeded diuersly, according to the diuersitie of times, sometimes expressing fauour to *Iohn Iordan* as before, and somtimes inclining to satisfie the Pope in some degree. And for that cause *Iohn Iordan* refusing to depose *Bracciano* into the hands of the French Embassador resident at *Rome*, the king required that they should repose vpon him the resolution of the difference, vnder condition that *Iohn Iordan* should be conueyed into *Fraunce* within two moneths, and that things should remaine in that estate, vntil he had determined: whereunto as *Iohn Iordan* consented by necessitie, hoping through his own merits and the expectation he had of his father and him, to be fully deliuered from such vexations: so also in the Pope appeared no resistance, more for feare then otherwise, for that the French king required such a matter in a time when the Archduke contracted the peace in the name of the kings of *Spaine*. But the condition of things being changed by the victorie of the Spaniards, and seeing withall that the French king had neede of him, he demanded all the states of *Iohn Iordan*, offering the recompence that should be declared by the king, who for the same occasion induced *Iohn Iordan* to consent thereunto, and to promise to deliuer in his sonne for the assurance of that which should be determined: a matter which the king did greatly against his wil, for that he had no intention to deliuer vp those estates to the Pope, if at the same instant, he ioined not with him openly in the waire of *Naples*, holding it as reasonable for him as for the Pope, to take the aduantage of things, & to serue his turne of controuersies. But they of *Petillano* where the sonne of *Iohn Iordan* was, refusing to deliuer him to the kings Embassadour, who was gone to *Port Hercules* to receiue him, *Iohn Iordan* him selfe being then returned, went to the Embassadour, and to fulfill the promise of his faith, offered him his proper person, which the Embassadour accepted with litle reputation, and with lesse discretion bestowed him in a ship: but as soone as the king knew it, he caused him to be set at libertie, esteeming it an iniurie dishonorable, to do iustice vpon him for the disobedience of others.

The Fr. king
prepares
mightily a-
gainst the K.
of Spaine.

In this meane while, there was vsed a generall diligence to leaue the preparation which the French king meant to emploie both on this side & beyond the mounts. For the Lord *d' Albert* & the Marshall of *Cie*, were gone into *Guien* with foure hundred Launces, & fiue thousand footmen, as well *Swissers* as *Gascons*, to make warre on the part of *Fontarabie*: and to stirre vp the Countie of *Rosillon*, the Marshal of *Rieux* was sent into *Languedock* with eight hundred launces & eight thousand footmen, part *Swissers* & part French. And at the same time the Nauie by sea hoyled saile to endamage the coastes of *Catelogna* and the realme of *Valence*. Besides, the king had dispatched for *Italy* with title of Captaine generall ouer his armie, the Lord *Trymonille* (to whom was transferred by vniuersall opinion the whole merite and reputation for matters of warre, within the realme of *Fraunce*) & sent with the same expedition, the Bailife of *Dyon* to dispatch eight thousand *Swissers*, the men at armes also & the footmen making hast to march, notwithstanding the armie was not so strong as was determined in the beginning. Perhaps the king would haue it so, not for disabilitie, or for that he would spare, but for that he desired that they might make the more expedition into the kingdome of *Naples*, & partly because *Monsieur d' Alegre* aduertising the king of the state of the affaires there, assured him that the remainder of the armie was stronger then it was in deed, both for that the townes & Barons remained firme in his deuotion, & also he had demanded succors of all those in *Italy* which fauored his faction. By which

which meane and industrie, the *Florentyns* had graunted him the Bailly of *Caen* with the fiftie *Launces* paid of their own money, and an hundred and fiftie other men at armes. The Duke of *Ferrary* also and the *Bolonnoys*, with the Marquis of *Mantua* (who for that the king sent to him, went to him in person) did refurnish him euery one in particular with an hundred men at armes, and they of *Sienna* with an other hundred: which bands ioyned to the eight hundred *Launces* and five thousand *Gascoys* which *Trymonille* brought into *Italy*, & to the eight thousand *Swissers* which were expected, reckening also those that remained within *Caietta*, made vp the number of a thousand eight hundred *Launces* French and Italian, & more then eightene thousand foote men. Besides these preparations for the warre by land, the armie by sea was departed, a Naue strong & glorious, in so much as all men confessed, that there was no memorie that any French king had euer made so huge and mightie preparations (making distinction of the forces both by sea & by land, gathered aswell on this side, as beyond the mounts:) but it was not thought good for the kings suretie, to suffer his armie to passe by *Rome*, if first his maiestie were not well assured of the Pope and Duke *Valentinois*, for that he had iust occasion to doubt of them for many reasons & many demonstrations, but specially by the testimonie of certaine letters from *Valentinois* to *Consaluo* newly surceped, wherein was debated between them that if *Consaluo* tooke *Caietta* (in which case he should stand wel assured of all the matters of the kingdome) he should passe further with his armie, and *Valentinois* should take vpon him the iurisdiction of *Pisa*, and so they both to ioyne in one strength to assaile *Tuscan*. In which respect, the king (his armie being already passed into *Lumbardy*) was verie importunate that they should at last, declare their vttermost intention, holding it better to know them as they were, then to doubt them to be more or lesse then he should find them. And for their parts, albeit they listned to both parts, and treated with euery one, yet, iudging that the time was conuenient to make traffike of the trauels of another, their desires caried them most to ioyne with the Spanish: but they were restrained again with the consideration of this manifest danger, lest the french armie would begin to inuade their estates, in which case they should feele damage & displeasure, where they hoped to reape rewards & greatnes. In this estate of doubt and incertaintie of inclination, they suffred both parts to leaue apparantly bands of footmen within *Rome*, deferring as much as they could to declare them selues: but being at last in termes resolute vrged by the king, they offered that the Duke should be ioyned to his armie with five hundred men at armes & two thousand footmen, the king consenting not only to the occupying of the lands of *Iohn Jordan*, but also to the conquering of *Sienna*. And yet when they were vpon the point of conclusion, they varied, introducing new difficulties, as men, who (according to their custome) to be at libertie to take counsel of the euent of things, had no desire to declare them selues according to good meaning, and therefore there was propounded another nature of practise, by the which the Pope seeming not to declare for any of the parties, but to remaine in the person of a comon father, consented to giue passage to the french armie through the dominions of the Church, with promise not to molest neither the *Florentyns*, the *Siennois*, nor the *Bolonnois* during the wars in the realme of *Naples*. Which conditions had at length ben accepted by the king, to the end to giue expedition of passage to his armie to *Naples*, albeit he knew they were neither honorable for him self, nor sure for such as depended on him in *Italy*, seeing he had no assurance that the Pope and *Valentinois* would not declare against him, if any misfortune hapned to him in the realme: besides there was this danger, least as soone as his armie was out of the territories of *Rome*, they would not rise contrarie to their faith, to assaile *Tuscan*, which for the disagreement of the people, & the numbers of men which he had drained out of it, was become weake & almost disarmed, being a thing not vnlikely, that he would either set vpon that enterprise or some other, seeing they had so long time expected occasions, thinking to draw out of them a wonderfull profit.

But as the cogitations of men are vaine, and their thoughts full of deceit: so, when they stood in the highest estate of their hopes, behold the Pope, who went to supper in a vineyard neare the *Vatican*, to reioyce in the delight and pleasure of the fresh aire, is suddenly caried for dead to the Bishops Pallace: his sonne also communicating in the same accident, but with better fortune: for the day following, which was the eighteenth day of August, the dead corps of the Pope (according to custome) was borne into the Church of *S. Peter*, blacke, swolne, and most deformed, most manifest signes of poison: but *Valentinois* what by the vigour & strength of his youth,

Pope Alex.
the. 6. dead.

and readie helpe of strong medicines and contrepoisons; had his life saued, remaining notwithstanding oppressed with a long and grievous sickness: It was assuredly beleached that the accident proceeded of poison, the discourse whereof according to common report was in this sort: The Duke *Valentinois*, who was to be present at that supper, had determined to poison *Adrian* Cardinal of *Cornette*, reseruing that time and place to execute his bloudie resolution: for it is most certaine that in his father and him were naturall customes to vse poison, not only to be reuenged of their enemies, or to be assured of suspitions, but also vpon a wicked couetousnes to dispoile rich men of their goods, whether they were Cardinales or Courtiers, although they had neuer done them wrong, as hapned to the Cardinal Saint *Ange* who was verie rich. This manner of rage they would vse also against their greatest friends and familiars, and such as had bene their most faithfull seruants, such as were the Cardinales of *Capua* and *Modeno*: a recompense vnworthie the merits of good men, & not disagreeable to the disposition of such a father & sonne; whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile dispensation, and with the other nothing was dishonest wherein was oportunitie to his purposes: The Duke *Valentinois* sent before certaine flagons with wine infected with poison, which he gaue to a sertiant that knew nothing of the matter, commaunding that no person should touch them: a commaundement preiudiciall to his master, as the ignorance of the seruant was the instrument in the euil that hapned both to the father and sonne: Such is the suffrance of God, who in the execution of his iudgements, raiseth one murderer to kill another, and breaketh the brands of the fyre vpon the head of him that first kindled it. For, the Pope comming by aduenture somewhat before supper, and ouertome with the drought and immoderate heat of the time, called for drinke: and because his owne prouision was not yet brought from the Pallace, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to be recommended to his keeping for a wine most excellent, gaue the Pope to drinke of the same wine which *Valentinois* had sent: who arriuing whilest his father was drinking, dranke also of the same wine, being but iust that they both should taste of the same cup which they had brued for the destruction of others. All the towne of *Rome* ranne with great gladnes to Saint *Peters* about the dead bodie of the Pope, their eyes not being satisfied to see dead and destroyed a Serpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poisoned infidelitie, together with all the horrible examples of crueltie, luxurie, and monstrous couetousnes, selling without distinction both holie things and prophane things, had infected the whole world: and yet was accompanied with a most rare and almost perpetuall prosperitie, euen from his young age to the end of his life, desiring alwaies great things, and obtaining most often that he desired: an example of much importance, to confound the arrogancie of those men, who presuming to know and see perfectly with humane eyes the depth of Gods iudgements, do assure, that what hapneth either good or ill to mortall men, proceedeth either of their merites or fautes: as though we sawe not daily many good men vniustly tormented, and many wicked persons about their desertings liue in ease and honour: wherein who makes another interpretation, derogates the iustice & power of God, the greatnes of which being not to be contained within any scripts or termes present, knoweth how well and largely to discteme in another time and place, the iust from the vniust, and that with rewardes and eternall punishments.

The Duke *Valentinois* no lesse sorowfull for the death of his father, then languishing in his owne infirmitie, rettyred all his bandes of men of warre about him; lying sicke in the Pallace: and hauing alwaies thought, partly by the feare of his armes, and partly through the fauour of the Spanish Cardinales which were eleuen, to create a Pope at his pleasure after the death of his father, he found now impediments about his expectation, specially in the matter of the election, and all his other plots and deuises to suffer imperfection and errour by reason of his disease, which was verie daungerous. In which respect he complained grieuously, for that hauing oftentimes foreseene all the accidents that might happen to him by the death of his father, and withall cast all the remedies that the wit of man might comprehend, yet he could neuer imagine that at the same time he should be restrained with a sickness so daungerous: and therefore finding it necessarie to frame his counsels, not to the plots he had layde before, but to the necessitie present: he sawe he was not able in one time to susteine the hatred of the *Colonnos* and *Frsins*, & fearing least they should ioine in conspiracie against him, he resolved to repose rather in those whom he had offended only in their goods, then to trust to the behauiour of such as he had grieued

grieved both in their goods and persons : and in that minde he procured readie reconciliation with the *Colomnois* and such of the *Vale* as followed that faction ; he invited them to returne estates to their estates, and made restitution of the Castles which *Alexander* with great expenses had fortified and enlarged, the alteration and feare of the time compelling him to do more then any regard to honour, equitie, conscience, or religion . All which notwithstanding, sufficed not neither for his suertie, nor to keepe the towne of *Rome* in peace, wherein all things, were full of suspitions and tumults, for that both *Prosper Colomno* was entred and all that faction had taken armes : and also *Fabio Vrsin* comming euen to the houses of the familie of *Mont Jordan*, had with a great multitude of his partakers set on fire certeine merchants shops and the houses of many Spanish Courtiers, a natio generally enuyed by the memorie of the insolencies which they had done during the Popedom of *Alexander*. Besides, *Fabio* thirsting after the bloud of *Valentynois*, made great leuies of forreine souldiers, and solicited *Bartlemew Aluiano* being then in the paie of the *Venetians*, to ioyne with him and his house in the reuenge of so many wrongs as he had don them, thinking it but iust to raise violence against him, whose furie had not spared to persecute them and their friends with all sortes of oppression and ruines . The suburbes and meadowes so swarmed with the men of warre of *Valentynois*, that the Cardinals seeing no reason, of suertie to assemble at the Bishops Pallace, drew together at the couent of the Church of *Minerna*, at which place (contrary to the auncient custome) they began, but farre later then they were wont, to doe the funerall of *Alexander*. The trouble and mutinie of the time present not only deferring the celebration of the obsequies, but also somewhat derogating the ceremonie, detecting in those last actions the abhominable and infamous life of him in whose regard they were done : it was much feared least *Consaluo* would come to *Rome*, specially for that *Prosper Colomno* had left at *Murina*, a certaine number of Spanish souldiers ; and for the reconciliation of *Valentynois* with the *Colomnois*, it was beleued that he had an intention to follow the Spanish faction . But greater were the feares of the comming of the french armie, which had marched slowly till that day, for that in the publike counnelles of the *Swissers* (being not a litle amazed for the ill fortune of the French in the realme of *Naples*) it was doubted afore the contract, that the king could not make leaue of their men, and all the Capteines and footmen chosen together had refused for the same occasion ; the same beeing the cause that they were not so readie, and that they made long aboad by the wayes : But in respect of the Popes death, the armie which was gouerned by the Marquis of *Mantua* with title of the kings Lieutenant, & by the Bailly of *Caen*, & *Monsieur de Sandricourt*, in whom except the name, remained as much power as in the Generall, for that *Tramouille* remained sicke at *Parma*, was come without tarying for the *Swissers*, to the territories of *Sienna*, with intention to goe to *Rome* according to the direction of the king, who also had commaunded the Nauie which was at *Cauetta* to make saile to *Ostia*, to giue impediment to *Consaluo* for going to *Rome* with his armie to compell the Cardinals to chosse a Pope at his deuotion. Notwithstanding the french armie remained certaine dayes betweene *Bancouent* and *Vuerbe*, for that the merchants making difficultie for the troubled time that was at *Rome* to accept the billes of exchange that were sent out of *France*, the *Swissers* now comen into the countrey of *Sienna*, refused to march further if they were not paid . In this time the tumultes were no lesse in the territorie of *Rome*, with many other places through the estate of the Church and the lands of *Valentynois*, for that the *Vrsins* and all the Romish Barons restored them selues to their estates : The familie of *Vitelli* were returned to *Citta de Castello*, & *Iohn Pawle Basillon* vnder hope of a certaine intelligence, had assailed *Perouza*. In which action albeit he was put to the chase by his enemies, and constrained to go his way, yet being refurnished with newe bands and open succours of the *Florentynes*, he entred the towne in a braue and resolute assault, not without the slaughter of his enemies and some losse of his owne companie . The towne of *Plombyn* also tooke armes, which albeit they of *Sienna* laboured to vsurpe & occupie, yet the auncient Lord returned thither by the fauour of the *Florentynes*. The Duke of *Vrbyn*, the Lordes of *Pesere*, of *Camerin*, and *Sins Gale*, did the like in their estates : onely *Romagnia* (notwithstanding they were not without suspicion of the *Venetians* who leuyed great bands of men at *Ranenna*) remained quiet and inclined to the deuotion of *Valentynois*, knowing by experience how much it was more tollerable and better for the weale of the countrey to serue one

Duke Valen-
tynois for the
French king.

Cardinall of
Amboise aspi-
rith to the
Popedom.

only and mightie Lord, then to haue in euerie towne: Lords particular, who neither for their weaknesse could defend them, nor for their pouertie, were able to doe them good, but rather when they found their reuenues insufficient to entertaine them, they would be constrained to oppress them: They considered also, that for the authoritie & greatnes of the Duke Valentynois, & for the good iustice he ministred amongst them, their countrey was not vexed with so many mutinies and tumults of factions as it was wont to be, bringing ordinarie slaughters to their friends and cohabitants. Besides, they drew into consideration the benefites that he had done for many, together with the great friendshippes he had gotten, by entertaining and giuing paie to such as had bene trained in armes, by distributing offices to men able and sufficient, and also by soliciting his father on the behalf of Prelates and Churchmen, touching the collation of benefices and spirituall dignities. Out of these respects they took occasion of firmnes, that neither the examples of others that reuolted, nor the memorie of their auncient Lords, could not estrange them from Valentynois: who albeit he stood oppressed with many difficulties, and lesse expectation of a-bilitie in a state so pluckt and broken, yet was he laboured vnto both by the French and Spanishe, and with many offers and promises importunately solicited to be on their side: for that besides the oportunitie of his forces and men of warre, they hoped by this meane to winne the voices of the Spanishe Cardinals in the election to be made. But the Duke looking wisely into the state of his affaires, tooke counsell of the inclination of the time, & refused to follow the fancies of men: and albeit for the reconcilment that was made with the Colonniois, it was beleued that he would be declared for the Spanishe, yet being induced to that reconcilment only by feare, least they would ioyne with the Orsinois, he declared now that he would do nothing contrarie to his fidelitie to the French, whom he determined to follow; for that, both within the towne of Rome, which the kings armie did now approach, and also in his other estates, they might do him more good and harme then the Spanishe: in so much as the first day of September he made a consenti-on with the Cardinall S. Seuerin and Monsieur de Trans the kings Embassador, by the which he promised to aid him with his souldiers in the enterprise of Naples, and in all other expeditions against all persons except the Church. And on the other part, the kings Agents bound the king to the protection as well of his person, as of all the estates he possessed, and to concurre also in the recouerie of those which he had lost. Besides these, the Duke gaue hopes to draw the most part of the Spanishe Cardinals to giue their voice to the Cardinall of Amboise, who puffed vp with a proud hope to obtaine the Popedom with authoritie, with money, and with the armies of his king, went immediately out of France after the Popes death to Rome, carrying with him the Cardinall of Aragon and the Cardinall Ascanius: him he had deliuered two yeares before out of the Towre of Bourges, and giuen him honorable countenance in the Court, hoping that if the Pope should dye, his ancient reputation might do much to further his ambitio, together with the many friends and fauorers which he had in the Court of Rome: foundations verie weake to beare so high and waightie a purpose, for that neither Valentynois could wholly dispose the Spanishe Cardinals more inclined (according to the custome of men) to their proper profite, then to reacknowledge the good turnes that his father and he had done to them, and withall, many amongst them, hauing regard not to offend the mind of their king, would not haue bene so farre ouerseene, as to choose for Pope a French Cardinall. Neither yet Ascanius, if he had had any power or place in the election, would haue consented to lift to the supreme seat the Cardinall of Amboise, for that it was to the perpetual embasing and cutting off of all the hopes that yet remained, as well to him, as to those of his house. They deferred yet the election of the new Pope, not only for that it was later then was wont ere they began to celebrate the obsequies of the dead, till the ending of which (enduring for the most part nine daies) the Cardinals haue no custome to enter into the Conclau or house of election: but also, the better to cutt off occasions and dangers of a schisme, in so great a confusion of affaires, & important diuision of Princes, the Cardinals that were present had agreed to giue aduertisement to those that were absent to make their repaire: and when they were come, the Colledge neuerthelesse was holden in suspence, suspecting that the election would not be free, as well for the bands of Valentynois, as for that the French armie which at last was drawn between Nepi and the Tiber with intention to come to Rome, refused to passe the river of Tyber, if aforehand there were not chosen a new Pope. They feared, that either the contrarie part would

over-

rule the Colledge in the election, or els such was the deuise of Cardinall *Amboise*, no lesse for the safety of his person, then hoping to be the better fauoured, These things, after many contentions, the Colledge refusing otherwaies to enter into the Conclauē) were at last resolued and made forme, for that the Cardinall of *Amboise* gaue his faith to the whole Court of Cardinals, that the French armie should not passe *Nepi* and the Isle, the *Valentinois* consenting to go to *Nepi* and afterwards to *Cinisa Castellano*, hauing sent to the French Camp two hundred men at armes and three hundred light horsemen vnder the leading of *Lodowike de la Mirandola* and *Alexander de Trynulle*: but the Colledge erected many bands of footemen for the gard of *Rome*, and gaue power to three Prelates whom they had appointed for the garde of the Conclauē, to open it if they discerned sedition or tumult, to the end that all the Cardinals being in libertie to go whither they will, euery one might be out of hope to force them. At last the Cardinals entred the Conclauē, being xxxviij. in number, where the disagreemēt which in other times was wont to kepe things in delay, was the cause nowe that they entred roundly into the action, and created in fewe daies a new Pope. And albeit in the election they had much to do to agree vpon the person, as well for their generall conetousnesse, as for the contention betweene the Cardinals depending of the French king, and the Spanish Cardinals embracing the faction of the king of Spaine. And albeit they were no lesse amased with the present daunger wherein they stood, all things in *Rome* beeing full of suspicion and tumult, then with the consideration of the accidents which in a time so troubled might happen by the vacation of the Sea: yet at last, euen by the consent of the Cardinall of *Amboise*, in who failed euery day al hope to be elected, they created for Pope *Frauncis Piccolomini* Cardinall of *Sienna*, in whom was no expectation of long life, both for his extreme age & present sicknesse: a Cardinall sure of vnspotted report, and for his other conditions, not vnworthy that degree, who, to renewe the memorie of *Pius secundus* his vnclē, tooke vpon him the name of *Pius* the third.

Frauncis Piccolomini made Pope.

As soone as the Pope was created, the French armie had no further occasion to abide there, and falling speedily into the way that had bene agreed vpon before, they passed suddenly the riuier of *Tyber*: but neither for the creation of the Pope, nor for the discamping of the armie, the tumults at *Rome* did not appease, for that because there was expectation for the coming of *Aluiano* and *Iohn Paule Baillon*, who conspiring together, made leuies of men in *Perusa*. *Valentinois* continuing as yet sicke, and fearing their comming, was returned to *Rome* with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, the like numbers of light horsemen, & eight hundred footmen, hauing obtained safeconduct of the Pope, who hoped that he might the easlyer put end to those things by some composition. But the *Valentinois* being within one towne and walles with the *Vrsins*, who lusted in a iust thirst after his bloud, the *Vrsins*, by the oportunitie of new bands arriuing, notwithstanding they demaunded of the Pope & Colledge of Cardinals a short and readie iustice, determined to be reuenged vpon him with armes, as soone as *Iohn Paule Baillon* and *Aluiano* were arriued. By reason of these conspiring intentions, there was also some controuersie betweene the towne and them of the suburbes where *Valentinois* was lodged: a contention which troubled not only the people of *Rome*, and the court, but also was supposed to bring great preiudice to the affaires of the French, for that the *Vrsins*, as soone as they were once dispatched of the quarell against *Valentinois*, preparing to go to the pay either of the French or Spanish king, and iudging that their strength was of no little importance to the victorie, they were sought to by both parts with ample conditions: but bearing a naturall disposition to the part of the French, the Cardinall of *Amboise* entertained in the kings name *Iulio Vrsin*, who contracted for all those of his familie, except *Aluiano*, for whom was reserued place, with honorable conditions; but his comming reuerfed all: for, albeit in the beginning he was almost agreed with the Cardinall of *Amboise*, yet, couetousnesse ouercomming his inclination, and being in one moment restrained with the Spanish Embassadour, he entred paie with the king of Spaine with fise hundred men at armes, and prouision of ix. thousand duckets yearely, assuring him selfe of all those of his familie, except *Iohn Iordan*: to which deliberation he was chiefly induced (as he frankly confessed) by despite that the Cardinall of *Amboise*, burning more and more in ambition to be Pope, fauoured *Valentinois*, hoping by his meane to obtaine the most part of the voices of the Spanish Cardinals: notwithstanding that the Cardinall clearing him selfe of the fault by transferring it to another, gaue out that he was perswaded that the *Venetians*

The Vrsins against Valentinois.

were authors of it, who, for the desire they had, that the French king should not obtaine the realme of *Naples*, had not only consented that he should leaue their pay, promising to reſtore for him the ſame place; but alſo to the end the firſt payments ſhould be more readie, they lent to the Spaniſh Embaſſadors ſiſteene thouſand duckats; a matter, which though it bene in euery part certaine, yet it cannot be denied that the *Venetian* Embaſſador did not manifeſtly intrude himſelfe into that praſtiſe. Some were of opinion, that the conditions & large offers of the Spaniards, were the cauſe, for that they bound them ſelues to diſtribute eſtates in the kingdom, alwel to him as to all thoſe of his familie, and to indue his brother with reuenues eccleſiaſticall: and laſtly (which he eſteemed much) to aide him when the warre was finiſhed with two thouſand Spaniſh footmen, in the enterpriſe which he determined againſt the *Florentines* in the fauour of *Peter de Medicis*. It was beleued that *Iohn Paule Baillon* comen now to *Rome* with *Lance*, and who following his example, treated at one time with the French and with the Spaniſh, would alſo accompanie him in the ſame deliberation: but the Cardinall *d'Amboſſe*, who a litle amazed that the *Vrſins* had left the king, (a dealing which made doubtful the hopes of the French being afore almoſt certaine,) intertaind him immediatly into the kings ſeruiſe with an hundred and ſiſtie men at armes: he almoſt accorded whatſoeuer the other demaunded, but all vnder the name of the *Florentines*, for that *Iohn Paule* would it ſo, to the end to be more aſſured of his paies, which were to be rebated of the ſummes they ought to the king by vertue of their conuentions, he being more curious to prouide for the ſuretie of his paie, then careful to keepe his fidelitie with the king for the ſeruiſe that was required: for, being returned to *Perouſa* to put his people in order, and receiuing xiiij. thouſand duckats, he was contented to gouerne himſelfe more according to the ſucceſſe of the time and common euent of things, and by his paſſions and particular intereſts, then according to the reputation and faith of ſouldiers. In which reſpects deſerting with many excuſes, to go to the French armie, he would not depart from *Perouſa*: a matter which the Cardinall *Amboſſe* ſuppoſed to proceede vpon this, that *Iohn Paule* imitating the inſtancie of the Captaines of *Italie* of that time, had from the houre he was intertaind, made promiſe to *Bartholmew Aluano* and the Spaniards to do ſo, as holding that moſt reaſonable & indifferent for him to do, wherein was moſt ſuretie for his paie & ſafetie; a maner of dealing familiar with men that be mercenarie, but farre from thoſe that hold deare either honor or reputation. As ſoone as the *Vrſins* were entred into the paie of the Spaniſh, peace proceeded between them and the *Colonna*, reſolued and ſet down at the ſame inſtant in the lodging of the Spaniſh Embaſſador: to whom, and to the *Venetian* agent, they referred the reſolution of all their differences. The agreement of thoſe houſes brought no litle feare to *Valentinois*, for that being determined to leaue *Rome*, & preparing to go to *Bracciana*, *Iohn Iordan* hauing giuen his faith to the Cardinall of *Amboſſe* to lead him thither in ſuretie: *Iohn Paule* and the *Vrſins* were determined to aſſaile him, who hauing no meane to enter into the ſuburbs by the gate of the caſtle *S. Ange*, they iſſued out of *Rome*, and fetching along circuit to come to the gate *Torrano*, they found it ſhut, and burnt it, finding nothing to reſiſt the furie of their reuenge prouoked by ſo iuſt occaſions. As ſoone as they were entred the gate, they began to ſkirmiſh with certaine horſemen of *Valentinois*, to whole ſuccors albeit manie of the French ſouldiers did run, who were not yet departed out of *Rome*: yet what by the increaſing of the numbers of his enemies, and their rage redoubling, & his own people (whoſe ſtrength was much diminished afore) making ſignes to abandon him, the neceſſitie of his peril contrained him together with the Prince of *Squillace* and certaine Spaniſh Cardinals, to ſecke his ſafetie within the pallace of *Varican*, from whence he retired with a fearefull ſpeede into the caſtle *S. Ange*, hauing by the Popes conſent, receiued faith of the Captaine of the Caſtell (who was the ſame that had that charge in the daies of the dead Pope) to ſuffer him to go out when he would: all his people fled whither their feare or fortune would lead them. In this garbille the Bayliſe of *Cade*, was lightly hurt, and the Cardinall of *Amboſſe* had no litle feare: But the matter of quarrell being taken away by this accident, the tumults alſo were immediatly appeaſed within the towne of *Rome*: in ſo much as they began all in peace to prepare for the election of a new Pope, for that *Pius*, not beguiling the hopes which the Cardinals conceiued of him at the time of his creation, the xxvj. daie after his election, paſſed into a better life.

Valentinois
diſtreſſed by
the *Vrſins*.

Pope *Pius*
the third
dieth.

After the death of *Pius*, the Cardinals deferring for certaine daies to enter the Conclau: (for they

they thought good that the *Vrſins* afore should iſſue out of *Rome*, where they yet remained to returne the numbers which they ſhould leade to the Spaniſh armie) reſolved vpon the election out of the Conclauē. And the Cardinall *S. Petri ad vincla* mightie in friends, reputation, and riches had drawen to him the voices of ſo manie Cardinals, that entring the Conclauē, he was with an example all new, and without ſhutting the Conclauē, elected Pope the ſame night (thoſe that were of the contrarie opinion not daring to oppoſe againſt him). He, either hauing regard to his firſt name of *Iulio*, or (as coniectures were made) to ſignifie the greatnes of his conceptions, or laſtly, becauſe he would not giue place to *Alexander*, no not in the excellencie of name, tooke vpon him the name of *Iulio*, the ſecond of that name. Amongſt all the Popes that had paſſed, it was wondred that by ſo great conſent, they had created for Pope, a Cardinall, who was knowne to be of a diſpoſition rigorous and terrible, and in whom was no expectation of reſt and tranquillitie, hauing conſumed his youth in continuall trauels, offended many by neceſſitie, & exerciſed hatreds againſt manie great perſonages, a man to whoſe wit nothing was more familiar, then the inuention of trouble, faction, and conſpiracie. But on the other ſide, the cauſes of his election to that degree, appeared clearly, and ſurmounted all other difficulties: for, he had bene of long time a Cardinall of great power and might, and with his magnificence, wherein he had alwaies exceeded the reſidue, and with the greatnes of his ſpirit, by the which he did great things, he had not only made him ſelfe mightie in opinion and friends, but by times and degrees had erected high his authoritie in the Court of *Rome*, bearing the name, title, and dignitie of the principall defender of the eccleſiaſtike libertie. But that which ſerued moſt in his aduancement, was the promiſes immoderate and infinite which he made to the Cardinals, Princes and Barons, and to all others whom he might make profitable to him in that action. Beſides, he had the meane to diſtribute money, benefices and ſpirituall dignities, aſwell ſuch as were his owne, as thoſe that were the rights of others, for that ſuch was the bruite and renowme of his liberalitie, that manie made willing offers to him to diſpoſe as he beſt liked of their treaſures, their names, their offices, and benefices. They conſidered not that his promiſes were faire too great then that being Pope, he was either able or ought to obſerue, for that he had of ſo long continuance enjoyed the name of iuſt and vpright, that Pope *Alexander* him ſelfe his greateſt enemy, ſpeaking ill of him in all other things, could not but confeſſe him to be true of his word: a praiſe which he made no care to defile and ſtaine, to the end to become Pope, knowing that no man more eaſilie beguileth another, than he that hath the cuſtome and name neuer to deceiue any: The Cardinall of *Amboſe* conſented to this election, for that diſpairing to obtaine the Popedom for himſelfe, he hoped, that in the new Pope would be recontinued in time to come thoſe degrees and properties of amitie which he had alwayes borne to the king his maiſter: yſing this wiſedome, to ſeeme to beare that with liking & contentment, which he could not hinder by any deuſe, or power. The Cardinall *Aſcanius* gaue alſo his franke conſent, being reconciled to him before, and treading vnder ſeete the memorie of all ancient contentions that had been between them, at ſuch time as afore the Popedom of *Alexander*, they ſolowed the court of *Rome* in the perſons of Cardinals: for, hauing better experience of his diſpoſition then the Cardinall of *Amboſe*, thought, that being aſcended to the Popedom, he ſhould haue the ſame vnquietnes, or rather greater, than he had had in a meaner fortune, together with ſuch conceptions as might be able to open to him a way to recouer the duchie of *Milan*. In like ſort the Spaniſh Cardinals yeelded their conſent, notwithstanding in the beſiuning they ſhewed no inclination. But ſeeing there was ſuch a concurrence of others, & fearing not to be ſufficient enough to let his election, they iudged it more conuenient for their ſuretie, to hold him appeaſed in conſenting, then to ſtirre him to anger in reſuſing, ſomewhat aſſuying themſelues in the great promiſes he made to them, & for the reſt, induced by the perſwaſions & requests of *Valenſois*, whoſe condition ſtood ſo environed with calamities, that he was conſtrained to ſolow euery dangerous counſel. He was alſo no leſſe abuſed then the others with the hopes that he gaue him: for that he promiſed him to make a marriage betweene his daughter & his nephew *Frauncis Maria de la Roſere* Prefect of *Rome*, to confirm him captain of the armies of the Church: and which was of greateſt importace, to ioyn to his aid in the recouery of the towne of *Romania*. All which, except the Caſtles, were almoſt withdrawn from his obedience. The affaires of which prouince, full of innouations & changes, troubled with diuers thoughts the ſpirite of the Pope, both for that he knew he was not

Cardinall *S.
Petri ad vin-
cla* made Pope

able at that time to bring it to his deuotion, and also he endured with murmure & grudge, that in it should be raised the greatnes of the *Venetians*, enuie bearing this nature, not to make men so much to complaine of their proper wants, as to greeue in the wealth & well doing of others.

When it was vnderstood in *Romania*, that *Valentinois* was fled into the Castle *S. Angelo*, & the regiments of men that were about him disperfed and passed into their feuerall calamities, the Cities which had expected him before in great constancie, hauing now their hopes turned into feares, applied to the time, and began to take new parties: such for the most part is the wauering condition of communalities and multitudes, not measuring things by iustice and equitie of reason, but either by opinion, which commonly is partiall, or by common report, which for the most part is full of incertainties and errors. *Cesena* returned to the auncient deuotion of the Church: *Imola* (the Captaine of the Castle being killed by meane of certaine the principal Citizens) stood in doubt, one part desiring to reuert to the Church, and another part to be reconciled to the *Romans* their first Lords: The Citie of *Favry* possessed by the *Ordellaffy* long time before it came to the *Riars* by the permission of Pope *Sixtus*, had repealed *Anthonio* a remainder of the same familie: who first prouing to enter with the fauour of the *Venetians*, but afterwards fearing that vnder his name, they would retaine the iurisdiction to them selues, had recourse to the *Florentines*, and by their meanes was reinuested in his patrimonie: *John Sforce* returned to *Pefero*: and to *Rimini* *Pandolfe Malatesta*, the one and other being called by the people. But *Denys of Nalda*, an auncient souldier to *Valentinois*, at the request of the Castle keeper of *Rimini*, went to their succours: by whose help in good time, *Pandolfe* being put to the chafe, the Citie returned eftswoones to the obedience of *Valentinois*. *Faenza* only perseuered longest in his deuotio, but in the end, falling into a deprivation of hope for his returne, casting their eyes vpon certaine remainders of the familie of *Manfreda* their auncient Lords, they called home *Astor*, a young gentleman of the same house, but a bastard, none remaining of the race legitimate. But the *Venetians* aspiring to the iurisdiction of all *Romania*, immediately after the death of Pope *Alexander*, had sent to *Rauenna* manie bands of souldiers, with whom, as they made a charge one night vpon the sodaine, and with great furie, vpon the Citie of *Cesena*, so the people of the place standing valiantly to their defence, by their vertue, vanquished the conspiracies of their enemies, the *Venetians* which went thither without artillerie, hoping more to surprise it then to force it, retyring to the countrey of *Rauenna*: where they considered diligently all things that might geue them any occasion to make them selues great in that Prouince, which immediatly was presented to them by the discords that were betweene *Denys* of *Nalde* and the *Faenians*, for, it being somewhat intollerable to *Denys*, that the *Faenians* should eftswoones returne vnder the gouernment of the house of *Manfreda*, against whom he was drawne into rebellion at such time as *Valentinois* assailed that Citie, he called in the *Venetians*, and put into their hands the Castles of the vale of *Lamona* which he had in keeping, And the better to further their practises, the *Venetians* a litle after put a band of three hundred footmen within the Castle of *Faenza*, being brought in by the Castle-keeper, whom they had seduced by their corruptions. They occupied in like sort, and in the same time, the borough of *Forlimpoplo*, with manie other boroughs of *Romania*, and sent one part of their men of warre, to take the citie of *Fava*, but the people held out constantly for the Church, holding it more honorable to abide perill, then corrupt their allegiance. They were also brought into *Rimini* by the consent of the people, couenanting beforehand with *Pandolfe Malatesta* to giue him in recompence the towne of *Citadella* in the territories of *Padua*, and a yearely pension, with a perpetuall estate of a company of men at armes. They returned afterwards in great diligence to besiege *Faenza*, for that the townesmen nothing amazed with the losse of the Castle for the incommoditie of his seate and separation from the Citie by a deepe trench, made valiant resistance, both for the affection they bare to the familie of *Manfreda*, and also for a grudge they had that the inhabitants of the vale of *Lamona*, had promised *Manfreda* the imperie of *Faenza*: they esteemed like their proper aduersities, so that they might obserue the full office of fidelitie to the familie of *Manfreda* their true & auncient Lord. But of themselves being vnable to make defence sufficient, for that *Christopher Moore* commander of the *Venetians* had approached his artillerie to the town, & occupied al the places of importance in the coutry, they praied succors of the new Pope *Iulio*, to whom such a manner of audacitie was not a litle disagreeable. But being newly ascende

to that supreme ſcate without force, without mony & without hope to be ayded by either of the kings of *France* or *Spayne*, for that both they were trauelled with thoughts of far greater importance, & ſo that he denied to be confederat with either of them: he was without meane of comfort in this calamitie, but through the authority of the name Pontificall. And to proue what reuerence the *Venetians* bare to it, together with what regard they remembred the amities which long time before he had borne to that common weale: he ſent to *Venice* the Biſhop of *Tiuoli*, to complaine that *Faenza* being a Citie immediatly appertaining to the Church, they would not forbear to do ſo great a diſhonour to a Pope, who afore he was raiſed to that Soueraigne creation, as he honoured their common weale with a ſpeciall affection, ſo now ſtanding in a greater fortune, they might hope for right ample fruits of his frienſhip ſo aunciently borne. It may be there wanted not in the Senat thoſe ſorts of men which aforetime had diſſwaded not to entangle their eſtate with the matters of *Piſa*, and that they ſhould not receiue in pawne the ports of the Realme of *Naples*, nor make partition with the French king of the Duchy of *Millan*: it may be that in the wiſedomes of theſe men appeared the conſideration of euils that might happen, and how, by making themſelues dayly more and more ſuſpected and hated, they might in this action adde to other hatreds the ill will of the Pope. But ambitious counſels hauing bin fauoured with ſo happie ſucceſſe, and therefore all their failles being hoyle in a wind ſo happie of fortune, the opinions of thoſe that perſwaded the contrarie were not heard. And therefore (almoſt with a generall conſent) it was aunſwered to the Popes Embaſſador: that the ſtate of *Venice* had alwayes greatly deſired that the Cardinall *S. Petrus de vincula* ſhould come to be Pope, and as he had now obtained it, not by corruption, but by his proper vertue and merits, ſo they hoped that the ſame inclination which in his meaner fortune induced him to embrace and loue them, would ſtill go on working with confirmation of offices and amities, as for their parts, he ſhould not doubt, but they would follow him with better reſpects being Pope, then they had done whileſt he was in the eſtate and perſon of a Cardinall: But as touching the point of imputation, they knew not wherein they had offended his dignity, embracing the occaſion which was offered to them to haue *Faenza*: for that that City was not onely not poſſeſſed by the Church, but alſo the Church made a willing deprivation of all her rights, in transferring ſo amply & in plaine Conſiſtory the iuriſdiction to the Duke *Valentinois*: That he would remember that afore that graunt, the Popes (within no memorie of man) had euer poſſeſſed *Faenza*, but from time to time had giuen it to new Vicars, without acknowledging other ſuperioritie then the tribute, which they offered to pay readily when it ſhould be required: That the *Fauentins* had no deſire to be the ſubiects of the Church, but abhorring ſuch nomination, they had reuerenced the name of the Duke *Valentinois*, with all thoſe offices and obſeruances that were in them: And that now hauing no more hope in him, they were runne headlong to call in the baſtards of the houſe of *Manfreda*: Laſtly, they beſought him, that being in the authority of Pope, he would hold them in the ſame eſtate of frienſhip, which he thought them worthie of, when he had but the perſon of a Cardinall, not ſuffering light occaſions to remoue that graue and ſetled liking which he had ſo long time had of them, more by his proper inclination, then by any their deſeruings. After the Pope was certified of the will of the *Venetians*, he had ſent into *Romania* the Duke *Valentinois*, whom he had embraced with many demonſtrations of honour aſſoone as he was Pope, and in token of amitie lodged him in the pallace Pontificall. Hauing that he feared, leaſt his going, in the beginning agreeable enough to the people, ſhould not be then very hatefull, ſeeing they were already all drawne into rebellion againſt him. Touching the condition of the *Fauentins*, there was no more remaining to them, but to haue recourſe to the *Florentins*, who diſcontented that a City of ſo neare neighborhood ſhould fall into the power of the *Venetians*, had ſent to their ſuccors in the beginning 200 footme, entertaining them with hopes ſtill to refurniſh them, to the end to hold them in courage till the Pope were at oportunitie to ſuccour them: But ſeeing by many apparances that the Pope had no diſpoſition to take armes, & that the authoritie of the French king (warning the *Venetians* in the beginning not to moleſt the eſtates of the Duke *Valentinois*) was not ſufficient to withdraw them: And laſtly, eſteeming it no pollicy to enter alone into a warre with ſo mightie enemies, they forbore to reſcue them with any further ſupply. By which alteration the *Fauentins* being cut off from all hopes, and the *Venetian* army (incamping at the Church of the Obſeruants) hauing begunne to plaie with their artillerie againſt the walles of their Citie, being vnhappy

The Pope complaineth to the *Venetians*.

The *Venetians* answers to the new Pope.

*Rome taken
by the Venetians.*

also in this, that their intelligences were discovered, and certaine of them taken who had conspired to put the *Venetians* into the towne: they yielded vp their City into their hands, the *Venetians* agreeing to giue to *Affar* a certaine pensio (albeit but litle) for the releefe of his life. After the taking of *Faenza*, the *Venetians* might with the same facilitie and fortune haue commanded *Imola* and *Furly*: but not to aggrauate the indignation of the Pope, who murmured not a litle, they sent their me into garrison, determining for that time to passe no further, hauing occupied in *Romagna*, besides *Faenza* and *Rimini* with their countries, *Montefiora*, *Saint Archangeo Verrucque*, *Gaterre*, *Sauignano*, and *Meldole* the haue of the countrey of *Cesena*, and in the territorie of *Imola*, *Tosignana*, *Solaruola*, and *Montataile*. *Valentinois* held only in *Romagna* the Castels of *Furly*, of *Cesena*, of *Forlimpople*, and of *Bertinoire*. All which (albeit he had great desire to go into *Romagna*, to the end they were not vsurped by the *Venetians*) he had easily consented to put into the Popes keeping, with bond to receiue them of him againe at such time as they should be assured, had it not bin that the Pope (his auncient integrity being not yet overcome with desire to beare rule) refused the offer, saying, he wold not willingly accept occasiōs that might any way allure him to corrupt his faith. At last to oppose in some sort against the proceedings of the *Venetians*, with whom he was not a litle discontented for the danger of the estate Ecclesiastike, hauing also a desire that *Valentinois* should depart from *Rome*, he accorded with *Valentinois* that he should go to *Spessa* by sea, and from thence by land to *Ferrara*, and so to *Imola*, where should be restored to him an hundred men at armes, and fifty light horsemen, which yet followed his Ensignes (interposing in this conuentiō not only the name of the Pope, but also the name of the colledge of Cardinals.) With this resolution *Valentinois*, being gone to *Ostia* to be embarked, the Pope was suddenly repented that he had not accepted the Castels; & hauing now a speciall desire to haue them (not respecting the meanes) and to keepe them to himselfe, he sent after the Cardinals of *Volterre* and *Sorrente* to perswade him, that to preuent that those places shold not fall into the hands of the *Venetians*, he would be content to deliuer the vp into the Popes keeping, vnder the same promise that had bin treated vpon at *Rome*: so soone do mens minds alter, when ambition hath once possessed the spirits, and made way to greedy desire, which in matters of profit holds nothing respected. *Valentinois* taking aduantage of the Popes incertainty, denied now to do that which earst he was well contented, and the Pope rising with the occasion into indignity, caused him to be arrested in the Gallies wherein he was embarked, and in decent sort to be led to *Magliana*, from whence (all the Court and communality of *Rome* reioycing for the apprehension of his person) he was led to the *Vatican*, and honoured, but not without especiall and good gards: the reason was, that the Pope fearing lest the Castel keepers despairing of his safety, wold not sell the Castels to the *Venetians*, sought to make him tractable by easie meanes, and so to haue them by his consent and will. Thus the power of Duke *Valentinois*, rising (as it were suddenly to his Soueraigntie and height, tooke end with a ruine more sudden: and as the meanes by the which he aspired to his greatnesse had more resemblance with cruelty and deceits, then that the armes and power of the Church did aduance him: so, by a due sentence of iustice he experienced in himselfe part of the artes and trunperies wherewith his father and he had vexed many seuerall personages. He was like to the tree that groweth, till he come to his height, and then is plucked vp from the roote in a moment. The heauie stone commonly ouerwhelmeth himselfe with his owne weight. Who doth couet the fruite, and not considereth the height of the tree whereon it groweth, let him take heede, that whilest he laboureth to climbe to the top, he fall not with the bowes which he doth embrace. It is hard for men ambitious to hold fast their fortune, for she is slippery and cannot be kept against her will: and therefore to men that study to follow the streame, it is good to put a bridle to their felicity, so shall they the better gouerne it. It is an office in wise men to consider alwayes their owne estate, where the vaine ambitious man liueth; for the most part in the remembrance of those things which make him to forget himselfe. The souldiers and followers of the Duke had almost no better fortune, who being drawne into the countrey of *Perouza*, with hope to obtaine safe conduct of the *Florentins* and others (being chased by the regiments of *Utelli*) they were constrained for their safety to retire vpon the lands of the *Florentins*: where, being dispersed betweene *Castilion* and *Cortona*, and reduced to foure hundred horsemen, with a very slender strength of footmen, they were stripped by the appointment of the *Florentins*, and *Dom Michael* their leader taken prisoner: him they deliuered afterwards to the Pope,

*Duke Valentinois
arrested by
the Pope.*

who

who demaunded him with an importunity well expressing the hates he bare to all the old seruants of the late Pope *Alexander*. And albeit this man had bene a faithfull minister and executer of all the wishes of *Valentino*, yet after the Pope had spent some conference with him, he turned his cruelty into compassion, following his naturall inclination, which was to be easie to pardon those vpon whom he had power to execute his anger. About this time the Cardinall *Amboise* departed from *Rome* to retorne into *France*, hauing obtained of the Pope, more for feare then for good will, a confirmation of the legation of that Realme: but the Cardinall *Ascanius* followed him not, notwithstanding at his coming out of *France* he promised the king by oath, that he would retorne: of which oath he had procured secret absolution of the Pope afore, not remembering that amongst men there can be no greater bond then an oath; and who loseth his faith hath no more to lose, seeing we acknowledge religion to consist in faith it selfe. But the example of the Cardinall *Ascanius* (coming at the credulity of the Cardinall *Amboise*, could not make the French Cardinall better aduised in the actiō with *Pandolfe Petrucci*, who receiuing the Cardinall at *Sienna* with many honours, and making insinuation into his good fauours with deepe subtleties and counsels full of art, promising to cause *Mont Pulcian* to be redred to the *Florentines*, ouercame him so much, that at his retorne into *France* he assured the king that he had not found in *Italy* a man of better spirit, and wrought that his Maiesty gaue sufferance to his sonne to retorne to *Sienna*, remaining at that time in the Court of *France* for the assurance of his fathers promises. These were the mutations that hapned in *Italy* by the death of the Pope.

But in these times, the enterprises begua with greater hopes on the other side the Mounts by the French king, were brought into many difficulties: for the army sent vpon the frontier of *Gascogne*, no lesse for want of money then lacke of good gournment in those that had the charge, was broken with a speede quicker then they could march thither. The Gallies also, which had runne all along the Spanish seas, were retired to the port of *Marseillas*: and the army leauied for *Parpignan*, of the which the king promised much being well furnished of all things necessary, was incamped before *Saulses*, which is a strong place neare to *Narbona*, standing at the foote of the hills *Pirenei* in the countrey of *Rossillon*. But being well defended, it made a wonderfull resistance: and albeit it was furiously assaulted by the Frenchmen, vsing both the seruice of artilleries, and the art of vnderminings, yet the vertue of the defendants kept it from spoyle and ruine. There assembled an army of all the Spanish Realmes at *Parpignan*, which the king did honour with the presence of his person to the end to succour it: and being ioyned to this army (by reason the French were discamped) the regiments that had bin sent to defend the frontiers of *Fontarabie*, &c. all these forces being drawne into one strength, and marching to giue battell to the French army, the Captaines seeing no reason to contend against fortune, retired with the Campe towards *Narbona*; after they had liyn afore *Saulses* about forty dayes. The Spaniards losing no benefite of the time and occasion, made incursions vpon the territories of the French king, where hauing taken certaine places of meane importance (the French making no resistance, for that they were withdrawne into *Narbona*) they esloones returned vpon their owne frontiers by the commandement of their king; who, hauing obtained the true end of him that is assailed, entertained, but with ill will the warre on the other side the Mounts, seeing albeit his Realmes and Prouinces were sufficient mightie to defend him from the French king, yet he held them farre too weak, to offend him: A consideration of great importance to him that entred into a warre, to forsee, with a better counsell how he may defend himselfe then offend his enemy. A litle after (by the interposing of king *Federike*) they made a truce for fiue moneths, comprehending onely those things that concerned the affaires on the other side the Mounts: for that the Spanish king, assuring *Federike* that he would consent that the Realme of *Naples* should be restored to him, and *Federike* expecting no lesse of the French king, the rather at the contemplation of the Queene inclined to compassion, had introduced betweene them the practises of peace. In which negotiation the Spanish Embassadors (the warre continuing still in *Italy*) went into *France*, where they gouerned their doings with such art, that *Federike* namely perswaded himselfe that the difficulty of his restitution, which the Barons of the faction of *Anjou* impugned vehemently, would be principally on the French Kings side.

Thus all the warres betweene both the kings being reduced onely into the kingdome of *Naples*, the eyes and thoughts of all men were turned thither: for that the Frenchmen hauing

Employes of
the French ar-
mies beyond the
Mounts.

A truce be-
tweene the
kings of Spaine
and France.

passed from *Rome* by the lands of *Valmontano* and the *Colannois* (where they found an easie consent to refresh them with victuals) marched by the fields of the Church towards *S. Germain*, a place where *Consaluo* (leaving Garrison in the Castell of *Secqua* and *Montcassin*) was encamped, not with intention to hazard fortune, but to be an impediment that they passed no further, which by the strength and opportunity of the place, he hoped to do easily. The Frenchmen being arrived at *Pontcorue*, and at *Ceperana*, the Marquis of *Salusse*, with such as were within *Caistia*, joined to them, having afore by the occasion of discamping of *Consaluo*, recovered the Duchie of *Tracetta*, & the Countrey of *Fonery*, even to the floud of *Garillon*. The first thing that the French army did, was to assay to get the Caistel of *Secqua*, from the which after they had in vaine giue one assault they brake off & leauied their siege. But for that actiō they brought vpon theselues so much cōtempt & imputatiō, that it was publikely affirmed in the Spanish army, that that day the Realme of *Naples* was assured against the Frenchmē, who ioyning feare of their fortune, & distrustful for that respect to chase their enemy towards *S. Germain*, determined to returne by the coast fi-
 holding that way suspected in their retiring wherein they found confidence and fauour in marching on. After they had reposed two dayes within *Aquin*, which they had taken, and left seuen hundred footemen within the Castell *Guillanue*, they returned by *Pontcorue*, and marched by the way of *Fondy*, to lodge at a towne set vpon the way of the Riuer of *Garillon*, where (antiquitie holds) that the auncient City of *Nimurno* was builded: a place not only conuenient to cast a bridge, and passe the Riuer, as was their intention, but also a great importunitie to encampe there if they should haue bene constrained: for they had *Caetta* and their Nauy at sea at their backes, and *Tracetta*, *Itrie*, *Fondy*, with all the circuite of the countrey to the Riuer of *Garillon* stood firme in their deuotion. It was thought that the French army passing the Riuer, was a thing of great consequence for the victory: for that *Consaluo* being so farre inferior in forces that he durst not appeare in playne field, the French might march without impediment even to the walles of *Naples*, whither also their Nauie at sea might haue approached, hauing nothing to let them, if their vertue had but answered the opportunity. And for that cause *Consaluo* issuing out of *Saint Germain*, was come on the other part of *Garillon*, to let with all his strength the passing of the French, affying much in the disaduantage and difficulties which armies find to passe Riuers that haue no fords, specially when the enemy is opposed against them. But it often hapneth that thigs in execution fall out otherwise then they appeared in the first imagination, and as often it chaunceth (practise being farre aboute the opinion of things) that that which at first was esteemed hard, brought forth an action most easie, as of the contrary, most hardnesse was often found in those things wherein coniecture and supposition made most facility. For, the French notwithstanding the furious resistance and impediments of the Spanish, after they had cast the bridge, won the way of the Riuer by force of artillery, planted partly vpon the banke where they encamped, which was somewhat higher then the banke on the one side, and partly vpon barkes which they had caused to be brought from the Nauie at sea, and drawne vp against the streame of the Riuer. But the day after as they began to make an enterprise to passe, the Spaniards opposed against them, and charging with an incredible resolution vpon such as were already passed, they repulsed them even to the middest of the bridge, and had followed them further, if the furie of the artillerie had not compelled them to retire. In this encounter died on the French side the Lieutenant of the Baylife of *Dion*, and of the Spaniards was slayne *Fabio Sonne to Pawle Ursin*, a young man amongst the Italians of great expectation. It is sayd, that if when the French men began to passe, they had aduanced forward with the same courage they entred into the enterprise, they had that day remained maisters of the field & the victory: but whilest they proceeded slowly, and with demonstration of timorousnesse, they did not onely lose the occasion of the victory of the day, but they diminished greatly all hope in time to come, the fortune of the warre declining with the opportunity which they had lost. From that day all things tooke with them very ill successe, for that amongst the files of the army was rather confusion then concord, and (according to the custome of the French Iouldiers with the Italian Captaines) very litle obedience to the Marquis of *Mantua* the kings Lieutenant. In so much as, either for that occasion, or in respect of his disease (being sicke in deede) or for that by other experiences in that seruice, he had lost all hope of the victory, he went from the army, leauing an opinion to the French king, that his loyalty was greater then his courage, & that his vertue was of other faculty then to gouerne an army. After the

What hapned
to the French-
men as they
would haue
passed Garillon

the Marquis had thus giuen vp his charge, the Marquis of *Salusse*, the Baylife of *Cden* & *Monsieur Sandricourt* chiefe commanders in the French army; hauing first raised at the head of the bridge beyond the Riuer a Rampier with cariages, erected a bastion capable of many men, by whose protection they were defended from their enemies in passing the bridge. But they were let to passe further by other difficulties; hapning partly through their proper negligence, but more by the vertue and patience of their enemies, but most of all by the malice of their fortune, with whom nothing is more familiar then to deceiue the confidence and expectation of men: for, *Consaluo*, who studied to hinder them more with the occasion of the winter, and situation of the countrey, then with his army and forces, was encamped at *Cintura*, a place seated on high, and remoued from the Riuer somewhat more then a mile, about the which the bands of footemen and horsemen were lodged with a great incommodity, for that the place of his owne condition being solitary, and not much releued with cottages or cabinets of hearthsme, they had almost no other couert then the skie, the ground also as well for the lownes of the plaine, as for that the season and weather was rainie, being full of water and mire: a necessity which driue those souldiers that had no meane to encampe in places more firme and high, to planke and couer the place of the ground where they laye with mattes and other things materiall to defend the moistnesse of the earth. In regard of these difficulties, & for that the army was ill paid, the French withal hauing wholly won the passage of the riuer, certaine Captains were of opinion to retire the army to *Capua*, both to the end to releue the intollerable sufferance of the souldiers, and to take themselves out of that continuall expectation of daunger, their numbers being farre inferiour to their enemies: It often hapneth that when extremities and perill be at hand, confidence is turned into feare, and when the counsels of men are not constant, they cannot but wauer in resolution, their vertue hauing taken another habite by the consideration of the daunger they see afore them. But that pusillanimitie of the Captaines was resolutely reiected of *Consaluo* with this aunswere worthe the greatnesse of his heart: In many cases (sayth he) vaine feares are farre more hurtfull then hastie confidence or credulity, a common disposition in the nature of man, making him to esteeme more then needeth those daungers that be nearest at hand, and hold lesse reckening then he ought of perils furthest off and to come: but concerning the present case, as glory springs not of dignity nor of honour (for that they are the goods of fortune) but of vertue, which is the riches of the mind & gift of the goodnesse of God: so for my part I desire rather to be presently buried ten foote deepe in the ground whereon we stand, then by giuing back one foot to prolong my life an hundred yeares: fortune oftentimes makes many men more apt to win glory, then able to keepe it, but occasion & oportunitie seeme to offer vs that estate of perpetuall honor and reputation, which our owne vertue denieth vs to be worthy of. And so resisting all difficulties with an incredible constancie, and fortifying himselfe with a deepe trench, and with bastions which he caused to make in the front of the Campe, he prepared to defend him against the French, standing against him: who, notwithstanding the protection of their bastillion which they had builded, remoued nothing at all, for that the countrey being all ouerflowne with the raines and waters of the Riuer) this place is called by *Lynie* for the neighbourhood of *Sessa*, *aqua sinuessana*, and perhaps they are the lakes of *Minturna* (wherein *C. Marcius* hid himselfe flying before *Sylla*) they could not passe further, but through a strait which was all waterish and full of a deepe quagmyre. And perhaps there was daunger to be charged in the flanke of the footebands of the Spanish lightly armed, which lay encamped very neare the strait: the winter also by aduenture inclining to cold and sharpnesse, brought forth more continuall multitudes of snowes and raynes, then had vsed to fall in those regions. Wherein it seemed that fortune and the elements aboue had conspired against the French, who staying there, did not only waste the time vnprofitably, but also they receiued by that abode (by reason of their naturall disposition) almost the like harmes which mens bodies requie by a poyson that worketh slowly: for, albeir they were lodged with lesse discomforties then the Spanish, and that by the meane of the reliques of an auncient Theater, whereunto they had ioyned many other shrowds & couers, besides the fauour of certaine old houses neare to them: & for that the circumference or skirts of the tower somewhat higher then the plaine of *Sessa*, were lesse offended with waters: and lastly, that most part of their horsemen were lodged within *Tracetta*, and other places affronting: yet the bodies of the Frenchmen and *Swissers*, not bearing so naturall resistance against long

travels and perplexities, as do the bodies of the Spaniards, they gave manifest tokens of the diminution of their late valour and fury. Besides, the covetousness of the officers and treasurers, to whose office belong the paying of the souldiers, encreased much those difficulties: for that they preferring their particular profit afore the common provision of the whole, and forgetting no degrees of delay or illusion, they suffered to diminish the numbers of the souldiers, and were negligent to furnish the Campe with victuals as appertained: by reason whereof diseases fell vpon the army, and many of the Italian companies went away discontented. These disorders were made greater by the discord of the Captaines, through whose fault there was neither order nor obedience, and in an army there can be no expectation of the exercise of discipline, where is no certainty of pay made. Thus the Frenchmen being restrained by the sharpenesse of the winter, remained idle vpon the shoares of *Garillan*, no other thing being done either by the enemy or by them, but certain light skirmishings which were of no importace, & yet the Spanish seemed alwaies to cary the better fortune. About the same time also the footbands which the French left in garrison within the Castell *Guillaume*, not able to endure the continuall braueries of the garrisons of the Castell of *Sacqua*, and other peeces thereabouts commaunded by the Spanish, abandoned the places of their charge, and pretending to come to the army, were charged by the way and broken, wherein seeking to auoyde the danger they feared most, they light vpon the perill they distrusted least, being only abused in the opinion and intention of their safety. But things hauing had continuance in this estate many dayes, *Bart. Aluiano*, with certaine of the *Vrsins* and their regiments, arriued in the Spanish army, by whose coming *Consaluo* thought himselfe so strongly refurnished, hauing in his army nine hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and nine thousand Spanish footmen, that he began to thinke that now he was no more to study to defend himselfe, but to offend his enemy, whereunto he was so much the more encouraged, by how much he was well aduertised that the French (stronger in horsemen then in footmen) were dispersed in such separation and distance, that their lodgings held little lesse then ten miles of the countrey, in so much as neare the Towre of *Garillan*, there were onely the Marquis of *Salusse Viceroy*, and other principall Captaines, with the lesser part of the army, which diminished continually by the aggravation of diseases, of the which many died, and amongst others the Baylife of *Caen*. For this cause, hauing determined to assay to passe secretly the Riuer (in the good succeeding of which he doubted nothing of the victory) he recommended to *Aluiano* (the author as some thinke of that counsell) the charge to make secretly a bridge. By his direction there was made a bridge of barkes and vessels within a Creeke neare to *Sessa*, which he caused to be brought by night to *Garillan*, and to be cast at the passage of *Suya*, foure miles about the bridge of the Frenchmen, where they made no guard. As soone as this bridge was cast (being the xxvij. day of December in the night) all the army passed together with the person of *Consaluo*, who lodged the same night in the towne of *Suya* neare the Riuer, which was occupied by those that passed the first. The morning following which was on a Fryday (a day happy for the Spaniards) *Consaluo* hauing ordered that the rearegard lodged betweene the Castell of *Montdragon* and *Cariuola*, foure miles below the bridge of the French, should go and charge their bridge, he prepared himselfe with the vauntguard led by *Aluiano*, and with the battell which passed with himselfe, to follow the Frenchmen: who receiuing aduertisement the same night that the Spaniards had cast a bridge & began to passe, entred into a generall feare, which so much the more drew them into astonishment, by how much this accident and boldnesse of the enemy had exceeded their expectation, and hauing themselves determined to attempt nothing till the time were more gracious and fauourable, they nourished also a coniecture that the enemy stood retained with the same negligence and slouthfulness, construing things by opinion only, without respecting the oportunitie, which being overslipt of them, proued fauorable to the enemy. Therefore albeit the Viceroy (to who were resorted many bands both from *Tracetti* and the places about) pushed forward more with feare then with settled counsell (as often hapneth in sudden aduentures) had sent towards *Suya* to stop their passage, *Monsieur d'Alegre*, with certaine regiments of footmen and horsemen: yet finding that their deuise was too long protracted, & that feare ouerruled all discourses & considerations, they leuied their Campe suddenly, & about midnight with a hast contrary to the valour of men resolute, they brake vp from the Towre of *Garillan*, leauing abandoned the most part of their munitions and nine great peeces of artillery, together with great numbers of their souldiers with bodies wounded

Bart. Aluiano
cometh to the
succors of *Consaluo*.

wounded and full of sicknesse. Such a thing is feare, that it makes men forgetfull aboute shame & all other obseruances, and when the calamitie is generall, it leaues euerie one to his fortune, impression for the most part amazing more then the perill it selfe: They tooke the way towards *Caietta*, whether they thought to retire: but *Consaluo*, who would omit no oportunitie wherein occasion was offered, as soone as he knew they were discamped, followed them with his armie, sending afore *Prosper Colonne* with his light horsmen to vndertake the skirmish, to the end their march might be more slowe. And notwithstanding the flight was entertained by the horsmen, yet the French forbore not still to keepe on their way, being notwithstanding compelled to stay often times for feare to fall in disorder at the bridges and hard passages, from whence, after they had supported the skirmish a certaine space, they retired still, receiuing alwayes some hurt. The order they vsed was this, the artillerie marched afore, the footbands followed after, and then the horsmen, of whom, such as were most behind continued the fight with the enemy. The Frenchmen being in this sort aduanced, after certaine pauses and light skirmishes, as far as the bridge which is before *Caietta*, necessitie compelled the *Viceroy* to cause to stay there one part of his men at armes, to giue leasure to the artilleries to passe before: but they being not able to march with that speed which was necessary to their safety, the copanies of the enemies beginning already to meddle with them, there was begun in that place a great and hot skirmish, for that the rereguard of the Spaniards came immediately after, who hauing passed the riuer without resistance, euen with those barks of the bridge which had bene broken by the Frenchmen, went towards *Caietta* by the right way, *Consaluo* marching alwayes on the wing with the residue of the armie. The fight was violent at the bridge of *Mola* for a certaine time, the French maintaining themselves principally by the aduantage of the place, but with feares farre greater then their valours: and the Spanish ioyning furie to their fortune, fought with the same felicitie which follow those men that suppose themselves to be already in the possession of the victorie. At last the Frenchmen to whose disability began to succeed a feare, least part of the regiments which *Consaluo* had sent by the coast for that effect, would cut off their way, began to retire in disorder, & being continually followed by their enemies, when they came to the head of two wayes, the one leading to *Tiry*, and the other to *Caietta*, they fell into generall and manifest flying, manie remaining slaine, as *Barnardo Adorna* Lieutenant of fiftie Launces: many were taken prisoners, and the artilleries abandoned, with all the horses appointed for the seruice of the same; and touching the residue which fled towards *Caietta*, they were victoriously chased euen to the gates of the Citie. At the same time *Fabrizio Colonne*, sent by *Consaluo* (after he had passed the riuer with five hundred horse and a thousand footmen, neare to *Pontcoruo*) and being fauored of most part of the villages and countrey-men, stripped the regiments of *Lodowyk de la Mirandola*, and *Alexander de Triunco*; besides, there were manie of the armie, who being lodged at *Fondy*, *Tiry*, and other places thereabouts, and hearing that the Spanish had cast the bridge, went not to the armie at the towre of *Garillan*, but for their safetie dispersed into diuerse places, were taken and stripped by the countrey. But *Peter de Medicis* who also followed the French campe, with certaine other Gentlemen, had a greater misfortune: for when the armie brake vp from before *Garillan*, being mounted vpon a barke with foure peeces of artillerie, to go to *Caietta*, their barke sunke, as well for that they had overcharged her, as that the winds were contrarie to the mouth of the riuer: they were all drowned: a destinie lamẽtable, considering the qualitie of the persons, with the maner of their dying. Wherin though many vainly dispute that fortune led them to so miserable an accident, yet if we will lift vp our considerations to God, we shall find that hee hath reserued such a prerogative ouer all things which he hath created, that to him onely belongs the authoritie to dispose all things by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing. The night following, *Consaluo* with the armie lodged at *Castellon* and *Mola*, and appearing the next day before *Caietta*, whither were retired the French Captaines, together with the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignan*, he occupied immediately the suburbs and the mount, which the French had abandoned. And albeit *Caietta* was sufficiently manned with multitudes of souldiers, and no lesse prouision of victuals, besides the conueniencie of the place to be succoured by the armie at sea: yet yeelding to the consideration of their perils, which were more in impression then in deed, they lost courage, and inclined with manifest consent to parley, being not disposed to endure the perplexitie of expectation of succours that were incertaine. They sent out the Baylife of *Dyon* and *S. Colombo* with *Theodore*

Peter de Medicis drowned.

1504

de Triunfo, who in the mouth of all the residue accorded the first day of the yeare 1504. to giue vp to *Consaluo, Caietan* with the castle, vnder condition of free power to go out of the realme of *Naples* with their goods, either by land or sea, and that *M. d. Aubigny* and the other prisoners should be redeliuered both of the one and other party. But this capitulation was not so clearly set downe, that *Consaluo* tooke not occasion to dispute, that by the vertue of the covenants, the Barons of the kingdome could challenge no libertie or deliuerie from imprisonment. This was the chafe that was giuen to the French armie neare to the riuer of *Garillan*, being encamped vpon the shores or banks thereof about fiftie dayes: an ouerthrow hapning to the noble through their owne disorders, then by the vertue of their enemies; & so much the more worthy of commemoration and memorie, by how much followed (as it were by succession of calamitie) the absolute losse of so noble and mighty a kingdome, together with the confirmation of the empire of the Spanish: it nourisheth also matter more worthy of monument, for that the French entring with a far greater strength then the enemy, and no lesse plenty of all prouisions both by land and sea necessarie to the warre, they were vanquished with a facilitie farre contrarie to the course of victories, and without blood or danger of the conquerers. But the thing that was no lesse lamentable in this accident then all the residue, was, that albeit there died very few of the French by the sword of the enemy, yet the number was small that was reserued of so great an armie: for that of the regiments of footmen which escaped by flying, and of those also that came from *Caietta* after the accord, there died many troupes by the wayes, as well the sharp violence of the cold, as the rigour of sicknesse, seruing to the execution of those miserable bodies, whom fortune spared from the slaughters of the warres: and of such whose strength with great paine was able to carie them to *Rome*, part came starued with the hardnesse of the weather, and some through feeblenesse languished, lingring yet to abide with greater paines their latter times: of this sort many died in hospitals both of hunger and colde, the streets and high wayes being lamentable testimonies of their calamities, and the ditches and other places vile and vnworthy, seruing as sepulchers to those bodies, whose mindes not long since supposed them inuincible against all aduersitie of warre. And whether in comparison of causes and reasons, we may referre the motions of these calamities either to destinie enuying the French, and no lesse contrarie, to the nobilitie then to bodies of inferiour condition: or to the diseases which fell vpon them, by the discomforts they suffred about *Garillan*, many euen of those who departing from *Caietta* (where they left the most part of their horses) imbarcked themselues to passe by sea, and either perished by the wayes, or at least being reserued till they came into *Fraunce*, died in the sight of their friends, of whom they thought to receiue consolation. Amongst these were the Marquise of *Salusse*, *Sandricourt*, and the Baylife of the Mountaines, with many other Gentlemen of marke, in whom the maner of their death was no lesse lamentable then their fortune: ouer and besides, that which by imputation may be imposed vpon the French Captaines for their disagreement & negligent gouernment, as also that that may be obiected to the iniurie of the time, that neither the French nor *Swissers* are not coparatiue with the Spaniards, either with resolution of mind to temporise or expect, or with their bodies to sustaine the trauels and incommodities that a warre draweth with it. There are principally considered two things which hindered the French king, that he remained not victorious: the one was, the long abode that the armie made vpon the territories of *Rome* for the Popes death, the same being the cause that winter came vpon them, and that the *Vrsins* were practised withall by *Consaluo* afore they could enter into the kingdome: where, if they could haue made their entrie whilst the time was tollerable, *Consaluo* far inferiour to them in forces, and not fauoured with the oportunitie & rigour of the time, had bene constrained to abandon the greatest part of the kingdome, and to seeke out the strong places for his succour, or else suffer the authoritie of an enemy farre more mightie then himselfe. The other consideration was, the couetousnesse of the officers and treasurers, who, beguiling the king in the payes of the souldiers, and lesse trustie in the prouision of victuals and furniments for the seruice, made their thefts and negligences the principall cause of the diminution of that armie, since the king had expressed such a prouision and care for all things necessarie, that it is certaine by good credible testimonie, that at the unhappie time when the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, there were within *Rome* by the kings direction, great quantities of siluer and other reliefes for warre. But so violent was the destinie that ran to the desolation and ruine of that armie, that albeit at the last,

Two causes of
the ouerthrowe
of the French
men out of the
realme of *Naples*.

last, after many complaints of the Captaines and the whole multitude of souldiers, there was lea-
 ued an abundant prouision of victuals, yet they suffered such a penurie and scarcitie in the be-
 ginning that that disorder ioyned to the other discommodities, was the breeder of infinite disca-
 ses, of the absenting of many, of the murmuring of many, and that many seeing their fidelity could
 find no refuge in the armie, sought their safety in places thereabout; matters which in the end
 brought forth the absolute ruine of so braue an armie: for, as for the nourishing of the bodie, it is
 not enough that the head be well disposed, but it is also necessarie that the other members do their
 office: euen so it sufficeth not that the Prince do his dutie, if withall, the diligence & vertue which
 ought to be in his ministers haue not equall action, the one being necessarie to the other, as the
 direction of the head and braine of a man auayleth little without the execution of the other in-
 ferior members, to whom such ministrations is appointed.

The selfe same yeare, wherein so great mutations hapned in *Italy*, was made a peace between
 the Turke *Baiazet Ottoman*, and the *Venetians*, which both parties imbraced with great affecti-
 on: for the Turke, in whom was expressed a spirit of meeknesse and disposed to learning and study
 of the Scriptures of his religion, had, by the working of his owne inclination, a nature farre estran-
 ged from armes: by reason whereof, notwithstanding he had begun the warre with great prepa-
 rations both by sea and land, and occupied in *Morea* the two former yeares *Naupacto* now cal-
 led *Lepanto*, *Modono*, *Corono* and *Innquo*, yet he followed not, nor continued the warres with so
 great affection, being withdrawne either by the desire he had to tranquillity and rest, or at least by
 a suspicion of his proper danger, least for religion sake the Princes of Christendome should drawe
 into conspiracie against him: for, both Pope *Alexander* had sent certaine Gallies to the succours
 of the *Venetians*, and with money had also stirred vp *Launcelot* king of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria*
 to make warre vpon the Turkes frontiers, the French and Spanish kings sending (but not at one
 time) their seuerall armies to ioine with the power of the *Venetians*. But this peace was embraced
 by the state of *Venice* with a greater desire, for that by the iniquitie of the warres, and that to the
 common detriment of the Citie, and particular losse to euerie one in priuate, the traffique of mar-
 chandise which they made in diuerse regions of the *Leuant* was discontinued: the City also of
Venice, which euery yeare was wont to haue from certaine prouinces of the Turkes, certaine quan-
 tities of corne, did suffer manie necessities for the deprivation of that reliefe. And lastly, where they
 had wont to amplifie their iurisdiction by the warres which they haue managed with other Prin-
 ces, they feared nothing so much as the power of the Turkes, of whom they had bene alwayes
 beaten as often as they had had warres together: for, *Amurathes*, grandfather to *Baiazet*, had
 occupied the towne of *Thessalonica* (now called *Salonica*) parcell of the dominions of *Venice*: &
 after him *Mahomet* his father, maintaining continuall war against them for sixteene yeares tooke
 from the Ile of *Negropoto*, a great part of *Peloponneso*, now named *Morea Scutaro*, with ma-
 nie other townes in *Macedonia* and *Albania*: In so much as both for that they supported the
 warre against the Turkes with right great difficulties and expences, hauing no hope to breed any
 profite by them; and also, by how much they doubted at the same time to be distressed by inua-
 sion of other Christian Princes, (the time being full of conspiracies) by so much was it reasonable
 that they desired to be at tranquillity with the Turkish regions. It was suffered to *Baiazet* by the
 conditions of the peace, to retaine still all that he had occupied, and the *Venetians* reseruing onely
 the Ile of *Cesalonia*, anciently called *Leucado*, were compelled to yeeld to him the propriety of
Nerita, now named *S. Mavra*. But the warre of the Turkes brought not so many displeasures
 to the *Venetians*, as they receiued harmes by the king of *Portugall*, who had taken from them, &
 appropriated to himselfe the traffike of spices, which the Marchants and ships bringing out of
Alexandria (a noble Citie in *Egypt*) to *Venice*, they sent dispersed with a wonderful profit through
 all the prouinces in Christendome. The which alteration being a thing of the most merit and me-
 mory of all others that haue hapned in the world since many ages, and, for the harmes which the
 Citie of *Venice* receiued by it, hauing some affinity with the matters of *Italy*, it cannot much al-
 ter the estate of our historie to speake somewhat of it at large.

Such men of spirit and science as by deep speculation and contemplation haue considered the
 wonderfull motions and dispositions of the heauen, and haue left the knowledge thereof recom-
 mended to succession and posteritie, haue figured a line running through the round circle of the
 heauen, from the West to the East, and bearing an equall distance in all parts from the Pole Sep-
 tentrional.

Peace between
 the Turke and
 the Venetians.

Discourse vpon
 the navigation
 of the Portu-
 gal.

temrionall and Pole Meridionall, they call it the line *Equinoctiall*: for that when the sunne is under it, the day and night haue one equalitie. They haue deuicd with imagination the longnesse of this line into three hundred and three score parts, which they call degrees, as the other circuit of the heauen, by the Poles is likewise of three hundred and threescore degrees. After these men had giuen this rule, the Cosmographers measuring and deuicd the earth, haue figured in the earth a line *Equinoctiall*, which falles perpendicularly vnder the Celestial line figured by the Astrologians, deuicd likewise the same and the circuit of the earth with a line falling perpendicularly vnder the Poles in largenesse of three hundred and threescore degrees: so as from our Pole to the Pole Meridionall, they put a distance of an hundred and fourescore degrees, and from euerie one of the Poles to the line *Equinoctiall*, fourescore and ten degrees. These haue bene the generall opinions of the Cosmographers: but touching the particular description of the earth habitable, after they had made knowne that part of the earth which is vnder our Hemisphere, they had a perswasion that that part of the earth lying vnder the *Zona torrida*, figured in the heauen of the Astrologians, and wherein is contained the line *Equinoctiall*, was, (as being neere the sunne) vnhabitable by reason of his heat: and that from our Hemisphere there was no passage to the lands which are vnder the *Zona torrida*, nor to those regions, which beyond it are towards the Pole Meridionall, called by the confession of Ptoleme, lands and seas vnknowne. By reason whereof both he and the others presupposed, that whosoever would passe from our Hemisphere to the *Sino Arabico* and *Sino Persico*, or to the other parts of *India*, which first came to the knowledge of men by the victories of the great Alexander, should be constrained to go thither by land, or else coming as neare to it as he could by the sea *Mediterrane*, should performe the residue of the way by land. But the nauigations of the Portugals haue made known in our time, that those opinions & suppositions were false, for that the marchants pushed on with a desire to gaine, hauing begun many yeares since to coast *Africa*, and being guided by litle and litle etten to the Iles of *Cape Verde* (which the Ancients named the Iles of *Esperides*) which are distant foureteene degrees from the Equinox, drawing towards the Pole Arctike: and being come sithence, in making a long circuit towards the South, to the cape de *bonne Esperance*, which is a promontorie of *Afryke*, further distant then any other from the line *Equinoctiall*, for that his distance containeth xxxviii. degrees. And drawing from thence towards the East, they haue sailed by the Ocean, euen to the *Sino Arabico* and *Sino Persico*; in which places the Marchants of *Alexandria* are wont to buy the spices which grew there in part, but for the most part were brought thither from the Iles *Molucque* and other parts of *India*, and are afterward conueyed by land by a way long, and full of incommodities, and with no lesse charges into *Alexandria*, where they were sold to the Marchants *Venerians*, and they bringing them from *Venice*, furnished all Christendome to their great gaines and wealth: for that they only possessing the traffike of the spices, layd on them what rate or price they would, and caried into *Alexandria* many sorts of marchandise in the ships wherein they brought imbarcked the spices, the same vessels likewise wherein they conueyed that trade of spicerie into *France*, *Flaunders*, *England*, and other places, returning fraughted with other marchandise. But the Portugals going by sea from *Lisbone* the capitall Citie of the realme, into regions far remoued, and hauing confederation in the *Indian* sea with the kings of *Calicut* and other regions neare, they pierced by degrees further, and builded with time fortresses in places conuenient, by whose oportunitie making themselves friendship with certaine cities of the Countries, and reducing others to obedience by their armes and oppression, they haue appropriate to themselves the traffike of the spices, which the marchants of *Alexandria* were wont to haue afore: & bringing them by sea into *Portugall*, they distributed them also by sea into the selfe same realmes and countries, where the *Venerians* at the first had custome and vent for them: Sure this nauigation is right wonderfull, for that it containes a course of eight thousand French leagues, through seas altogether vnknowne, vnder other stars, vnder other firmament, & with other instrumets: for, the line *Equinoctiall* being passed, they are no more guided by the North star, & stand altogether depriued of the seruice & vse of the Adamant stone, & for that they cannot take harbour in so long a way, but in regions vnknowne, differing in language, in religion, in customes, and altogether barbarous and enemies to strangers. And yet notwithstanding so many difficulties, they haue in time made this nauigation so familiar, that where afore they had wont to consume ten moneths in the voiage, they run it

now commonly in lesse then fixe, their daungers being lesse, and all things in more security. But far more maruelous, in the nauigation of the Spaniards, which was begun by *Christopher Colombo a Genoway*, in the yeare 1490: after he had many times sayled by the Ocean sea, wherein making coniectures by the obseruation of certaine windes of that which afterwards succeeded to him in deed, he obtained certaine vessels of the king and Queene of *Spaine*, with the which setting his course towards the West, he discovered at thirtie dayes end in the vttermost extremities of our Hemisphere, certaine Ilands altogether vnkowne to men before: regions happie for the situation of the heauen, and for the fertilitie of the land, and withall no lesse blessed (lauiing that certaine people liued vpon man's flesh) by the disposition of the inhabitants, whose maners were simple, and contented with that which the liberalitie of nature brought forth for them: they were not disquieted with passions of couetousnesse and ambition: but most vnhappy, in that the people hauing no certaine religion, no knowledge in learning, no science in negotiations or handie crafts, but wholly without experience of armes, without rule or art of warre, and without science, vse or custome in any thing, be as it were no other then tractable & tame creatures, and a praie mo. leasie to whosoever will assaile them. By meane whereof, the Spaniards being drawne with the facilitie of commanding those Ilands, and with the possibilitie of reuenue and profite, being plentifull of veines for gold, many of the began to inhabite there, as in their proper country. *Christopher Colombo* passing further, and after him *Americo Vesputcio Florentin*, and successiuelly many others, haue disclosed other Ilands and great countries of firme land, finding in certaine of the (albeit in the most part the contrarie) as well in their buildings both publike and priuate, as in the forme of their habits and conuersation, a conformity of maners and ciuill comelineffe, but so farre ignorant in the knowledge of armes, that they were a ready praie to the first inuader: and yet the limits of these new countries are so far stretched out, that they farre surmount the inhabitable circuit of the earth come first to the knowledge of man. In these regions the Spanish enlarging themselves with new supplies of people, and with new nauigations, & sometimes labouring the mines of gold and siluer that are in many places, and also in the sands of the riuers, sometimes buying it at easie prices of the inhabitants, or at least taking it from them by robberie and violence, they haue brought infinite quantities into *Spaine*, many sayling thither at their proper charges and venture, but vnder licence of the king, to whom they retribute the fift part of all that they bring from thence: yea, the Spaniards haue taken such courage in these courses of nauigation, that certaine sayles aduancing three and fiftie degrees towards the Pole *Antartike*, alwaies along the coasts of the firme land, and afterwards falling into a straight sea, from thence sayling towards the East by a verie large sea, and returning afterwards by the nauigation which the Portugals make, they haue (as appeareth clearly) sayled round about the earth. Which makes me say, that the Portugals and the Spaniards, but specially *Colombo*, the first finder out of this wonderfull & perillous nauigation, are worthy, whose knowledge, industrie, resolutenesse, study, and trauels, be celebrated with eternall memorie, for that by their vertues, our age and all posterities are made capable of the knowledge of great things, which afore lay hid from the sence and vnderstanding of men: but far greater had bene their merits, if in those paines, in those perils, and in those aduentures, they had not bene induced by the immoderate thirst after gold and riches, but caried by desire to disclose them for the benefite and enlarging of Christian faith: a matter neuertheless hapned consequently, for that the inhabitants in many places haue suffered conuersion to the religion catholike. By these nauigations it is knowne that the ancients were beguiled in many things touching the knowledge of the earth: that there was passage beyond the line *Equinoctiall*: that there was habitation vnder the *Zona torrida*: as also (contrarie to their opinion) it is knowne by the nauigation of others, that the *Zones* next to the Poles were inhabited, vnder the which they assured (hauing regard to the situation of the heauen, so farre remoued from the course of the Sun) that there was no abilitie of dwelling for the extremuch cold. Besides, it is knowne (which some of the ancients beleued, and some rebuked) that vnder our feet be other inhabitants, whom they named *Antipodes*.

But returning now to the matter of our narratiō of those things which hapned the year 1504, after *Caletta* was rendred to the Spanish: the newes of the chace of the French neare *Garillan*, ioyned to so many disorders and aduersities that followed, made sorowfull almost the whole realme of *Fraunce*, no lesse for the generall multitude of bodies that were slaine, then for the losse

Nauigation of Spaniards.

Complaints of the Frenchmen.

Princes enter-
prisers have
need to looke
nearly to their
Treasurers &
VicTuallers.

Consaluo de.
furneth the title
of great Cap-
taine.

offo great a nobilitie. The Court accompanying their teares and weepings with habits of sorrow and mourning, filled all full of heauinesse & affliction, & throughout the realme nothing was heard with more compassion, then the lamentable complainings of men and women, accusing the day wherein the miserable humour of couetousnesse to conquer estates in *Italy* entered the heart of their kings, to whom, if any thing might satisfie the desires of men, the proprieties and possessions of so many of their owne countries might haue satisfied. In these perplexities the king was not without his proper calamity, and to him so much the more intollerable, by how much in so great a diminution of his authority and reputation, he saw also a deprivation of hope neuer to be able to recouer so noble a realme, his losses farre exceeding the remedie hee could expect. He called to remembrance the braue words which he had so often objected against the king of *Spaine*, & how vainly he had promised to himself a successe of those huge preparations which he made to invade him on all sides. But that which made him rise most of all into furie and complaint, was the consideration of his plots laid with so great wisdom and expences, that notwithstanding his importunities and diligence in the prouision of his warres so plentifully and liberally furnished, & matching withall with enemies most poore and needy of all things, yet the couetousnesse and robberies of his owne people, had turned his glorie into infamie, and made his losses the more lamentable, by how much he was betrayed by their corruptions. In so much as crying out against heauen and earth, he protested with many othes, that since he was serued with so great a negligence and infidelitie of his owne seruants, he would from henceforth neuer leaue recommended to his Captaines any expedition of warre, and much lesse repose himselfe vpon their assurance, but that in his owne person he would be the fashioner and follower of all enterprises. To these vexations of mind was ioyned this last and chiefe perplexitie, that he saw how much his forces were weakened for the losse of such an armie, for the death of so many braue captaines, and diminution of so flourishing a Nobilitie. All which concurring in one fortune, heaped against him such an aduersitie, that if *Maximilian* had made any sturre in the duchie of *Mullan*, or the Spanish armie had past further then their victorie of *Naples*, he doubted much to be able to defend that estate, speciallie *Askanius Sforce* ioyning to the one of them, whom the people desired with no litle affection. So dangerous are the illes that are feared by a reuolution of estate, which for the most part drawes with it all those miseries which may be figured in an vtter ruine or desolation. Touching the King of *Romaines*, no man marueled that he was not wakened in so great oportunitie, for that it was his custome to delay, and to let passe, for the most part, times and occasions. But euery one held a contrarie perswasion of *Consaluo*, for that all the French faction in *Italy* had a wonderfull feare, least he, hoping that neither money, nor occasions would faile his victorious armie, would not ioyne himselfe to his fortune to follow the subuersion of the state of *Mil-lan*, and in his way, to change the affaires of *Fuscan*: which if he had done, it was beleueed assuredly that the French king, drained of money and appalled in courage, had yeilded to the storme without any resistance, speciallie his people hauing no desire to passe into *Italy*, and such as remained of the calamitie of *Caietta* in passing the mounts, hauing despised the commandements of their king presented at *Genes*: besides, it was clearly discerned that the king, hauing no inclination to armes, was wholly prepared to make peace with *Maximilian*, and no lesse disposed to continue the negotiations and practises with the king of *Spaine*, for the solicitation whereof (not communed vpon in the extreame heat of the warre) the Spanish Embassadors had bene & were at that time at the Court: but *Consaluo*, whom hereafter we will call for the most part the great Captaine, hauing confirmed with so manie glorious victories the surname, that before had bene giuen him by a Spanish brag, refused to imbrace the benefit of so great an occasion: either for that, being altogether without money, & indebted to his armie for manie payes, he saw it impossible to make his people march either vnder hope of profit that was to be won with perill, or in promise of their payes which would belong in coming, his regiments crying either to be satisfied, or to be bestowed in garrison: or else he was tied to proceed according to the will of his king, whose direction it was not lawfull for him to transgresse: or at the least it seemed not to agree with his securitie, to draw his armie out of the kingdome of *Naples*, till first he had purged it of all his enemies: for that *Lewys d'Ar*, one of the French Captaines, who, since the journey of *Cirignoula* had put himselfe within *Venousa* with such remainders of Frenchmen as were not to be despised, and who, whilst the armies were vpon the shoares of *Gatillan*, had occupied *Troja* and

and *S. Senere*, kept also in deuotion all *Pomylia*: certaine Barons also of the faction of *Anion*, which were retired vpon their estates, stood to their defence, embracing openly the part of the French king. It was lastly this impediment, that a litle after the victory the *Great Captaine* fell into a dangerous sickness, which staying his personall expedition, he sent *Aluiano* with part of his armie to fight vpon *Louys d'Arz*: by which his necessitie, not able for the present to follow his victory, of the kingdome of *Naples*, the residue of *Italy* remained rather in suspition, then in traueil, hanging more in expectation then in action: for the *Venetians*, according to their custome, stood doubtfull, expecting what would bee the issue of things: the *Florentins* thought they had won much at a time when they wholly despaired to be succoured by the French king, they were not invaded by the *Great Captaine*: & the Pope, referring to another time his ambitious thoughts, studied to bring to passe that the Duke *Valentinois*, who held no more in *Romania* but the Castles of *Furly*, of *Cesena*, and of *Bertinoire*, (hauing lost *Forlimpoppe* by corruption of the keeper) might accord to leaue them to him, taking the aduantage of the time, and his imprisonment. *Valentinois* condescended to giue to the Pope the assignement of the Castle of *Cesena*, and *Dom Petro d'Onedo* a Spaniard, being gone thither to receiue it in the Popes name, was hanged by the Castle-keeper, objecting that it could be no lesse dishonour to him to obey his Lord whilest he was a prisoner, then he that presumed to impose that request vpon him deserued to be punished. By this occasion the Pope despairing to reioyce in his desire without the deliuey of *Valentinois*, he accorded with him (and of this conuention there was a Bull dispatched in the Consistorie for greater surety) that he shod be set in the rocke of *Ostia*, vnder the absolute power of *Bernardin Carnagiall* a Spaniard, Cardinall of *S. Croce*, and he to let him go whesoeuer he had rendered to the Pope the Castles of *Cesena* and *Bertinoire*, and transferred to the Pope the assignation of the rocke of *Furly*, & appointed in the towne of *Rome*, bankers to answer fifteen thousand duckats in recompence of the expences which the Castle-keeper alleaged he had sustained. But the Pope had another intention, for that albeit he would not apparantly defile and break the faith he had giuen, yet his meaning was to keepe his deliuey in delay, either for feare least he being at libertie, the Castle-keeper of *Furly* would refuse to render the Rocke, or else for the memorie of the iniuries he had receiued of his father and him, or at least for the hate which euerie one reasonably bare him: So infallible is the lawe of iustice to take reuenge of wrongs, not obseruing the presence of times wherein they are done, but transferring occasions from one season to another, calleth then the iniuries into reckning, whe the offender hath least memorie of the. *Valentinois* growing into some suspition, that the Pope would not hold faith with him, required secretly the *Great Captaine* to giue him safeconduct to come to *Naples*, and withall to send two Gallies to conuey him from *Ostia*: which request being condescended vnto by *Consaluo*, the Cardinall of *S. Croce* holding the same suspition with *Valentinois*, suffered him to depart without the Popes priuie, being first aduertised, that pledge was put in for the fifteen thousand duckats, with the redeliuerie vp of the Castles of *Cesena* and *Bertinoire*. The feare and danger wherein *Valentinois* was, made him carelesse to attend the Gallies which the *Great Captaine* should send him, and therefore being still caried with those impressions, he went secretly by land to *Nettuna*, from thence he sailed in a litle Barke to *Montdragon*, and so by land went to *Naples*, where *Consaluo* receiued him with great tokens of gladnesse & shewes of honor. At *Naples* he communicated many times in secret with *Consaluo*, who he solicited at last to giue him power to passe to *Pisa*, assuring him, that if he might but once put foot into that City, it wold be much to the profit & furtherance of his king. *Consaluo* dissimbling his opinion, seemed to fauour the deuise, and offering him galleis to garde him in passing, he suffered him to leaue in the kingdome, such regiments of footmen as he thought to carie with him: he entertained him in this hope, till he had receiued answer from his king conformable to that he had determined to doe, alwaies consulting with him of the affaires of *Tuscanie*, and *Aluiano* offering at the same time to invade the *Florentines*, for the desire he had to see the familie of *Medicis* restored. But as there is no possibilitie to auoid that which the euerlasting counsell of God hath determined, nor anie reason to pull on the destiny of things till times be accomplished: so *Valentinois* raised into thoughts of securitie, stood readie to his ruine, when he iudged his estate in most stabilitie, euen as a house whose foundation is not sound, failes eftsfoones to the ground being but newly builded: for, the galleis being now prepared, and his bands of footemen in readinesse to march the day following, *Valentinois*

Valentinus
prisoner by
Consaluo.

after he had deuised long the same night with *Consaluo*, and taking his leaue with demonstration of great affection embracing one another at parting, was by his commandement; as soon as he was out of the chamber, retained in the Castle, sending forthwith into his lodging to rife the safe-conduct that had bene sent him before he departed from *Ostia*. *Consaluo* excused himselfe vpon the authoritie of his King, who sending warrant to apprehend him prisoner, his Maiesties commandement (he said) was of more force then his safe conduct, for that the assurance that was giuen by the proper authoritie of a seruant, was not auayleable if the wil of his Lord consented not. Besides, he occupied with him these round tearmes, that it was necessarie to hold him restrained, for that, not satisfied with so manie sinister dealings done in times past, he would still change the estates of others, he deuised to innouate things, he sowed vniust slaunders, & cast to kindle a fire through all *Italy*. Immediately after he sent him in a light Galley prisoner to *Spainne*, leauing him of all his traine but one Page to serue him: there he was imprisoned within the Castle of *Medino de Carrapo*, having good oportunitie by the consideration of his iust punishment to enter into conscience touching the harmes he hap inflicted vpon diuerse regions and men.

Truce between
the kings of Sp.
and France.

About this time truce was made both by sea and land, as well for *Italy*; as the nations beyond the Mounts, betweene the French king and the king of *Spainne*: which, as the French desired it by necessity, so the Spanish embraced it by iust reason, for that he thought it was better to confirme by that meane with greater surety and rest, that which he had conquered, then to referre all to hazard by new warres, which being full of peril and expences, bring forth oftentimes other issues then are hoped for. The conditions were, that euery one should retaine that which he possessed: That it should be suffered to the subiects of both parties to traffike through all their realmes and estates, except in the kingdom of *Naples*, with the which exception the *Great Captaine* obtained indirectly, that which was forbidden to him directly: for, in the frontiers of those places which the French held (which were only *Rossano* in *Calabria*, *Oiro* in the land of *Otranto*, and in *Pomylia*, *Venusa*, *Conuerjan*, and the Mount Castle) *Consaluo* bestowed men to giue impedimēt, that not one of the souldiers or men of those townes should vse conuerlation with any peece possessed by the Spanish: a deuise which brought them into such necessitie, that *Lomys d'Ars* with the other Barons and souldiers of those places, went their way, knowing that the inhabitants, not able to endure so many discommodities, were determined to yeeld themselves to the Spaniards: So infinit is the malice of fortune, that whom she hath resolved to root vp, she will not spare to persecute till his last desolation be come. But for all this, the kingdome of *Naples*, notwithstanding the enemies were all expulsed, enioyed not the fruits of the peace: for that the Spanish soldiers, to whom were due their payes for more then one year, not contented that the *Great Captaine* (the better to containe them til he had leuied prouisions for mony) had bestowed the in sundrie places where they liued vpon the people (which men of war call to liue by discretion) breaking all bonds of discipline and obedience, had entred *Capua* and the sea Castle, from whence they would not depart till they were satisfied of their payes. And because the money could not be leuied by conuenient means (the summe being great) without laying an excessiue taxation on the realm, the conditions of the peace were found so much the more miserable, by how much the medicine was no lesse grievous than the disease they went about to cure: matters so much the lesse easie or tolerable, by how much they were practised new, & out of the examples passed: for, notwithstanding that since the ancient times, wherein the discipline of warre was exercised with seueritie, the souldiers were alwaies full of libertie, and troublesome to the peoples: yet things being as yet not wholly disordered, they liued for the most part of their payes, & their libertie was not altogether intollerable. But the Spaniards were the first that began in *Italy* to liue wholly vpon the substance of peoples, the disability of their kings giuing them that occasion, or haply their necessities much enforcing, being ill payd: of which beginning, disorders rising alwayes in increasing (for the imitation of an ill is greater for the most part then the example) euen the Spaniards themselves and the Italians also, whether they were payd or not payd, haue euer since made such custome of that example, that to the great dishonor of the discipline of warre at this day, the goods of good men and friends are no more assured from the insolencie of souldiers, then such as belong to wicked people and the verie enemy, all things running in confusion without regard to obedience, conscience or honour, as the horse when he hath broken his bridle, forbeareth not in his libertie to spoile the fields of his maister, as if he were a straunger.

What

What by the taking of *Valentino's*, and this truce betweene the two kings, with opinion that the peace would succeed immediatlie, *Romania* was put wholly in rest: for *Arnola* was diuolued afore by the willes of the chieftaines of the Citie into the power of the Pope, and not without the consent of Cardinall *S. George*, whom the Pope entertained with a vaine hope that he would render it aftsoons to his nephewes. And about those seasons *Lowys* his bastard brother being entred into *Furne*, by the death of *Anthony d'Ordelauffy*, that citie had falne into the hands of the *Venetians*, to whom *Lowys* offered it (knowing hee was not able enough to holde it) sauing that the conditions of the present time made them feare to accept it, least they should further incense the Pope, who without any resistance obtained the towne abandoned by *Lowys*, and had likewise, paying fifteene thousand duckats, the Citadell: a place which the keeper (a faithfull seruauit to *Valentino's*) would neuer giue vp, till he was assured of his imprisonment by men which he sent expresse to *Naples*, holding it a iust office to retaine to the last those things which his maister had recommended to his fidelitie.

Thus, being a surceasing of armes in all other parts of *Italy*, the *Florentines* only would not cease in the beginning of sommer to recontinue the warres vpon the *Pisans* according to their custome: for, hauing newly receiued into their pay *Iohn Paule Baillon*, with other captains, and men at armes of the *Colonniois* and *Sauelleis*, and leauying withall farre greater forces then they were wont, they sent an armie to giue the spoile to the corne of the *Pisans*, wherein they proceeded with greater courage, for that they doubted no impediment by the Spaniard, not so much for that the king of *Spaine* had not stained the *Pisans* in the truce (wherein both the kings had libertie to comprehend their friends and adherents) as for that the *Great Captaine*, after his victories vpon the Frenchmen, notwithstanding from the beginning he had giuen great hopes to the *Pisans*, had exercised gracious and sweet speeches with the *Florentins*, hoping at the least by his cunning to separate them from the French king: wherein albeir he found himselfe afterwards disappointed, yet wisely forbearing to incense them, as not to giue them occasion to be more for the French king, he was entred by the meane of *Prosper Colonne* (but not otherwise then with words simply) into this secret intelligence with them, that if it hapned the French king itsoons to renew the warres of *Naples*, that they should not minister to him any ayde, as also for his part he would not giue succours to the *Pisans*, but in case the *Florentins* should send an armie with artilleries to take the Citie, which he wished they should not recouer so long as they followed the amitie of the French king. The *Florentine* armie prepared to spoile not only those parts of the countrie of *Pisa* which they had wasted in times past, but also to ouer-run *S. Rossoro* and *Barbaricino*, and so to the vales of *Serclo* & *Osolo*, places ioyning to *Pisa*, wherunto they could not go without dāger whē their armie was lesse: thē they encāped before *Librafratta*, which being manned with a verie slender garrison, was within few dayes constrained to yeeld to discretion. And such were the calamities of that yeare, that the *Pisans* had bene compelled by famine to receiue the yoke of the *Florentins*, if they had not bene succoured by their neighbours, but principally by the *Genoweyes* and *Lucques* (for *Pandolfe Petrucci* no lesse ready to stirre vp others, then liberal in his owne promises to contribute to the expences, was verie long in effects) with whose monyes *Reniero* of *Sassetto*, a souldier of the *Great Captaine*, with certain other leaders hauing sufferance, led to *Pisa* by sea two hundred horsemē, and the *Genoweyes* sent thither a Prouost with a thousand footmen: ouer and besides which prouisions, *Bardello de porto Venere*, a famous roucr in the sea *Tirreneum*, &c who being leauied & payd by the said helpers, was called the Captaine of the *Pisani*, reuictualled *Pisa* continually with a Gallion and other Brigandines: for these considerations the *Florentins* holding it necessarie, that besides the trauels they gaue them by land, they should also take from them the vse of the sea, entertained three light Gallies of king *Federyk* which were in *Pronence*, with the which as their Captaine *Dom Rinas Ricaiuso* approached *Lynorno*, *Bardello* retired, and yet sometime taking the occasion of the winds, he brought some barkes laden with victuals to the mouth of *Arno*, from whence they fell easilie into the towne of *Pisa*, which at the same time suffered manie perplexities by land: for, after the armie of *Florence* had taken *Librafratta*, deuiding themselues into many legions, they looked how to giue impediment to the tilling of the lands for the yeare following, and to restraine the passage of victuals both by the way of *Lucque* and the sea: they gaue also in the end of the sommer a spoile to all sorts of graines, whereof that countrey brings forth a great quantitie: their furie left nothing

vnproued against the mine of the *Pisans*: for neither wearied with the great expences, nor holding impossible any thing that gaue them hope to accomplish their purpose, they deuised to trouble the *Pisans* in a new fashion, that is, by a new channell to make fall the riuer of *Arno*, which runneth by the towne of *Pisa*, from the towre of *Fapiana* five miles from *Pisa*, into the poole which is betweene *Pisa* & *Linorna*: which if they had brought to passe, there could haue bene no more portage of things to *Pisa* by sea through the riuer of *Arno*, and the raine waters, for that the countrey is low, not able to be conueyed into the sea, the Citie had remained as it were in the midst of a marish, as also for the difficulty to passe *Arno*, the *Pisans* could not haue run from thence forward along the hilles to hinder the traffike from *Livorno* to *Flori*, and lastly, they should haue bene constrained to fortifie that part of *Pisa*, by the which the riuer entered and issued, least it should be open to the incursions of the enemy. But this enterprife, as it was begun with a very great hope, and followed with farre greater expences, was in the end made vaine: and as it often hapneth that like enterprises, notwithstanding they be laid out by measure and line, are yet found fallible by experience, which is the certaine prooue of the difference that is between the deuising and doing of things: so besides many difficulties, not considered before, and now caused by the course of the riuer, which when they thought to restraine, abated of himselfe fretting his channell: the bottome of the poole where they would haue it enter, contrarie to the reasons and opinions of many enginists and water-workers, was found to be higher then the channell of *Arno*. Besides in so great a desire to obtaine *Pisa*, fortune enuied also the ambition of the *Florentines*, for that the Gallies which they had entertained, returning from *Villefranche* with a prize of the *Pisans* laden with graine, were so weatherbeaten neare to *Rapallo*, that they were constrained to giue against the ground, the Captaine with the residue hauing great paine to saue themselves. But the *Florentines*, whose desire of the victorie was without limit, sought to serue their turn of all the means which either the wit of man, or oportunitie of the time could deuise: and therefore after they had proued in vaine to raunge the *Pisans* by armes & threatnings, they sought to reclaime them by affabilitie and sweetnesse, making a new law, by the which it was graunted, that euery Citizen or other subiect of the Countrey of *Pisa* that within a certaine time would eftsoones withdraw to his liuing or dwelling place, should obtaine pardon of all faults committed, with full restitution of goods. Notwithstanding the fauour of this lawe, there were very few of heart and faith resolute, which would depart out of *Pisa*, but they suffered all such as were vnprofitable to the warre to take the benefite of the edict, and go their way: the same being the cause that both the dearth of victuals which raged afore, was not now so great, and also that they receiued afterwards certaine commoditie of reuenues from others that secretly ayded them; whereby, albeit the necessities of the *Pisans* were somewhat by these means diminished, yet they found their estate grievously vexed with their great pouertie and want: and yet hauing all things in lesse horror then the name of the *Florentines*, notwithstanding the minds of the Peasants did often times wauer, they determined to endure all extremitie of misery, rather then to returne to the deuotion of the *Florentines*. Therefore they offered to giue themselves vp to the *Genowayes*, with who they had so oftentimes fought for the iurisdiction & for their safetie, and by whom their power had bene of long antiquity afflicted and embased. Of this motion they of *Lucqua* and *Pandolfe Petrucci* were the causes, desiring (to auoyd in themselves the continuall expences and troubles) to bind the *Genowayes* to the defence of *Pisa*. And for their more easie inducing to the matter, they offered to defray part of the expences for three years. Whereupon the *Genowayes*, hauing a deliberation to embrace the offer, notwithstanding *Iohn Lowys de Fiesquo* with many others were against it, made an instance to the French king to suffer them, without whose consent they had no power to execute any deliberation: they debated with the king how dangerous it would be that the *Pisans*, excluded from this their last and almost only hope, should come to offer themselves to the king of *Spaine*, from whence would succeed to his great preiudice, that both *Genes* should be in continuall trauell and danger, and almost all *Tuskane* by compulsion follow the Spanish faction. These reasons, albeit at the beginning had so much wrought with the king that he was almost at a point to gratifie their demands, yet his Counsell considering, that if the *Genowayes* should begin to accept warres of themselves; and for a desire of imperie, to haue confederation with other Potentates; it would be cause, that comming afterwards to raise their thoughts to greater things, they would put their state into

into absolute libertie: he forbade them expressly to accept the iurisdiction of *Pisa*, but not that they should forbear to aide or succour them, notwithstanding the *Florantines* had made great complaints, particular respects bearing more force in these matters, then equitie, conscience, or compassion.

About this time the peace was earnestly laboured betweene the kings of *Spaine* and *France*, who offered dissemblingly to render the realme of *Naples* to the king *Federike*, or to the Duke of *Calabria* his sonne, to whom the French king should resigne and giue vp all his claime, so farre forth as the mariage were accomplished between the Duke & the Queene widow, Nece to the same king, being afore bene wife to yong *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* king of *Naples*. And it was without doubt, that the French king had a minde so farre estranged from the affaires of the kingdom of *Naples*, that for his own regard, he had accepted all sorts of peace, if it had not bene for these two difficulties that restrained him: the one (of lesse moment with him then the other) was the shame & reproches that would be thundred vpon him, to leaue abandoned the Barons, who for that they folowed his faction, had suffred priuation of their estates, & to whom were offered conditions hard & intollerable: the other (working somewhat more strongly with him) was the doubt wherein he was, lest the king of *Spaine* hauing other intentions offered, according to his accustomed subtilties, this restitution for some end, that though his maiesties consenting, yet the effect should not follow: and that in the meane while the Archduke were not estranged from him, who desiring to haue the kingdom of *Naples* for his sonne, made instance that there should be continuation of the peace which he had begun before. Therefore he answered generally that he desired the peace, but that he could not with honor giue vp to an *Arragon* the rights which he had in the same realme. And on the other part, he continued the auncient practises with the king of *Romanes*, & the Archduke: wherein as he was almost certaine of the conclusion & effect, & to the end they should not be cut off nor hindered by the incertaine practises of the king of *Spaine*, he let call before him the Spanish Embassadours, making his colour for his greater honor, that the respects & interests of the Barons did chiefly moue him. And being set in the chaire royal, in the aspect & presence of all the court, with solempne ceremonies far about the vsage of times before, he complained that their king expressed in words his desire & disposition to the peace, hauing his intentions dissembled, in which regard, & also for that it was not a thing worthie the vertue and honor of a king, to consume the time in vaine practises, he told them it were their best to depart out of the realme of *France*. After whose going away, the Embassadours of *Maximilian* and the Archduke came to giue perfectiō to that which had bin negociated: in which action (because there were plottes layed to greater purposes) was assistant the Bishop of *Sisteron* the Popes ordinarie *Nuncio* in that Court, & the Marquis of *Finalo* whom the Pope sent expressly in those affaires. This peace hauing bene many times afore throughly debated for the profit which appeared verie great to all those Princes, was finally set down vnder these conditions: That the mariage of Lady *Claudia* the French kings daughter, commoned vpo long time before, should now grow to effect with *Charles* the eldest sonne to the Archduke: And for more firm confirmation of the same, there should be ioyned to the oath and subscription of the French king, the ratification of *Frances Count* of *Angulesme*, who (issue male failing in the king, was next heire to the Crowne) together with manie of the principals of the kingdom: That all the inuestitures of the state of *Millan* allowed till that day, being razed & cancelled for iust and honest occasions, *Maximilian* should transferre the inuestiture thereof to the French king, for himselfe and heires males, and for want of such issue it should be (in fauour of the mariage) conueyed to Madame *Claudia*, and to *Charles*, & if *Charles* should dye before the consummation of the mariage, then it to descend to Ladie *Claudia*, & to the second son of the Archduke if she married with him: That betweene the Pope, the king of *Romanes*, the French king, & the Archduke, should be made a confederation for their common defence, & to offend the *Venetians*, from whom they all determined to withdraw those places which they occupied of theirs: That the king of *Romanes* should passe in person into *Italie* against the *Venetians*, & afterwards go to *Rome* to take the crowne imperiall: That the French king, as soone as the Charters should be dispatched, should paie for the inuestiture three-score thousand florins of *Rhem*, & three score thousand others within six moneths, & euery yeare a paire of spurs of gold, vpon the daie of the Natiuitie of our Lord: That there should be place left for the king of *Spaine* to enter into this confederation within foure moneths: But it was not

Confederation
betweene the
Pope, king of
Romanes, and
the French
king against
the Venetians

expressed, that in case he did not enter, it should be sufficed to the French king to invade the kingdome of *Naples*: That the French king should giue no more aide nor succors to the Count *Palantine*, who stirred vp by him, and entertained with hope of his succors, was in great warre with the king of *Romans*: That the *Venetians* should be excluded out of this league, notwithstanding that both the king had giuen willing care to their Embassadours, and also the Cardinall of *Amboyse* (to cleare them from all suspicion) had nourished them with assured promises & such, that the king would neuer go against that confederation which he had with them. These matters were contained in letters which were solemnly passed: besides he which it was moued that the king and *Maximilian* should speake together at an other time in some place convenient. The king also promised at that time, that he would deliuer out of prison *Lodowike* *Sforce*, and endue him with conuenient meane to liue in the realme of *France*. The safetie of this man, the king of *Romans* had shame not to procure, for that his conscience put him in remembrance, that the promises he had made him, and the hopes he had vainly reposed in him, had bene causes to hasten his ruine. In which considerations, hauing no power to do what he would, at least he expressed inclination to do what he could: in so much as when the Cardinall of *Amboyse* went to him at *Trent*, he wrought so much as he should no more be so straitly kept as he had bene, making now importunate instance that he might remaine at libertie in the court of *France*, or in such quarter of the realme as it pleased the king. The king promised also at his request, that the exiles of the Duchie of *Myllan* should returne, wherupō were manie difficulties in the negociation of *Trent*: it was beleueed that he would keep this capitulation being so greatly to the aduantage of the Archduke and *Maximilian*, notwithstanding his ordinarie variations, the Pope being comprehended, and no lesse agreeable to the French king, nor so much for the desire he had at that time to make new enterprises, as for an ambitious respect to obtaine the inuestiture of the duchie of *Myllan*, and to be assured not to be molested neither by *Cesar* nor his sonne.

The death of
king Federik.

In these seasons dyed king *Federik*, being wholly depriued of hope to recouer by accord the kingdome of *Naples*, notwithstanding he was perswaded afore (euery one naturally suffreth him selfe to be beguyled by desire) that the king of *Spaine* had a better deuotion to it then the French king: he considered not that in that time it was a thing vaine to hope for the restitution of so noble a realme, the examples being verie rare in times farre more auncient & before, where men were more disposed to actes of vertue and nobilitie, then they were in the time running: he saw not also that it was a thing out of all likelihood, that he which had vsed so manie deceits to occupie the moitie of the kingdome, would now that he hath wonne all, depriue him selfe of the fruit and glorie of his victorie. Besides in the common reason and discourse of affaires, he might haue perceiued that the one made no lesse difficultie then the other: only he had more reason to doubt, that he that was already possessed, would not restore, then he which held nothing in the kingdome, would not consent.

The death of
Elizabeth
Queene of
Spaine.

In the end of this yeare, *Elizabeth* queene of *Spaine* exchanged this life for a better: she was a Lady of most honest and honorable conditions, and wonne in the opinion of her subiects a right worthie name of magnanimitie, modestie, and discretio: to her did properly appertaine the kingdome of *Castilla*, which is the greater part of *Spaine*, to the which shee succeeded after the death of *Henry* her brother, but not without blood & warre. For albeit it was beleueed for a long time, that *Henry* by nature was vnable to procreation, and for that reason *Beltramise* could not be his daughter which was brought forth by his wife, & by him nourished many yeares as a frute of his own seed. And albeit for that occasion *Elizabeth* sister of *Henry* was acknowledged for Princessse of *Castill*, a title nearest to the succession: yet manie Barons of the realme rising after his death in fauour of *Beltramise*, & the king of *Portugall* ministring succors by armes in the right of a friend, allie & confederat, the factions comming at last to battel, the cause of *Elizabeth* was approued most iust by the issue of the field. *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* her husband leading the armie, who likewise was descended of the house of the kings of *Castill*, & conioyned to *Elizabeth* in the third degree of consanguinitie, & he afterwards succeeding by the death of *John* his father to the realme of *Aragon*, they both tooke vpon them by one ioynt right the title of king & queene of *Spaine*: for that the kingdom of *Valence* being vnited to the crown of *Aragon*, together with the countrie of *Catalogna*, they were Lords ouer all the prouince of *Spaine*, which is contained betweene the Mounts *Pirenes*, the Ocean sea, & the Middle earth sea. And vnder this title, for that that region hath bin occupied by many kings of the *Mores*, the title of many kingdoms is com-

prehended, euery one of them making a title separate by him selfe: except notwithstanding the kingdome of *Granado*, which being at that time possessed by the *Mores*, was afterwards by the vertue of this King & Queene gloriously subdued to the Empire of *Castile*, together with the title & kingdome of *Portugall*, & the Realme of *Nauarre* much inferior, all which had kings particular. But the kingdome of *Aragon* with *Cucilia*, *Sardaigna*, & other Ilands appertaining by inheritance to *Ferdinand*, were governed by him only, without interposing the name or authoritie of the queene, contrary to the policy & course of gouernment in *Castile*: the reason was, for that that kingdom belonging by law of succession to *Elizabeth*, & standing in a state endowed to *Ferdinand*, things were administered vnder their common name aswel in demonstrations as in effects, nothing being executed which was not debated, ordeined, & subscribed by them both. The title of the king of *Spaine* was common, their Embassadors dispatched in common, their armies leuied in common, their wars administered in common, and neither of them in particular appropriating more then the other in authoritie & gouernment of the kingdom. But by the death of *Elizabeth* without issue males the succession of *Castile*, by the lawes of that kingdome, which regarding more the proximity then the sex, exclude not the woman, belonged to Iane the daughter of *Ferdinand* & her, & wife to the Archduke, their eldest daughter, which had bene married to *Emanuel* king of *Portugall*, together with her litle sonne, being dead long time before: by reason whereof, the administration of the realme dowage appertaining by the end of the marriage, no more to *Ferdinand*, he was excoones to returne into his litle kingdome of *Aragon*: litle in comparison of the realme of *Castile*, for the straitnes of the countrey, & smalnesse of the reuenues, & for that also the kings of *Aragon*, not hauing absolute regall authoritie in all things, be in manie points subiect to the constitutions & customes of the same prouinces, which limit much the power of their kings. But *Elizabeth* drawing towards her latest time, ordeined by her testament, that *Ferdinand* so long as he liued should be gouernor of *Castile*, aswel for that she desired it might be kept in his first greatnes, for the amitie that had bene mutual betwene them; as also for that she knewe it concerned the profite of her subiects to be continued vnder the moderate gouernment of *Ferdinand*, and imported no lesse the commoditie of her sonne in law & daughter, who, seeing in the end they should likewise succede *Ferdinand*, had reason to esteem it much to their behoofe, that vntil *Philp*, borne & nourished in *Flandres* where things were gouerned diuersly, had attained a riper age, & taken a greater knowledge of the lawes, customes, nature, & maners of *Spaine*, all their realmes might be preferred for them vnder one peaceable & well ordered gouernment, the countreis of *Castile* & *Aragon* being maintained in the meane while as one selfe body. But as in mortall actions the wit of man is insufficient to set down a firme stabilitie, for that all things vnder the highest circuit haue their proper reuolutions: so litle helped the wise prouisions of this Queene, to stay the alteration of things, for that after her death new accidents hapning in *Spaine*, the state tooke a new forme of gouernment. But touching the affaires of *Italie*, as we meane to expresse hereafter, they were better disposed to a new peace.

Testament of
Queene Eli-
zabeth.

The yeare 1505. things continued in the same estate of tranquillitie wherein they had bene nourished the yere before, which was such, that had not the quarel betwene the *Florentines* & *Pisians* brought some alteration, the actions of armes for that yere had wholly surceased, one part of the Potentates being desirous of peace, & the other that were enclined to warre, holden retained for many reasons: for, it sufficed the king of *Spaine* (who continued still the same title, & as yet trauailed with the thoughts of his dead wife) to keepe the kingdome of *Naples* by meane of the truce that had bene made. The French king was entred into a great suspition, for that *Cesar* following in this as in all other things, his wandring nature, had not ratified the peace. The Pope, albeit he was desirous of innouation & new things, yet he neither durst nor could stirre, vnlesse he were accompanied with the armes of some mightie Prince. And the *Venerians* esteemed it to no small grace, if in so great consult & counsell of things against them, & in so ill a disposition of the Pope, they stood quiet & were not molested by others: wherein the better to appease the Pope, they had offered many moneths before to leaue him *Rimini*, & all that they had possessed in *Romania* since the death of Pope *Alexander*, to the end he did consent that they might retaine *Faenza* with his territories. This offer they made also for feare they had of the French king, & for that *Cesar* at the solicitation of the Pope, had sent his Embassadors to *Venice* to sommon them to make restitution of the lands of the Church: but the Popes answer was so resolute, that they passed no further. He tolde them according to the constancie of his minde, and his free nature to expresse his

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conceits, that he would not consent to the retaining only of a little towre, but did hope to recover before his death both *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, Cities which they possessed no less unjuſtly then they did *Faenza*: with which aunſwer they kept ſuſpended their further ſutes till the beginning of the Sommer, when their feares being become greater, they offered by the meane of the Duke of *Urbino* (a friend indifferent) to reſtore all that they had occupied, which was not of the ſerutenances of *Faenza* and *Rimini*, ſo that the Pope, who would not afore admit the Embaſſadours to tender their obedience, would now conſent to receive them. This demand albeit the Pope ſhewed him ſelfe ſomewhat hard to accept, ſuppoſing he ſhould do wrong to his dignitie, as not conuenient to allow it, remembering the great quarrels and ſcawings he had made to them: yet hauing regard to the perplexities that were enduted by them of *Furlie*, *Imola*, and *Ceſena*, who deſtroyed of the greateſt part of their countries, ſuffered manie incommodities. And ſeeing withall no other meanes to redreſſe things with ſpeede, for that the affaires betwene *Caſar* and the French king, proceeded with ſo great a longneſſe of time and delaie: at laſt he conſented to that which in effects was a gaine without loſſe, ſince neither by words nor writings he was bound to any thing: ſo that after the townes were reſtored, eight Embaſſadours of the principals of the Senate choſen ſince he was created Pope, were ſent to him. (The greateſt companie and moſt honorable ſhewe of Embaſſadours which that common weale had euer ſent to any Pope, if he were not a *Venetian*:) But after they had entred their obedience with the ceremonies accuſtomed, they brought not backe to *Venice* any ſigne, by the which they could gather that the Pope was become more eaſie or tractable: ſo deepe were the impreſſions of his miſliking againſt them: or elſe ſo cunningly could he diſſemble contrarie to his owne promiſes and their expectations. About this time the French king, deſiring to put end to that which had bene debated, ſent the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* to *Haguenau* a towne of baſe *Almaine*, where *Caſar* and the Archduke attended him, hauing newly taken that town vpon the *Count Palatine*: there were publiſhed & ſworn ſolemly the conuictions that had bene made, the Cardinall paying the moiety of the money promiſed for the inueſtiture, with promiſe that *Caſar* ſhould receive the other moiety as ſoone as he ſhould paſſe into *Italie*. Notwithſtanding, both at the preſent he gaue to vnderſtand, and a little after he declared, that he could not paſſe that yeare for the impediments which were in *Germanie*, the ſame making the ſuſpition of warre ſo much the leſſe, the French king being determined to enter into no new attempt without him: only, the warre almoſt continuall betwene the *Florentines* and *Piſans*, remained kindled in *Italie*, the which proceeding by eaſie degrees, and not purſued but when occaſions offered to the one or the other partie, who otherwiſe had no one ſettled enterpriſe: it hapned that *Luke Savelle* iſſued out of *Caffina*, in which land the *Florentines* made their retrait of warre, and with him certaine Captaines and Conſtables of the *Florentines*, with foure hundred horſe and manie bands of footemen, their intention was to reuiſtually *Libraſatta*, and by the ſame meane to leuie certaine heardes of cattel of the *Piſans* feeding on the other ſide the riuer of *Serle* vpon the grounds of the *Lucquoys*, not ſo much for the benefit and pillage of the pray, as for the deſire they had to draw the *Piſans* to the fight, hauing a confidence to ouerthrow them, for that they were the ſtronger in the field. And when they had conueyed victuals into *Libraſatta*, and poſſeſſed the pray they pretended they returned with leiſure by the ſame way, to the end to entice the *Piſans* with that oportunitie to come and charge them. *Tarlatin* chiefe commaunder ouer their men of warre, iſſued out of *Piſa* as ſoone as he vnderſtood the enimie droue away their cattell: and becauſe the chiefe point of the reſcure reſted in expedition, he tooke no moe with him then fifteene men at armes, ſortie light horſemen, and threſcore footemen, leauing order that a greater ſtrength ſhould follow him: ſo neceſſarie is ſpeed in enterpriſes, that often times they are wonne and loſt with a leſſe meaſure and diſtance of time then is required to conſult vpon them. But the *Piſan* Captain vnderſtanding that certaine of the *Florentine* horſemen were runne vp euen to *S. Iacques* neare *Piſa*, he made towards them, and they retiring to their ſtrength which ſtayed at the bridge *Capella* vpon the riuer of *Oſola*, and three miles fro *Piſa* where they taried for the droues of cattel that were taken, & the Mules with the which they had reuiſtually *Libraſatta* coming behind, & as yet beyond the bridge, which the firſt bands of footemen had occupied, & manned the loopeholes & trenches: *Tarlatin* folowed them euen to the bridge, not perceiuing that all the armie of the *Florentines* were in that place, till he was ſo neare that he could not returne without

The Florentines
broken
by the Piſans

manifest

manifest daunger: and therefore, as necessity is mightie to make men resolute, so he determined to make way by his valour, and to charge the bridge, declaring to his company that that whereunto their perill constrained them, was not without great hope and possibility to overcome; for that in a place so strait where few men could fight, the great number of their enemies was more fearefull then hurtfull, the narrowness of the place hindring the vsage of the weapon wherewith they should strike them: in so much that albeit they could not make their passage ouer the bridge, at the least they should easily maintaine their owne defence till the regiments of *Pisa*, which he had sent for, were come to their succours: But if they could winne the bridge, the victory would be lesse easie then the attempt was glorious, for that the way beyond the bridge which runneth betweene the bridge and the mountaine being strait and narrow, the multitude of their enemies encombred with the mulets and beastes they had stolne, would of themselves fall easily into disorder, being drawne into a place so inconuenient either to fight or to flie. His words were iustified with deedes: for he being the formost, giuing with great valour the spurs to his horse, charged the bridge, but being compelled to retire, another did the like, and after him a third; whose horse being hurt, the Captaine returned with great fury to succour him, and in that veine of courage, what with the force of his weapon and fury of his horse, he passed on the other side the bridge, the footmen that defended making him place: foure others of his company did the like by his example, all which whilest they entertained the skirmish on the other side the bridge with the footmen of the enemy in a strait meddow, certaine footmen of the *Pisans* passed ouer the Riuer in water vp to the chinne, the horsemen likewise passing without impediment ouer the bridge which was now abandoned, besides the succours expected from *Pisa*, beginning to arriue without order: wherein the *Florentine* souldiers seeing their safety turned into perill, and their bodies and weapons reduced into a place strait and narrow, fell into confusion amongst themselves, and as men whose confidence was turned into cowardnesse, and nothing but feare appearing in their faces which had wont to expresse courage and resolution, hauing no Captaine of authority to retaine them in order, they turned their backes and fell to flying: in so much that they which were farre mightier in forces, and marched in order and obseruance of warre, left the victory to those whose numbers were farre inferiour, and came altogether disbanded, with intention rather to make shew only, then to fight in deede. Many Captaines of the *Florentine* footmen and other Gentlemen of marke were the miserable monuments of this ouerthrow, for that many of them were slaine, mo taken, and most of all dangerously hurt, and such as sought safety in flying, fell into the discretion of the vnplandish people of *Lucqua*, who stripping them, sent them away naked to be beholden with greater griefe of their friends: so spitefull is fortune when she is disposed to oppresse such as she holds for hated, that suffering them to escape out of the daunger they feared most, she leades them into those aduersities they doubted least, taking her pleasure in the afflictions of men. This calamitie of the *Florentines* brought a great disorder to their affaires in the countrey of *Pisa*, for that hauing weakened their legions of horsemen within *Cassina*, they were not able to let the *Pisans* (whom their late victory had made insolent and proude) to ouerrun & pill the whole countrey. And that which was of greater importance, *Pandolfe Petrucci* being entred into a hope by reason of this accidēt, that they might easily giue impedimēt to the *Florentines* for spoyling that sommer the corne of the *Pisans*, who maintaining defence with their accustomed difficulties, were (but in cold maner) ayded by the *Genowaies* and *Lucquois*, for the *Siemois* succoured them rather with counsell, then with money or victuals: he wrought so much that *John Pawle Baillon*, in whom the *Florentines* reposed much, for that they had bene the principall cause of his returne into *Perouza*, refused during the time of his seruice, to continue in their pay, alleaging that *Marke Antonie* and *Murio Colunno*, with *Luke* and *Iacques Sanelles* hauing altogether a greater number of men then he, and being in the same pay, he could not remaine there without daunger for the diuersitie of factions. And to the end they should haue lesse time to prouide themselves, he temporised and taried as long as he could, to disclose wholly that which he had in his thought; and to induce them to giue more faith and credite to his excuse, he promised the *Florentines* not to take armes against them: wherein to keepethem the more assured, he left as a gage, his son *Maletesta* a very young man, in their pay with fifteene men at armes: and because himselfe would not remaine altogether without appointment, he tooke pay of the *Siemois* with threescore and ten men at armes. But because they of *Sienna* were not able to

support so great expences, the *Lucquois* who did communicate in that counsell, tooke into their paie with threescore and ten men at armes, *Troilus Sanellus*, who afore was mercenary to the *Siennois*.

What for the sudden and vnlooked for departing of *John Pawle*, & the harmes receiued at the bridge *Capello*, the *Florentins* looking into their owne weakenesse, would not that yeare giue the spoyle to the lands of the *Pisans*, forbearing to attēpt enterprises till their fortune were better knowne, conciled: yea they saw how farre they were constrained to deuise how they might remedie greater dangers: for the auncient humor of affection being estfoones reuiued in *John Pawle*, and in *Pandolfe*, they debated secretly with the Cardinall of *Medicis* to trouble the King of the *Florentins*, making their principall foundation of *Bartlemew Aluiano*, who being in some disagreement with the *Great Captaine*, was newly come to *Rome*, where he drew to him many souldiers with diuerse hopes and promises: wherein it was feared least those counsels would pierce into Cardinall *Askanius*, with deliberatiō (if things succeeded not happily in *Tuskane*) to assaile the Duchy of *Millan*, with the ioynt forces of the *Florentins*, and others consented to this conspiracy. The reason was, that they had a hope, that assaying it there would easily rise some mutation, seeing there was a slender strength of men at armes of *Fraunce*, many of the nobilitie were abroad, the peoples much enclined to the name of *Sforce*, and the French king (on whom was false a great malady, languishing in so dangerous extremity, that for many houres there was a generall dispaire of his health, and though he should somewhat reuiue, yet his disease had made him so ill disposed, that there was no hope of life, and lesse expectation of action. And such as looked into things with a deeper counsell, doubted least *Askanius* (with whom at that time the *Venetian* Embassador had familiar conuersation at *Rome*) intertained a secret intelligence not only with the *Great Captaine*, but also with the *Venetians*, who had bin of late more ready and more bold to offend the French then in times past, for that the French king, who newly was entred into suspition and distrust of the king of *Romaines* and his son, seeing after the death of the Queene of *Spaine*, what would be the greatnesse of the Archduke, forooke apparantly their amitie, and aided against the Archduke the Duke of *Guelldres* his sharpe enemy, and inclined to practise particular intelligence with the king of *Spaine*.

Death of
Cardinall As-
kanius.

But as the thoughts of men are deceitfull, and their hopes full of infirmitie and frailtie, so; whilest these things were in sollicitatiō, the French king, whose recouery was holdē desperate, went daily growing into health, and Cardinall *Askanius* died suddenly at *Rome* of the plague. By whose death albeit the dangers of the estate of *Millan* were cut off, yet the plots layed to molest the *Florentins* were not altogether remoued: and therefore *P. Petrucci*, *John Pawle Baillon*, and *Bartlemew Aluiano* assembled together in the borough of *Pregai*, vpon the confines of the *Perusins* & *Siennois*, not with hope to be strong inough to restore the *Medicis* into *Florence*, but with this intention, that *Aluiano* entring into *Pisa* with the wils of the *Pisans*, should inuade (for the suretie of that City) the frontier of the *Florentins*, with deuise to passe further as occasion would present. These preparations smothered hitherto, beginning now to burst out into light, the *Florentins* feared much of the dispositiō of the *Great Captaine*, both for that they knew that the time for the which *Aluiano* was entertained in the Spanish pay remained yet till the next Nouember, and also for that they could not beleue that *P. Petrucci* would enter into new enterprises without his consent: seeing the said *Petrucci*, neuer satisfying the French king, of the sums of money which he promised, and hauing oftentimes abused him in other properties, depended altogether of the king of *Spaine*. Besides, the suspition of the *Florentins* was augmented in this, that (fearing the Lord of *Plombin*, which was vnder the protection of the Spanish king, to be assailed by the *Genoaiers*) *Consaluo* had sent to *Plombin* for his surety a thousand footmen, vnder the charge of *Nuquo de Campo*, & to the Riuer of *Plombin* three ships, two gallies, with certaine other vessels: which forces brought into a place so nere the *Florentins*, gaue the great occasion to feare that they were come to ioyne with *Aluiano*, as he himselfe assured that they were promised: but the truth was, that the king of *Spaine*, after the truce made with the French king, gaue direction (for diminution of the expēces) that as well the regiment of *Aluiano*, as the bands of others which had bin limited, should be reduced to a hundred Launces. Whereupō he taking occasiō to be grieved, did not only refuse to bind himselfe estfoones with new oath, but also maintained that he was acquitted of the first, both for that he was not satisfied of his paies passed, & also the *Great Captaine* would not hold his

his promise to giue him after the conquest of *Naples*, two thousand footmen to serue his turne against the *Florentins* in fauour of the *Medeis*: Lastly the mind of *Aluiano* was trauellling, naturally desirous of new things, and altogether impatient of tranquillity and rest.

The *Florentins*, for their defence against so violent stormes, had recourse to the French king, who was bound by the capitulations of protection to defend them with foure hundred Launces: they sent to him to refurnish them with two hundred, but he, being more caried with couetousnesse of money, then with regard to the prayers of his friends, or compassion of his auncient confederates, answered, that he would giue them no succours, if first they made him not satisfied of the thirtie thousand duckats which were due to him by the obligation of protection. And albeit the *Florentins* made many humble requests and sures, that he would yet temporize and expect a litle, alledging how much they were aggrieved with intollerable expences necessary for their defence: yet being more carried with couetousnesse, then with reason or indifferency, he perseuered obstinately in his deliberation, in so much as he whom they most suspected, and had most offended, ministred more to their helpe and safety, then he of whom they seemed to be best assured, and to whom they had done greatest pleasures, finding least safety where they reposed most confidence, and greatest perill; where they iustly expected their protection: for the Great Captaine desiring that the tranquillity of *Italy* should not be troubled, either because he would not should be broken the practises of peace begun of new betweene the two kings, or for that he nourished some deuise to appropriate to himselfe the kingdome of *Naples*, vsing the occasion of the death of the Queene, and the seedes of future discord betweene the father in law and the sonne: he vsed all diligence to induce *Aluiano* to reenter into the pay, and commaunded him as a vassall and soldier of his king to make no further proceeding (being now gone to *Petillano* to obey the Popes commandement to dissolue his companies, or rather to go out of the Church dominions) vpon paine of deprivation of the estates which he had in the kingdome of *Naples*, bearing a value in yearly reuenuue of seuen thousand duckats: he signified to the *Pisans*, whom a litle before he had secretly receiued into the protection of his king, and also to the Lord of *Plombin*, that they should not receiue him: and he caused to be told and offered to the *Florentins*, that he was content they should haue the seruice of his footmen that were within *Plombin*, whom he ordained to be commanded by *M. Antonio Colomo* their Captaine: he sent also to *P. Petrucci*, that he should in no wise support *Aluiano*, forbidding to follow him *Lewis* sonne of the Count *Petillano*, *Francis Ursin* and *Iohn de Cery*, who were in his pay. But notwithstanding all these inhibitions, *Aluiano* with whom were *Iohn Lewis Vitelli*, *Iohn Conrad Ursin*, three hundred men at armes, and five hundred footmen of good resolution, passed alwayes further though slowly (they of *Sienna* furnishing him with victuals) he came at last to the coasts of *Sienna* into the plaine of *Scarlina*, a towne subiect to *Plombin*, and a litle dayes journey from the frontiers of the *Florentins*: here came to him a messenger expresse from the Great Captaine, to command him estsoones that he go not to *Pisa*, nor offend the *Florentins*: to whom he answered, that he stood in his liberty, & had election to do what he list, for that the Great Captaine had not holden promise with him. From thence he went to lodge neare to *Campilla*, a towne of the *Florentins*, where was occupied a light skirmish betweene him and the *Florentine* bands that were asssembled at *Bibona*: he came afterwards vpon the territorie of *Cornia* betweene the confines of the *Florentins* and *Sugeret*, but with plots & hopes very vncertaine, finding euery day increase greater difficulties, both for that there came no victuals to him from *Plombin*, and also *Iohn Pawle Baillon* and the *Vitelli*, who were gouerned according to the trayne and issue of affaires, failed to refurnish him with such bands of footmen as they had promised: he saw in *P. Petrucci* a disposition wandring, and his fauours more doubtfull then before: neither was he assured that the *Pisans*, for feare to disobey the Great Captaine, would receiue them. For which reasons, ioyned to the continuall solicitation that was vsed to recouer him, wherein the hope was so much the greater, by how much he refused no more to rest contented with an hundred Launces: he retired to *Signalò*, a towne appertaining to the L. of *Plombin*, giuing out a bruite that he taried there to expect the last resolution from *Naples*. But the *Pisans* hauing in the meane while condescended to receiue him into their towne, he issued out of *Signalò*, where he had remained ten dayes: and early in the morning on the xvij. of August he appeared with his armie in battell aray a mile beneath *Campilla*, hauing an intention to bid battell to the

Florentine army, which was gone to incampe there the day before: but they having aduertisement by well assured espials coming fugitiue from the Campe of *Aluiano*, leauied their Camp the same night, & retired vnder the wals of *Campilla*, where *Aluiano* seeing an impossibility to assaile the but to his great disadvantage, he turned to the way of *Pisa*, by the tract that draweth to the tower of *S. Vincent* five miles from *Campilla*: and of the other part, the bands of the *Florentins* led by *Hercules Bentiuolo*, who (by the experience he had of the countrey) desired nothing more then to fight in that place by reason of the opportunity of his seat, tooke the way that goeth from *Campilla* to the said tower of *S. Vincent*, holding it better to adventure the battell in a place so fauourable by many aduantages, then by temporising, to make his enemy strong by his proper commodities. Here *Hercules* leuied the light horsemen into two bands, the one followed the army of *Aluiano*, charging alwaies vpon his taile and arcaregard, & the other went before to affront the enemy, holding the same way by the which the *Florentine* army came after: they being come to the tower before the bands of *Aluiano*, and being taken vp in skirmish with those that came first, by who they were easily repulsed, retired towards their army or main strength, which was now come within halfe a mile, where bringing tidings that the most part of the enemies had already passed the tower, *Hercules* marching lightly, arriued iustly vpon their taile hard by the ruines of the tower of *S. Vincent*, where their men at armes and footmen had made head: & when he was in full & absolute passage, he charged them resolutely on the flanke with the moytie of his army, making them bend after he had entertained the fight a good space of time. In this first assault their footmen were so broken and chased euen to the sea, that afterwards they neuer made head: but the horsemen which were withdrawne a bowshot beyond the ditch of the tower of *S. Vincent* towards *Bibbona*, being reassembled, aduanced eftsloones their Ensignes, and keeping themselves in a close and strong array, charged with great valour the regiments of the *Florentins*, and with the same vertue repulsed them euen to the ditch: by reason whereof *Hercules* caused to march on the residue of his people, and drawing thither from all parts the whole body and strength of the army, the fight became furious there for a good space of time, the victory as yet inclining to no part. *Aluiano* did in that action both the office of a souldier and a Captaine, bearing two estockados in his face, and laboured painfully to driue his enemies from that place, which if he had wonne, he had stood in great possibility of the victory, for that he had either turned to him the aduantages that fauoured his enemies, or at least made the place indifferent without respect of partiality, leauing things to the triall of vertue and fortune. But *Hercules* who many dayes afore had giuen himselfe assurance, that if the battell were performed in that place, the victory would fall on him, with industrie caused to be planted vpon the brinke of the tower ditch sixe salconets which he brought with him, with the which he began to batter the Campe, who not able to sustaine the furie of the artillery, began now to shake and fall to disorder. In so much as practising the occasion with the which he had alwayes promised himselfe the victorie, he set vpon them furiously in many places with the whole forces of his army: his light horsemen scowred towards the sea coasts, with his men at armes he occupied the high waies, and his infanterie or footmen executed along the playne by the wood, euery one ioyning vertue to his fortune, and with a generall industrie made the successe of that day happie, for that their fury running through the Camp of the enemies, they put them easily to the chase, *Aluiano* sauing himselfe with much ado with a very few of his lightest running horses flying with him to *Montrotondo* in the countrey of *Sienna*: all the residue of his people were almost taken and stripped betweene the tower of *S. Vincent* and the riuer of *Cecina*, hauing lost all their Ensignes: only such as escaped from the generall calamity of this battell, were a few horsemen, who found more safety in the swiftnesse of their horses, then in their proper vertue or fortune of the day. This was the end of the commotion or stirre of *Bartlemew a' Aluiano*, which expressed more apparances and greatnesse by the practises that were made of long time, & by his braue behauiour full of fury and threatnings, then by his forces or any other stable foundation which his enterprize had: A successe common to such who commit their doings wholly to fortune, and do reape for the most part the same issue that doth the mariner betaking his sayle to the wind, which driueth his ship not whither he would, but whither the wind shoueth her. *Hercules Bentiuolo* and *Antonio Iaconino* Campe-maister, rising into courage with the felicity of this victory, signified to the *Florentins* both by vehement letters & messengers well instructed, that it were good to ioyne action to the oportunitie, and approach the walles of *Pisa*,
being

being carefull afore to furnish with diligence all those things that might be necessarie to take it. They confirmed their deuice with all those sortes of hopes which men in good fortune do vainly weene, not remembring that in fortune there is nothing more certaine, then that in all things she is vncertaine. They hoped, that for that the estate of the *Pisans* was enuironed on all sides with great difficulties, being now more desolate then before for the deprivation of the succours of *Aluiano*, & relying with all that all things ought to giue place to the reputation of conquerers: they thought they should easily cary it: entertaining withall a certaine intelligence with certaine of the townsmen in *Pisa*. But the Magistrate of the ten, called *il Magistrato de dieci*, appointed director of the matters of warre, calling a counsell with his other Citizens, communicants by custom in affaires of importance, that deliberation was with one consent reproued by generall voyce: for that they considered that in the *Pisans* was still recontinued their auncient resolution and obstinacie, and that being men of so long time experienced and trained in warre, the name or reputation of the victory which they had had against others, would not be sufficient to vanquish them, their forces being no way diminished by it: rather it stood them vpon according to the examples of times past, to set vpon them with a resolute force, which men of warre did onely feare. Besides, their counsell was full of apparant difficulties, for that the Citie of *Pisa* enuironed aswell as any towne in *Italy* with most firme wals rampired and fortified, and withall defended with bodies adtiue and resolute, could not be forced but with a great & puissant army compounded vpon souldiers not inferiour to the *Pisans* in valour, which yet would not be sufficient to cary it by assault or short siege: and therefore more necessary to encampe in the places about it for many daies, to the end to approach it with more surety, searching out aduantages, and rather tiring & wearying them, then to suppress them by force or violence; That that the reason wherein they were was contrary to those things, not being able suddenly to erect an army of footmen, of other bodies then such as should be leauied in haste: and much lesse to approach it with any intention to make long aboade there, both for the inclemency of the ayre corrupted with the winds of the sea, which being become pestiferous through the vapours of the pooles and marshes, were harmfull to armies, as was well experienced when *Rawle Veselli* encamped there: And also for that the countrey of *Pisa* beginneth from the moneth of September to be subiect to raines, which, by reason of the basenesse or lownesse of the place, do so ouerdowne it, that it takes away all oportunities for an army to remaine there: That in such an vniuersall obstinacy there could be no assured foundation reposed in practises or priuate intelligences, for that such things being for the most part either dissembled or suborned, or at least managed by persons vnable to execute that they promise, bring with them so many imperfections, that the fruite of the expectation will not answere the time that is taken to entertaine them. Besides, notwithstanding there had bene no publike faith giuen to the *Great Captaine*, yet *Prosper Colonne* (but of himselfe) almost vnder their secret consent, had signified and promised, that for that yeare there should be made no approach with artillerie to the walles of *Pisa*. In which regard they ought to hold for certaine, that aswell for that disdain, and for the promises he had many times made to the *Pisans*, as also for that this successe of the *Florentines* was nothing profitable for his affaires, he would oppose himselfe against this enterprise: A matter verie easie for him to do, for that he might in few houres put into *Pisa* the Spanish bands of footemen which were at *Plombin*, as he had often times assured them to do when soeuer there was preparation to besiege them: That it were better to vse the occasion of the victorie, there, where albeit the profit were lesse, yet things without all comparison should be found of farre more easie action, and yet not without a notable profite: That there was not one that had more opposed, nor did more continually resist their enterprises: not one that had more hindred the recouerie of *Pisa*, nor more procured to chaunge the present gouernement then *Pandolfo Petrucci*: That he had stirred vp Duke *Valentino*, to enter in armes vpon their lands: That he had bene the principall author and guide of the enterprise of *Uicellozza*, and of the rebellion of *Arezzo*: That by his counsell and solicitation, the *Genouaies* and *Lucquois* were ioyned with the estate of *Sienna* to support the *Pisans*: That it was he that had induced *Consaluo* to take the protection of *Plombin*, to intermeddle with the affaires of *Pisa*, and to make intrusion into the matters of *Tuskane*. To be short, that there was none other that had bene author or fauourer of this bursling out of *Aluiano*: That it was

The Florentines
debate whether
they should be
sledge *Pisa*.

The Florentins
army afore
Pisa.

against him that they ought to turne their army, and to pill and ouerrunne all the countrey of *Siena*, where would be no resistance: That by the reputation of their armies, there might happen against him some commotion in the City, wherein he had already many enemies: at the least that they were not to want occasion to occupie any place of importance in that countrey, which they might hold in counterchange; or as a pawne to haue againe *Montpulcian*: wherein they hoped by this reuenge to do that which hitherto could not be accomplished with benefits and pleasures, that *Pandolfe* hereafter should not be so ready to offend them: That afterwards in the same manner, they should make incursions into the countreys of *Lucquois*, being verie harmefull to leaue them so long expected: Lastly, that by these meanes there was hope to draw some honour and profite of the victorie gotten; where if they went to besiege *Pisa*, there was to be reaped no other thing then expences and dishonour. These reasons, albeit they were alleaged with common accord, yet did they nothing abate the desire of the people (which for the most part runneth more guided by will then by reason) crying to plant the Campe afore *Pisa*, and being blinded with a iealous opinion they had taken of long time, that the recouering of *Pisa* was now hit pleasing to many of the principall Citizens for manie ambitious respects. In this sentence *Peter Soderin* *Gonsalonier* being no lesse cold then the residue, calling a great councill of the people, with whom they had not bene accustomed to communicate in matters of that nature, asked if they were of opinion that the Camp should go afore *Pisa*; whereunto euery one answering affirmatiuely, wisdome was surmounted with rashnesse, the authority of the better sort giuing place to the will of the greater part. And therefore there were present directions to make prouisions with a celerity incredible, euery one hauing desire to preuent no lesse the expected succours of the *Great Captaine*, then the daungers of the rainie seasons, in so much as the sixt day of September the army approched the walles of *Pisa* with fixe hundred men at armes, seuent thousand footemen, and sixteene Canons, with many other Artilleries of execution, the Campe being pitched betweene *Santa Croce* and *San Michele*, in the selfe same place wherein the Frenchmen had encamped before. And as the artilleries were suddenly planted in the night, so they battered the day following in great fury, all that was betweene the gate di *Calei* and the turret of *S. Francis*, where the walles make within, an angle: and hauing from the sunne rising (when the artillery beganne to play) till the xxj. hower, brought to the earth more then thirtie fadomes of wall, there was entertained where the ruine was most, a hot skirmish, but to very litle profit, for that there was not throwne downe so great a quantity & space of wall as had bene necessary, in a towne where the men presented themselues to the defence with their auncient valour and hardinesse: therefore the morning following, to the end to make a greater opening of the wall, they beganne another batterie in a place a litle remoued (that place of the wall which aforetimes had bene battered by the French, remaining betweene the one and other batterie) and after they had cast downe so much of the wall, as was thought sufficient, *Hercules* sought to aduance the footebands which were in battell to giue a rough assault both to the one and other breach; where the *Pisans* traueilling according to their customes, the woman no lesse venterous then the men resolute, had during the batterie drawne a rampier with a ditch afore. But there was not in the Italian footebands which had bene leauied in hast, neither that action nor that spirit that was to force such a resistance: for that Ensigne of footmen to whom by lot appertained the first assault, beginning to refuse through cowardise to go to the walles, neither the authority of the Captaine, nor presence of the Superintendent of *Florence*; neither the regard of their proper honour, nor the honour common of the men of seruice of *Italie*, were sufficient to vanquish their feare, nor to shew valour in an action so much importing: The example of whom, finding imitation and place in the residue that should haue followed them, all the regiments retired to their lodgings, hauing done no other thing then (by leauing the infanterie of *Italie* infamous through all *Europe*) defiling the felicity of the victorie obtained against *Aluiano*, and defaced the reputation of the Captaine and Campe-maister, which was great on the behalfe of the *Florentines*, If, content with the glorie they had gotten, they could haue moderated their proper fortune. When the souldiers were once retired to their lodgings, there was made no more doubt to leaue the Campe, chiefly for that the same day fixe hundred Spanish footemen of those that were at *Plombin* were entred *Pisa*, by direction from the *Great Captaine*: So that the day following the *Florentine* armie retired to *Casina*, drawing with

with them more dishonour then either praise or profit, prouing in themselves that auncient tradition of the elders, that follie and rashnesse haue no societie with wisdom, nor fortune or aduerture any communitie with good counsell, since all those things are referred to a doubtfull issue, that are done by will and not by reason. Within few dayes after, there entered into *Pisa* fifteene hundred Spanish footmen, who, because the seruice had no necessitie of them, after they had in vaine giuen an assault to the towne of *Bientina* at the incitation of the *Pisans*, continued their nauigation in *Spaine*, whither they were sent by the *Great Captaine*, for that the peace was already established betweene the French king, and *Ferdinand* king of *Spaine*, to the which (all difficulties that earst hindered it, being now remoued, as both the regard of the honour of the French king, and the feare to make the Archduke his enemy.) the death of the Queene of *Spaine* had giuen perfection: for that both the French king, enuying much such a greatnesse of the Archduke, desired to disappoint his purposes: and also the king of *Spaine*, being aduertised that the Archduke disdainig the last will of his mother in law, had determined to take from him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Castile*, was constrained to make his stay vpon new alliances. For this cause the mariage was agreed vpon betweene him and Lady *Germana de Foix*, sisters daughter to the French king, with condition that the king should giue her in dowry that part of the kingdome of *Naples* that appertained to him, the king of *Spaine* binding himselfe to pay him within ten yeares seuen hundred thousand duckats in recompence of expences, and to indue the new married Lady with three hundred thousand duckats. This mariage being ratified and accompanied with the peace, it was agreed that the Barons of the faction of *Aniow*, & all such as had followed the French part, should be restored without any payment into their liberty, countrie, estates, dignities, and goods, and reestablished in the same condition and degree that they were in the day that the warres beganne betweene the French and Spanish, which they accompt to be the day that the Frenchmen ranne to *Tripaldo*: That all confiscations made by the king of *Spaine*, and by king *Federike*, should be holden for cancelled and voide: That the Prince of *Rossana*, the Marquis of *Bisonto* and of *Gesualdo*, *Alphonso* and *Honorio* of *S. Seuerin*, with all the other Barons which were prisoners to the Spanish in the kingdome of *Naples*, should be deliuered: That the French king should no more intitle himselfe king of *Ierusalem* and *Naples*: That the homages and fealties of the Barons should be made according to the conuentions afore sayd, and that in the same manner the inuestiture should be damaunded of the Pope: That in case the Queene *Germana* should die in mariage without issue, her part of dowrie should be transferred to *Ferdinand*, but if he died first, it should reuert to the Crowne of *France*: That king *Ferdinand* should be bound to aide *Gaston* Earle of *Foix* and brother to his new wife, to conquire the kingdome of *Nauarre*, which he pretended to appertaine to him, and which was possessed with a title royall by *Katherine de Foix*, and by *Iohn* her husband, son to *Monsieur d'Alberr*: That the French king should constraine the widdow of king *Federike*, with her two children that were with him, to go into *Spaine*, where should be assigned to her a competent portion to liue: And if she refused to depart, then the king should commaund her to issue out of his realme without making any further allowance to her or to her children by way of pension, or other meane to releue them: That neither one of the parties should enterprise any thing, against those whom any of them should name: and they named ioynly in *Italy* the Pope, and the French king apart named the *Florentines*: That for strengthning of this peace, there was meant to be made betweene the two kings perpetuall confederation for the defence of their estates, whereunto the king should be bound with a thousand Launces, and sixe thousand footmen: and *Ferdinand* with three hundred Launces, two thousand *Jennitars*, and sixe thousand footmen. After the peace was made and published, wherein the king of *England* promised obseruation for both the parties, the Barons of *Aniow* who were in *France*, hauing taken their leaue of the king, went almost all with the Queene *Germana* into *Spaine*, the king vsing towards them at their departure a very small gratulation of their seruices past. *Isabell* the widdow of *Federike* hauing her leaue, went to *Ferrara* refusing to put her childre into the power of the Catholike king. In this towne of *Ferrara* (*Alphonso* the son of *Heracles* being now succeeded in the Dukedome) there hapned vpon the end of the yeare, a strange and tragical accident: such one as had some similitude with the barbarous actions of the auncient *Thebanes*, but for far more light occasions, if the vnbridled fury of loue be lesse, then the burning ambition and desire to raigne. The Cardinall *Hipolito d'Este*, louing feruently a young

Peace between
the French king
and king of
Spaine.

a yong mayd his kinswoman, who for her part was no lesse amorous of *Don Iulio* naturall brother to the Cardinall, and confessing her selfe to the Cardinall, that that which aboue all other things made so vehement her affection to his brother, was, the sweete aspect and beauty of his eyes: "Loue is a Lord of the world, and aboue all naturall impressiōs hath a tyrannicall subiection ouer the creatures whom he possesseth: for the Cardinall enuying the community of his brother, turned his loue into iealous fury, and setting espiall ouer *Don Iulio* when he should go out of the towne on hunting, set vpon him in the field with a crew of tormentors prepared to mischief, whose violent hands the Cardinall in his owne presence, suffered to thrust out the eyes of his brother, for that they were the companions of his loue: an action no lesse infamous to the Cardinall, then intollerable to all humanitie, and which afterwards trained with it many occasions of seditious and ciuill quarrels betweene the brethren. Such was the end of the yeare a thousand five hundred and fife.

An horrible act
of a Cardinall.

the end of the sixt booke.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

Many treaties are made. Pope Iulio the second takes the gouernment of Bologna. The Genoaies rebell against the French king. The king of Aragon meeteth with the French king and communicateth with him. The Diet is holden at Constance. The king of Romaines demaunds passage of the Venetians to go take the Crowne at Rome, he inuadeth their lands, and afterwards maketh truce with them.

Seedes of new
warres.



THESE were the accidents of the yeare a thousand five hundred & fife, which albeit left apparant hopes that the tranquillity of *Italy* wold continue (the warres for the quarrell of *Naples* being now quenched) yet (such is the mutability of worldly affaires) there began to appeare in other places, seedes of new innouations and chalenges tending to many ciuill calamities: for *Philip*, which now tooke vpon him the title of king of *Castillo*, and was no lesse discontented that such a kingdome was gouerned by his father in law, inclined to the incitation of many Barons, and prepared himselfe to passe into *Spaine* against his will, pretending, as the truth was, that the late Queene had no power, either to dispose or to prescribe lawes, or to bequeath the gouernment of the kingdome after her death. The king of *Romaines* also taking stomack by the greatnesse of his son, solicited to passe into *Italy*. And lastly the French king, albeit the yere before he was much discontented with the Pope, for that he had disposed & inducted the benefices, which were void by the death of Cardinal *Ashanius* & others, in the Duchy of *Millan*, without his participatiō: and for that also in the creatiō of other Cardinals, he had refused to call the Bishop of *Achx* nephew to the Cardinal of *Amboise*, & the Bishop of *Baieux* nephew to *Monsieur Trimonille*, being earnestly solicited by the king, who in those regards had caused to sequester the fruits of the benefices which the Cardinal *S. P. ad vincta* & others of the Popes amity, possessed in the estate of *Millan*: yet the king on the other side, holding both suspected and feared the greatnesse of *Cesar* and his son, iudged it necessary not to nourish

nourish occasions of reuenge, but to reenter into reconcilment with the Pope, to whom after he had released all the sequestrations, he sent in the beginning of this yeare the Bishop of *Sisteron* the Apottolical *Nuncio*, to negotiate with him many plots and offers against the *Venetians*, to whom he knew the Pope could not but continue to beare an ill will, with a hatred redoubled, for the desire hee had to recouer the townes of *Romania*: an humour which the Pope did so much the more dissemble, by how much vntill that day he had proceeded in all things so tractable and respectiue, that euery one tooke occasion to maruell greatly, that he, who in his estate of Cardinall had bene alway full of immoderate and aspiring thoughtes, and who in the time of Popes *Sixtus*, *Innocent*, and *Alexander*, had bene many times the instrument to trouble *Italie*, expressed now that he was become Pope (an estate for the most part administred with ambition and trouble some imaginations) to be more easie and abated in courage, then did well beare the ambitious profession which he had alwayes made to the contrarie, not making any shew or demonstration to remember old iniuries, or to seeme to be like to himselfe: So dangerous is dissimulation in the persons of great men, whose authoritie and place shadowing their dispositions, defendes all things from blame, though they haue nothing vnworthy of reprehension. For the intentions of the Pope were farre other wayes, then agreed with the propertie of his actions, for that hauing a determination to surmount the former opinion that was had of him, and to do more then was expected, turned all his wits, deuises, and labours, (contrarie to the custome of his auncient magnanimitie) to heape vp a wonderfull masse of treasure, to the end that to the will he had to kindle the warre, might be ioyned also the meane and power to sustaine it. And finding in that time, that he was furnished with sufficient treasures and money, he began euen then to discouer his thoughts, aspiring to right great things, suffering nothing to stay the execution of that which he had pretended with so great studie, secrecie, and hope. Therefore the Bishop of *Sisteron* being receiued and heard with a gladnesse agreeable to the nature of his desire, was dispatched and sent backe againe with diligence, to sollicite betweene them a new reunion and amitie: wherein the better to dispose the minde of the king and the Cardinall *d'Amboise*, hee promised by writ which the sayd *Nuncio* caried with him, the dignitie of the Cardinall to the Bishops of *Acha* and *Bayeux*, forgetting nothing that he thought might further the effect of those ambitions which he had nourished with so great care and trauell of minde. And yet notwithstanding in so great a heate and vehemencie of forwardnesse, he entred oftentimes into many doubts and difficulties, for that either for a certaine hate he had conceiued against the French king at such time as he fled into *Fraunce*, eschewing the ambushes of Pope *Alexander*, or for that it much discontented him to be drawen as it were by compulsion by the power and importunitie of the French king, to transerre to the Cardinall of *Amboise*, the legation of the kingdome of *Fraunce*: or lastly, for that he suspected least the said Cardinall (whose behaiours tended directly to the Popedome) not hauing patience to tarie for his death, would not seeke to aspire to his place by wayes finitter & extraordinarie. In regard of which impressions (more troublesome for the subtletie of the man, then that there was reason he should feare so farre) made him oftentimes wander in disposition, determining not wholly to foynne with the French king, and yet without his coniunction, he knew it was impossible that at that time any thing of consequence should succcede with him. For which reasons he sent (on the other side) to *Pisa*, *Baltasar Blasquo* a *Genoway*, Captaine of his Galleis, with commission to arme two light Galleis which Pope *Alexander* had caused to build there: but it was thought that it was to this end, to be more ready to deliuer *Genes* from the gouernement of the French, in case the king who yet remained vexed with reliques of his dis ease, should happen to dye.

Thus matters hanging in such an estate of suspence; the first action of this yeare 1506. began by the embarking of king *Philip* to sayle out of *Flanders* into *Spayne* with a great armie by sea: and to reduce his going to a more facilitie and safetie (for he feared least his father in law by the ayde of the French, would hinder his passage) he practised the Spanisch subtelties, and agreed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and pollicie of the most part of affaires, and that they should take in common the title of king of *Spayne*, according to the example in the *Queenes* time: and lastly, that the reuenues and tributes should be deuided in an order certaine and indifferent. By reason of which accord, his father in law, notwithstanding he was not assured of the obseruation, sent him into *Flanders* many ships to furnish his voyage: with the which, hauing embarked his wife and *Ferdinand* his second sonne, hee tooke his course into *Spayne* with forward

*Dissimulation
verie dangerous
in the
persons of
great men.*

1506.
*King Philip
saileth out of
Flanders into
Spayne.*

King Philip
cast by casual-
tie of sea vpon
the coastes of
England.

Philip promi-
seth to redeli-
uer to king
Henry the
Duke of Suf-
folke.

Capitulations
betweene Fer-
dinand and
Philip.

The condition
of imperie and
dignitie sea-
lawe.

winds, which, within two dayes turning cleane contrarie, after his nauie had run a dangerous fortune, and made a wearie resistance against the furie of the sea, his ships were cast vpon sundrie coasts of England and Brittain, his owne person with two or three ships being driuen with manifest perill vpon England into the hauen of *Southampton*: whereof *Henry* the seuenth then king of that Nation being aduertised, sent to him with speed many Barons to do him honor, and desire him to come to his Court, then at *London*: a request which *Philip* could not deny, the king of *Englands* demaund being no lesse honorable, then his owne estate full of necessitie and nakednesse. He remained in the Court of *England*, vntill all his Nauie was reassembled and shippes rigged, making in the meane while betweene them new capitulations: wherein albeit *Philip* in all other things held him selfe vsed as a king, yet in this one thing he complained, that he was constrained, as a prisoner, to consent to redeliuer into king *Henries* handes the Duke of *Suffolke*, whom he held prisoner within the Castle of *Namur*, and whom the king of *England* desired much to haue in power, for that he quarelled the title of the Crowne, pretending the right of the kingdome to appertaine to him: onely the king of *England* assured *Philip* by the faith and word of a king, that he would not put him to death, which he did as iustly performe as he had honorably promised, keeping him in prison so long as he liued, and afterwards was beheaded vnder the raigne and commandement of his son. King *Philip* sailed afterwards with a more happie nauigation into *Spaine*, where almost all the Barons flocked to him, bringing in their countenances apparant signes of gratulation and gladnesse of his comming, and in their minds assured resolution to aduance him. Inso much as his father in law, who was not strong enough of himselfe to resist him, and lesse confidence that in the French promises was any suretie of foundation, seeing himselfe almost abandoned of euery one, and the articles of the first accord disallowed, and finding withall a verie hard and painfull access to his sonne in law, was constrained to agree to new conditions, such as were offered to him, nothing respecting the former: wherein notwithstanding they proceeded not rigorously for the good nature of *Philip*, but much more for the perswasions of those which had shewed themselves great enemies to *Ferdinand*: for that being in continuall doubt, that by his wisdom and authoritie, together with the facilitie of *Philips* disposition, he would not get better fauor, and in the end winne gouernment with his sonne, they solicited as much as they could his departing out of *Castillo*. It was accorded, that *Ferdinand* should giue ouer the gouernment which his wife had left to him by testament, together with all that he could pretend in that right: and that he should speedily depart out of *Castillo*, with promise to returne no more: That *Ferdinand* should possesse the kingdome of *Naples* as his owne, notwithstanding there were that alleaged that it appertained to *Philip*, for that it was conquered with the armes and power of the kingdome of *Castillo*: which was the same reason (and haply more iust) by the which *Ferdinand* was wont to pretend the said realme to appertaine to him, as being wonne by the treasures and forces of the state of *Aragon*. The tributes of the Isles of *India* were reserued to him during his life, together with the three great Maisterships of *S. James*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrana*. It was also agreed, that he should take euery yeare xxv. thousand duckats of the reuenues of the realme of *Castillo*. As soone as this contract was resolved and passed to publication, *Ferdinand*, whom hereafter we will call either the king Catholike, or the king of *Aragon*, went forthwith into *Aragon*, with intention to passe by sea to *Naples* with all the diligence he might, not so much for the desire he had to see that kingdome, and to reestablish it, as to remoue the *Great Captaine*, against whom since the death of the Queene, he had conceiued many suspicions, either that he aspired to transferre to himselfe the kingdome, or at least that he had inclinations to giue it rather to *Philip* then to him: So iealous is the condition of imperie and dignitie, that against those for the most part is most possibilitie of suspicion, whose vertue hath best deserued in confidence and fidelitie. But by so much lesse had the king of *Aragon* occasion to repose in him, by how much more he had found him alwayes intractable to leaue *Naples*, from whence as he had often summoned him in vaine to returne into *Spaine* (which he excused & delayed, alleaging many impedimets,) so he feared that if he went not thither in person, he should not easily remoue him from the gouernment, notwithstanding since the last contract, king *Philip* had charged him to transferre wholly hereafter all his obedience to the king of *Aragon*.

In this time the French king, beginning to rise somewhat into health, was trauelled with many diuerse and contrarie thoughts: for, both he was discontented with the *Venetians*, disdaining them since the times of the warre of *Naples*, for the desire he had to recouer that which was of the an-
cien

gent appertenances of the Duchie of *Millan*, & for an opinion that through diuerse accidents, their power and greatnesse might sometimes hurt him; the which, among other respects, had induced him to make confederation with the king of *Romains* and *Philip* his sonne: and on the other part, the descending of the king of *Romains* into *Italy*, was nothing agreeable to him, knowing that he prepared to furnish his iourney with very strong forces: a matter which he feared more then afore, for the power which he might put to king *Philip* (successor to such a greatnesse) specially being in doubt that whilest he was in *England*, he did not contract with the king there certaine new and strait alliances: and for that also one of the principall occasions for the which he had entred confederation with them, was ceased and cut off by the peace made with the king Catholike, by reason of the which he had dissolued and left there all his thoughts & impressions touching the kingdome of *Naples*. But whilest he stood wauering in this varietie and incertaintie of mind, the Embassadours of the Emperour *Maximilian* came to signifie to him, their maisters deliberation to passe into *Italy*, and to summon him to giue order for the fūe hundred launces which he had promised to furnish in his fauour, and to performe the residue of his word touching the restoring of the banished men from the estate of *Millan*, and to put him in remembrance lastly to aduance payment of the money which should be due to him within few moneths. To these demandes albeit the French king had no great will to condescend, yet he made semblant of the contrarie, neuertheless onely for the regard of such as for that time required but words, expressing how much he desired that the articles of accord should be executed, offering for his part in due season a ready accomplishment of all things he was bound vnto: only he refused with many excuses to aduance the money. On the other part, the Emperour reposing also as litle in the will of the French king, as he did in his, and desiring vehemently to passe to *Rome*, chiefly to take the crowne Imperiall, & to chuse afterwards his sonne king of *Romains*, studied in the same time by what other meanes he might archieue the effect of his expectations. Therefore both he solicited the *Swissers* to knit with him, who, after many counsels and disputes among themselves, determined to obserue the alliance which yet remained two yeares, with the French king: & also he demanded passage of the *Venetians* through their lands, who being loath for their own particular to graunt him passage with an armie so mighty, (the offers also of the French king inciting them ioyned with him to let his passage) tooke courage to answer him in termes generall: and the French king, shewing himselfe openly estranged from the confederation made with him & with *Philip*, gaue in mariage the Lady *Clauda* his daughter, to *Frauncis* Lord of *Angulesme*; to whom belonged the succession of the Crowne after his death without issue male: he made as though he had bene drawn to that action, by the importunities of his subiects, hauing aforehand ordained for that effect, that all the Courts of Parliament and principall townes of his kingdome, should send Embassadours to beseech him as in a matter most profitable to the Realme, since the hope to haue issue male diminished in him daily more & more. This he signified with speed to king *Philip* by expresse Embassadours, excusing himselfe that he had no power to resist so great a desire of his whole Realme & comunitie of his subiectes. Besides these, he had sent bands of men to the succours of the Duke of *Gueldres*, to turne *Maximilian* fro passing into *Italy*, who of himselfe had left & giuen over those cogitations: for that vnderstanding that *Launcelot* king of *Hungary* was very sicke, he drew neare the confines of that kingdome according to an ancient desire of his father, to make himselfe king, for the right which he pretended to it: for *Launcelot*, otherwise called *Ladislao*, king of *Hungaria* and of *Boheme*, sonne of *Albert*, which was brother to the Emperour *Federike*, dying many yeares before without sonnes, the peoples of *Hungaria*, who pretended that their king dying without heire masculine, the succession of the next in blood could haue no place, had chosen for their king (hauing regard to the merites & vertues of his father) *Matthias*, he who afterwards to the great reputation & glorie of so litle a kingdome, vexed oftentimes the mightie Empire of the *Turkes*: he, to auoyde in the beginning of his reigne, warre with *Federike*, agreed with him to take no wife, to the end that after his death the kingdome might diuolue to *Federike* or to his children: which albeit he did not obserue, yet he dyed without issue, and for all that *Federike* had not the accomplishment of his desire, for that the *Hungarians* chose of new for their king, *Launcelot* king of *Polonia*, by occasion whereof new warres being eftsoones raised against them by *Federike* and *Maximilian*, they agreed at last (the Barons of the kingdome taking a solemne oath) that whensoever *Launcelot* should dye without issue, they should receiue *Maximilian* for their king. In so much as he then

aspiring to this succession, after he was aduertised of the infirmities of *Launcelot*, he drew neare to the borders of *Hungaria*, leauing behind him for that time all his thoughts for *Italy*.

The Pope desireth to win agayne *Bologna*.

But whilest those things were debated betweene the Princes of beyond the Mounts with so great diuersitie, the Pope, knowing that without the aydes of the French king he could not moleest the *Venetians*, and hauing lesse patience that the yeares of his Pontificacie should so passe away & consume without profite or honour, prayed the French king to helpe him to recouer to the obedience of the Church, the Cities of *Bologna* and *Perousa*, which belonging of antiquitie to the Sea Apostolike, were now tyrannized, the one by *John Paule Baillon*, and the other by *John Bentiuole*, whose predecessours in the times of ciuill warres, rising from priuate Citizens to be chiefe of a faction, after they had chased or slaine all their aduersaries, were not onely become absolute Lords of the Cities, but also stood not restrained by any other thing to take the title of lawfull Princes, then for the regard which they had to the Popes, who in the one and the other Cite retained somewhat more then the simple name of Lordship, for that they tooke a certaine part of the reuenues, albeit very litle, and ordained gouernours in the name of the Church, who serued rather as shadowes and apparances, then to rule or commaund (the power and deliberation of all things of importance resting in the authoritie of others:) but the towne of *Perousa*, either for her more nearnesse to the Citie of *Rome*, or for other occasions, was longer time entertained in the obedience of the Church then *Bologna*: for that Citie did oftentimes change in the aduersities of Popes, sometimes being gouerned in libertie, sometimes oppressed by the Citizens, sometimes running to the obedience of strange Princes, sometimes reduced to the absolute subiectiō of Popes, & lastly returning in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the fift, vnder the rule of the Church, but with limitations certaine, and such communion of authoritie betweene the Pope and them, that with tract of time the name and demonstration of things remaining onely to the Popes, the effect and substance of the policy and gouernement rested wholly in the power of the *Bentiuoles*: of whom, *John Bentiuole* who commanded for the present, hauing by litle and litle drawen all things to him, and embased those mightie families which had bene contrarie to his elders and him in the first stablishing of his tyrannie: and being also grievous for the insolencies and intollerable expences which his foure sonnes made, (an occasion making him hatefull almost to euery one) ruled now more by crueltie and armes, then with clemencie and affabilitie, leauing very litle place to equitie and innocencie. But the Pope was most of all pushed forward to this enterprize, by a burning humour and desire of glorie, wherein he had determined (albeit vnder the shadow of pietie and zeal to religion) to reconquer to the sea Apostolike, all those places, of what nature soeuer, that had bene vsurped vpon the Church. And in this inclination to vse the sword hee had a particular motion to recouer *Bologna*, for a hatred newly kindled against *John Bentiuole*, for that in the times of his aduersities when he durst not remaine at *Rome*, and seeking safetie in *Cento* a towne of his Bishoprike in *Bologna*, he was driuen to steale away by night, hearing a bruite published at randon, that there was a resolution to apprehend him prisoner at the instance of Pope *Alexander*:

Malice is infinite in her actions.

So infinite is malice in her operations, that what heart she hath once embraced, she neuer ceaseth to ouercarie by degrees, till a reuenge be executed, and that for the most part in a qualitie farre aboue the nature and merite of the offence. And (as was well expressed in the humours of this Pope) malice in wise men hath no suddaine apparance, but rising with their greatness of place and calling, into more furie and rage, the blow comes so much the more redoubled, by how much the matter hath bene nourished with tract of time, not sayling to execute as soone as oportunitie doth offer. This request of the Pope was to the good liking of the king, who tooke it for an apt occasion to keepe him in his amitie: for knowing how much it did preiudice his affaires, that the Pope had alliance with the *Venetians*, hee began to grow into feares that he would suddenly reuolt, holding him also in suspition to haue communitie in a certaine practise which *Ottavian Fregoso* had made to depriue him of the iurisdiction of *Genes*. Besides, hee esteemed *Bentiuole* (albeit he was vnder his protection) more inclined to *Cesar* then to him. To these doubts hee adioyned also the disdain which he had against *John Paule Baillon*, for that he had refused (notwithstanding he was possessed of the foureteene thousand duckats) to go and ioine with his army being vpon the riuer of *Garillan*, together with his desire to offend *Pandolfe Perucci*, vnder an occasiō to send men into *Tuscanie*, for that he had both failed to pay him the money he had promised, and also had wholly followed the fortune of the Spaniards. So that he made ready

ready offers to the Pope to aide him, and the Pope for his part, gaue him the writs of election to Cardinals for the Bishops of *Achx* and *Bayenx*, with power to dispose of the benefices in the Duchy of *Millan* in the same fulnesse that *Lodowike Sforce* had vsed before. These practises being resolued and concluded by the solicitation of the Bishop of *Sisteron* newly endued with the Archbishoprike of *Achx*, the only and immediate interposer betweene them; yet the execution was not so ready, for that as the Pope deferred for certaine moneths to put the enterprize to action, so it happed in that meane while that *Maximilian*, who having begun the warre against the king of *Hungary*, had estraunged his thoughts from *Italy*, made now a new peace with him, renewing the accord touching the succession, and returned into *Austria*, making signes and preparations as though he would eftsoons passe into *Italy*: and desiring that the *Venetians* should not oppose against his intention, he dispatched foure Embassadors to aduertise that state, that he was determined to go to *Rome* to take the imperiall Crowne, desiring them to giue him liberty of passage together with his armie: he assured them to march through their regions without grieving them or theirs in any sort: and desired, by protestation, to be vnited with that common weale, wherein the meane might easily be found, not only with surety, but also with augmentation and exaltation of both the parties, couertly inducing vnder this perswasion, that it wold make for their common profite to conspire together against the French king. The *Venetians*, after they had long debated in counsell, returned a very gracious answer, expressing how much their common weale desired to be conformable to his will, & to satisfie his requests in all things which they might without their proper preiudice, which in that case could not be neither greater nor more euident, for that the regions of *Italy* being made desperate by so many calamities which they haue suffered, were drawne into an vniuersall mutinie at the only brute of his descending with so mightie an armie, standing generally resolued to take armes to cut off occasions & opportunities of new troubles, and that the French king was to do the like for the suretie of the estate of *Millan*: that by that meane, his comming into *Italy* with an army displayed, was no other thing then to giue occasion to the communalities of *Italy* to leaue armes to make mightie resistance against him: an action of no litle importance and danger against them, for that if they should consent to his passing, all the Potentates and powers of *Italy*, together with the French king, would iudge of them none otherwise, then of such as had not esteemed of the common benefite in respect of their proper interests. That it wold be more assured for all, and in the end most honorable for him, comming to an act pacificable & agreeable to euerie one, to passe disarmd into *Italy*, where the imperiall Maestie shewing himselfe no lesse gracious and affable, then mightie and terrible, should find an vniuersall fauour with all regions, peoples, and communalities: That hee should (to his perpetuall glorie) beare the honorable reputation to be the protector of the tranquillity of *Italy*, proceeding to his coronation in the same forme which his father and many his renowned predecessors obserued afore him; in which course they were, and would vse to him, all those oblations, obseruances, and offices which he could desire.

These apparances of armes and other things practised by *Caesar*, were the causes that the Pope resolued fully to execute the enterprize of *Bologna*, and had sent to summon the French king to his promise, was friendly aduised by the king to haue regard to the estate & disposition of things, and considering well of the nature of times, to deferre the action of the enterprize to another season, least the vntimely breaking out of such an accident did not onely bring all *Italy* into commotion, but proue preiudicial euen against his proper intentions: for that he feared least in this action he should kindle against him the minds of the *Venetians*, who had already signified to him that they were resolued to take armes for the defence of *Bologna*, if the Pope wold not first indue the with the graunt of those patronages and rights of *Faenza* which appertained to the Church. But the Pope, who of nature was impatient and sodaine, sought out still all the means he could, by the which (notwithstanding all difficulties and impediments) he might aspire to that he desired: wherein he proceeded with moods furious and violent, calling together into the Consistorie all the Cardinals, afore whom deducing in forme of a languishing complaint, how iustly he was touched with desire to deliuer from the hands of tyrants the Cities of *Bologna* and *Perusia*, members so much importing the Sea Apostolike, he signified that he would assist the enterprize in person: he assured them, that besides his owne forces, he should be aided by the French king, by the *Florentines*, and many other Potentates of *Italy*, and that God that was perpetuallie

The Pope will
go in person to
the enterprize
of Bologna.

iust, would neuer leaue abandoned such as with so holy intentions sought to reestablishe and restore the Church. As soon as this deliberation was published in *Fraunce*, it seemed such a matter to be laughed at to the king, that the Pope should promise himselfe a succour of his people without intelligence or community with him, that making it a iesting talke at his table, and imposing withall vpon the Pope his notorious drunkenesse, he said it could not be but the Pope was well bewitched with wine: not discerning as yet that that sodaine deliberation did constrain him, either to come to manifest controuersie with him, or else to giue him of his men against his will. But the Pope not expecting anie other resolution, issued out of *Rome* with five hundred men at armes, and sending afore *Anthonye dal Monte* to signifie his comming to the *Bolognais*, with direction to commaund them to make prouision to receiue him, and to bestow in the countrie five hundred French Launces. He marched slowlie, hauing determined not to passe *Perousa*, till he were well assured whether the French bands would come to his succours, foreseeing now those inconueniencies which the immoderation of his mind would not afore suffer him to discern in his heate and furie. *Iohn Paule Baillon* occupied with no small feares of his comming, by the counsell of the Duke of *Vrbis* & other his friends, & vnder their assurance went to meet the Pope at *Oruieto*, who receiued him into grace and fauour, after he had wholly submitted himselfe to his discretion, with promise to follow him in person with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, and also to render vp into his hands the fortresses of *Perousa* and *Perousin*, and the guard of the City, giuing for obseruation his two sonnes in hostage to the Duke of *Vrbis*. Vnder this composition the Pope entred without any strength into *Perousa*, being in the full power of *Iohn Paule Baillon* to make him prisoner with all his court and traine, if he would haue made sound throughout the world in a matter of such greatnesse & waight, that disloyalty, which had already made his name infamous in things more inferiour and of farre meaner qualitie. At *Perousa* the Pope gaue audience to the Cardinall of *Narbona*, sent to him from the French king, to perswade him to put o-uer and deferre the enterprise till another time, and to protest the kings excuses, in that (contrary to his desire) he could not send him men, for that, by the considerations for *Cesar*, and the great suspitions he had of his doings, it was not conuenient for him to leaue disarmed the Duchie of *Millan*. This Embassage albeit it stirred vp in the Pope many shewes of perplexities and alterati-
 ons, yet his wisdom held his affections suppressed, and making no apparance that he had any in-
 clination or will to chaunge aduise, he began to leaue new bands of footmen, and increaseth
 all his prouisions. And yet many beleueed, that what by the difficulties that appeared, & the ea-
 sinesse of his nature to be appeased vpon yeelding or submission, if *Bentinole*, who offered by his
 Embassadors to send in his foure sons, had disposed himselfe to come to him in person, according
 to the example of *Iohn Paule*, he had found some tollerable forme for his affaires: but whilest he
 spent time in temporizing (the aspect & estate of his businesse making him irresolute) or, as some
 say, whilest he was holden in suspence by the contradiction of his wife, he had aduertisement that
M. de Chaumont had receiued directiō frō the French king to go to the succors of the Pope in per-
 son with five hundred Launces: an aide which albeit the king (in the absence of the Cardinall *Am-
 boyse*) had no inclination to send him, yet the Cardinall returning to the Court, vsed perswasions to
 hold the king firme in his promise, hauing not only made voluntarie offers in the beginning, but
 also by many degrees since, had as it were vrged the Pope to vse the seruice of his men. The Car-
 dinal had power to make the king to change aduise, wherunto he was so much the more easily in-
 duced, by how much the demonstrations of *Maximilian* began now to waxe cold according to his
 custom, & the Pope also (somewhat to leaue the king satisfied) was content to make promise, not by
 writing, but in the mouth of his holinesse & honor, that he would not molest the *Venetians* for the
 townes of *Romania*: & yet notwithstanding the Pope, not able to abstain frō disclosing what a se-
 lected desire he bare that way, going frō *Perousa* to *Cesena*, he took the way of the mountain: for that
 if he had marched along the plaine, he should haue bin constrained to passe vpo the lands of *Rimini*,
 which the *Venetians* held. As soon as he was come to *Cesena*, he admonished *Bentinole* to depart frō
Bologna vnder most grieuous cēsure & paines spirituall & tēporall, stretching the out against all
 such as should hold any cōuersation or cōfederacy with him. And receiuing intelligēce in this place
 that *M. de Chaumont* marched with sixe hundred Launces & three thousand footmen, all paid
 of the Church treasures, he took courage, & recōtinued his way without deferring. And turning
 frō the wayes & territories of *Faenza* for the same respects he refused *Rimini*, he took the way of the

the mountaine, notwithstanding it was troublesome & full of incommodities: & so drawing along the townes which the *Florentines* possessed beyond the *Appenin*, he went to *Ymola*, where his armie assembled: wherein, besides many bands of footmen which he had leauied, were foure hundred men at armes in his pay, an hundred and fiftie led by *Iohn Paule Baillon*, an hundred lent by the *Florentines* vnder the guide of *M. An. Colonio*, an hundred lent by the Duke of *Ferrara*, many bands of Estradiots leauied in the kingdome of *Naples*, and two hundred light horsemen brought thither by the Marquisse of *Mantua*, deputie Lieutenant of the armie. At *Bologna* on the other side, *Bentinole* and his factiō omitted no preparation that might respect their surety, nor forbore to arme all those bodies which they esteemed to carie ability to their defence, hoping that if they were not defended, at the least they should not be offended by the French: for that the king being called vpon to aide them, according to the contract of protection, had answered, that albeit he could not with armes oppose against the enterprise of the Pope, yet he would forbear to minnister either men, or other nature of aide against them. An answer wherein they tooke great comfort and confidence to be able with ease to resist the armie Ecclesiasticke. But all their hope was turned into feare by the coming of *Monsieur de Chaumont*, who, albeit as he marched had made diuerse answers to their people, yet the same day he arriued at *Castelfranco* vpon the territories of *Bologna*, (being the same day wherein the Marquisse of *Mantua* with the Popes regiments made himselfe Lord ouer the Borough of *S. Peter*) he sent to signifie to *Bentinole*, that the king foreseeing not to faile of that he was bound vnto by the capitulations of protection, had an intention not only to make safety and preservation of his goods, but also to procure him such further grace and fauour, that resigning to the Church the gouernment and policie of the Citie, he should with suretie remaine in *Bologna* with his children, so that within three dayes he submitted himselfe wholly to the obedience and commandements of the Pope. Necessitie is mighty to bend those hearts that are inuincible against all other means, and men compounded of humors transitorie and fraile, beare their ordinarie mutations of mind and counsell, according to the alteration of occasions and accidents. For, *Bentinole* and his sonnes, who with great threatnings afore had published to all the world their ableness and disposition to defend themselves, became now chaunged in resolution and courage: & not remembring with what vpbraidings they had exclaimed against *Peter de Medicis*, for that without effusion of blood he had forsaken *Florence*: made answer, that they would referre themselves to his arbitration, beseeching him to be a meane that, at the least they might obtaine conditions tollerable. Therefore, being now come to the bridge, *de Rene* three miles from *Bologna*, interposing with the Pope, he made an agreement, that it should be lawfull to *Iohn Bentinole* and his sonnes, with *Geneure Sforce* his wife, safely to go out of *Bologna*, and remaine in the Duchy of *Millan* in any place at their best liking and election: That it should be lawfull for them either to sell or carie away from *Bologna*, all their goods moueable, and not to be molested for their immoueables which they possessed with iust title. By the benefite of which accord ratified and confirmed, they departed with speede and securitie out of *Bologna*, hauing obtained of *Monsieur de Chaumont*, to whom they gaue twelue thousand ducats, a verie large safeconduct, with promise subscribed, not only to see obserued all that is contained in the articles of protection, but also that he and his familie should continue in suretie in the Duchie of *Millan*. As soone as the kinred of the *Bentiuoleis* were departed, the people of *Bologna* addressed with diligence their Embassadors to the Pope, to put into his hands the absolute iurisdiction of their citie, to demaund pardon & absolution of the Censures, and to require order that the French should not enter into *Bologna*. But they being of nature insolent, could hardly beare to be regulated, specially in a time when their own strength & common fortune of the armie fauoured their intentions, they made their approaches to the walles with an vniuersall disposition to enter: but the strong resistance of the people, compounded of a resolute valour to defend their libertie, kept them from executing vpon the walles, and compelled them to encampe neare the bulwarks betweene the gates of *S. Felix* and *Saragosse*, vpon the channell which drawing from the riuer of *Rene* passeth through *Bologna*, and from thence is nauigable to *Ferrara*. Be-like they were ignorant, that it was in the power of the inhabitants of *Bologna* by plucking vp a sluice of the channell that entreth the Citie, to drowne all the countie about: their ignorance in a matter so needfull of consideration, brought sodaine incommodities vpon them, for that the people of *Bologna*, raising the sluice, the channell that afore was swelled with water, brake forth and

overflowed the low places where were encamped the French bands, who leauing their apparell in the water, and much of their baggage, retired in great tumult and disorder to the bridge of *Rene*, where they remained till the Pope entred into *Bologna*, which was on *Saint Martins* day, confirming his entrie with all pompe and ceremonies Pontificall. Thus fell into the power of the Church with a great felicity of the inhabitants, the City of *Bologna*, which with good right beareth name & reputation amongst the most noble and flourishing cities of *Italy*, as well for the infinitie of the dwellers, as for the fertilitie of soyle and oportunitie of situation. And albeit the Pope did institute new Magistrates by the example of antiquitie, leauing in many things great signes & apparances of liberty, yet, touching the effect, he brought it wholly to the obediēce of the Church, expressing many honourable liberalities, in releasing diuerse exemptions, wherein he made himselfe mighty in the opinion of the people, and (vsing the like in all other cities) he laboured to allure the multitude to an amity and liking of the Church gouernment. He gaue to *Monsieur Chaumont*, who returned immediatly to the Duchy of *Millan*, eight thousand duckats, with ten thousand to be distributed in liberalities amongst his regiment, and he confirmed vnder Bul subsigned, the promise he had made before to create Cardinall, his brother the Bishop of *Alby*, and yet (turning all his wits and studies how he might annoy the *Venetians*) to leaue quicker motions in the French king and Cardinall *Amboise* to aide him, he would not at that time publish Cardinals the Bishops of *Achx* & *Baieux*, according to the solicitations that were made, and writs which were already subscribed.

The great Captaine confirmed in the Duchy of *S. Ange*.

The death of king *Philip*.

About this time the king of *Aragon* passed by sea into *Italy*, and embarking at *Barcelona* there came to him a Gentleman from the *Great Captaine*, who offered himselfe prepared to receiue the king, and giue him all obedience: To whom in recompence of his fidelitie and merits, the king ratified not only donation of the Duchy of *Saint Ange*, which king *Federike* had giuen him, but also all his other profits which he possessed in the kingdome of *Naples*, amounting to twenty thousand duckats in yearly reuenuē, together with the office of great Constable of the kingdom, and promise to be great maister of *Saint James*, both subsigned vnder the kings owne hand. The king embarking at *Barcelona* with no lesse contentment of the present, then better hope hereafter, was honourably receiued with his wife, in all the ports of *Prouence*, according to the French kings commandements, and with the same oblation and reuerence was welcomed into the haven of *Genes*, where he was expected by the *Great Captaine*, who was gone thither to meete him, not without the admiration of many, for that not onely the popular sort, but euen the Pope himselfe, nourished an opinion, that as well for his disobedience past, as for the present suspicion which the king had in him, he would passe into *Spaine*, fearing to stand in the presence of the king. The king of *Aragon* departing from *Genes*, remained many dayes at *Portofino*, both for that the wind was contrary, and also he held it not conuenient to be far from the shore with his light gallies. Whilest he sojourned at *Portofino*, he was aduertised that king *Philip* his son in law, yong in yeares, and well disposed in body, had chaunged this life for a better within the towne of *Burgos*: his infirmitie was a feuer raging with violent motions, but of very few daies continuance, hapning in the very ripenesse & full reputation of his age, & in a season wherein he was lifted to his greatest felicity, as oftentimes is wonderfully expressed in the variation of fortune: neuerthlesse the king, in whom it was beleueed that for the desire he had to recontinue in the gouernment of *Castile*, wold eftsounes turne saile to *Barcelona*, kept on his first way, & entred the port of *Caſſa* the same day that the Pope marching to *Bologna*, made his entrie into *Imola*: from whence he was conueied to *Naples*, and receiued into that City (which was wont to reioyce in kings of *Aragon*) with no lesse magnificence, maiestie, and honour of the Nobles, then vniuerfall desire & expectation of the commonalty, for an opinion they had that vnder a king so glorious for the many victories he had obtained as well against the infidels as the Christians, and no lesse reuerenced for his high wisdom and temperance of spirit, ioyned to the generall report of his singular iustice, by the which he had guided his Realmes in tranquillitie: he would also restore and relieue the kingdome of *Naples*, of so many afflictions and oppressions, and reduce it into an estate peaceable & happy, with restitution of the ports which the *Venetians* held there, to the great displeasure of the whole kingdome. There came to him to *Naples* from all parts of *Italy* many Embassadors, not only to congratulate and honour so great a Prince, but also for many practises and occasions, euery one being perswaded that with his authority and wisdom, he wold readresse things, and giuing a new
forme

form to affairs, he would be the even ballance and counterpoise for many matters: for that both the Pope, who held himself ill contented with him, for that he had not honored him with legation and embassadours according to the custome, studied to kindle him against the *Venetians*, thinking that for the desire to recouer the ports of *Powilla*, he had reason to wish their declination and embasing. And the *Venetians* of the contrarie solicited for many good respects to be reconcined in his amitie: and also the *Florentines*, with the other peoples of *Tuskane*, negotiated with him diuersly for the regard of *Pisa*, which this yeare was lesse molested then others with the incursions of the *Florentines* (not hindering their haruest) either for that they were wearie of the charges, or else that the experience of the yeare passed made them esteeme it a thing vaine & without fruite, knowing that the states of *Genes* and *Lucque* had agreed together to support that citie for one yeare with a determinate and certaine charge, whereunto *Pandolfe Petrucci* had prepared them before, offering like portion of contribution on the behalfe of the *Siennesis*: notwithstanding on the other side (being a man dissembled in all his intentions) he obtained of the *Florentines*, by disclosing the estate of the negociation, and to the end to separate himselfe from the rest, that the truce which yet continued betweene the *Florentines* and *Siennesis*, should haue prolongation for three yeares, with an expresse couenant, that it should not be lawfull to the *Siennesis*, nor to *Pandolfe*, to minister any aide to the *Pisans*: with which excuse forbearing to leaue any expences for them, he refused not to fauour them with all the counsels and actions he could in all other sorts.

About this yeare there happened a new and strange accident of the tragedy which had bene begun before *Ferrara*: for *Ferdinand* brother to Duke *Alphonso* and *Iulio*, whose eyes the Cardinal had violently caused to be pluckt out (but by the readie helpe of Phisitions were restored without losse of his sight:) conspired together with the said *Iulio*, the death of the Duke. *Ferdinand*, who was next in succession after the Duke, was moued to this conspiracy by an aspiring desire to occupie that state, the humour of dominion and rule carying him into dispositions of bloud contrarie to honor, nature, and humanitie: and *Iulio* embraced the treason with so much the more affection, by how much he iudged that *Alphonso* had not ministred sufficient iustice to the wrong that was done him, being withall out of hope to be able otherwise to wreake his reuenge vpon the Cardinal. To these counsels they called as a partie, the Count *Albertin Boschet*, a gentleman of *Modona*, with whom albeit they had wonne and corrupted certaine fellowes of base condition gouerning much the person of *Alphonso*, for that they were his fauorites in matters of sport and delight, and had many times sundrie oportunities to kill him: yet, being withholden by a certaine fatall timorousnesse, they let passe alwayes the oportunitie. In so much as (so it happeneth for the most part when the execution of conspiracies is deferred) the treason being detected, *Ferdinand* with the other conspirators were imprisoned, and *Iulio*, who was fled to his sister at *Mantua*, was by the direction of the Marquis, sent prisoner to *Alphonso*, being assured by his promise and fidelitie, that he should not be touched with death: but a litle after the Count *Albertin* being condemned iudicially, was quartered with the others that were found guiltie, & the two brethren passed ouer to perpetuall prison in the new castell of *Ferrara*.

*A continuance
of the historie
of Iulio d'Este*

In this place of the historie it is not inconuenient to touch somewhat of the audacitie and industrie of Duke *Valentinois*, who being suttlyly slided downe by a cord, out of the rocke of *Medina de Campo*, fled into the kingdome of *Nauarre* to king *Iohn* brother to his wife, where (to the end the historie cease to speake any more of him) after he had remained certaine yeares in base condition, the French king confisking both the Duchie of *Valence*, and the pension of twenty thousand franks which he gaue him in supply of reuenue, and also would not suffer him to go into *Fraunce*, because he would do nothing that might discontent the king of *Aragon*, he was at last slaine by the conspiracie of an ambush, commaunding ouer the men of warre of the king of *Nauarre* in the campe at *Viano*, a litle place in the said realme.

*The death of
Duke Valentinois.*

Vpon the end of this yeare, for that the yeare following should not begin without matter of new warres, the *Genoways* rebelled against the French king, hauing no other incitation then of themselves, the matter taking his foundation not of anie desire to rebell, but rather of the ciuill discords, which caried men further then their former counsels and deliberations, rebellion being of a condition to increase in occasions, as the fire is redoubled in heate by the fresh matter which it embraceth. The Citie of *Genes*, a Citie seated in a place most apt to command the sea, if so great an oportunitie were not hindered by the pestiferous poison of ciuill dissensions, is not as many other great

*The Citie of
Genes rebelleth*

*Rebellion in-
creaseth in oc-
casions.*

The seate of
dominion verie
casuall, where
it diuolueth by
election.

townies in *Italy*, subiect to one particular diuision, but is deuided into manie parties and factions: both for the reliques of the ancient quarels betweene the *Guelfes* and *Gibelins* yet remaining there: and also for the seeds of contention still growing betweene the gentlemen & populars, by the which the whole nation of *Italy* hath bene much afflicted, but specially many Cities in *Turkane* haue bin brought to extreme ruine: for, the communaltie not able to beare the pride of the Nobles, bridled much their authoritie and power by many rigorous lawes: and amongst others, suffering them to communicate with all other offices and honors, they excluded them particularly from the dignitie of Dukedome: a supreme estate which was giuen for life to any other that was chos. x. notwithstanding by the inconstancie of that Citie, few or none were suffered to continue in that place till they died, the seate of dominion being alwayes iealous, but most casuall where it diuolueth by election, which by his proper ambition nourisheth for the most part a secret subiection to alteration and fall. No lesse great is the diuision betweene the families of the *Adorni* and *Fregosi*, who from base condition and popular houses, being risen to the dignitie of *Capellaci* (so do the *Genoweyes* call such as are aspired to any great potentacie) contend together for the dignitie of Duke, which for many yeares hath continued for the most part in one of those two families: for the gentlemen of the *Guelfes* and *Gibelins*, not able to ascend to the place for the impediment of the lawes, fought to make it fall to such of the populars as were of their faction. And as the *Gibelins* fauouring the *Adornes*, and the *Guelfes* the house of *Fregosa*, time hath made those two families more noble and mightie, then those of whom afore they followed their name and authoritie. So neuerthelesse all those diuisions are so confounded, that oftentimes they that be of one part against the partie opposite, are in them selues deuided into diuerse parts, and of the contrarie conioyned in one with those that follow another faction. This yeare began to kindle betweene the gentlemen and commons, a debate, which breeding at the first vpon the insolencies of certaine of the Nobles, and working by litle and litle the most part of the minds of both the one and other side ill disposed, it chaunged qualitie ere it were long, and of priuate contentions, conuerted it selfe into the nature and habit of publike discords, easie enough to kindle in Cities so abounding in riches as did *Genes* at that time. These quarels rose increasing so farre, that the people possessed with furie, drew into tumult, and made violent slaughter of one of the families of *Oria*, with certaine other gentlemen: wherein offering all things to spoile and ruine, they obtained in that mutinie more by force then free will of the Citie, that the day after it might be ordained in the publike Councels (wherein were assistant very few of the Nobles) that of those offices which afore were deuided equally betweene the Nobles and commons, there might bee hereafter distribution made of two partes to the people, and one onely reserued to the Nobles: to which deliberation *Roccaber* guiding the Citie in the absence of *Philip Rauastin* then gouernour for the king, consented for feare of greater perils: neuerthelesse the populars not being quieted for all this, but ouercaried with their mutinous humours, stirred vp within few dayes after a new tumult, and put the Noblemens houses to sacke: an outrage that compelled most part of the Gentlemen to abandon the Citie, finding no estate of suretie in their naturall regions. These mutations being estoones signified to the gouernour, caused him to returne with speed out of *Fraunce* to *Genes* with a strength of an hundred and fiftie horse, & seuen hundred footmen. But neither with his authoritie, his perswasions, his presence, nor with his forces, could he reduce things to a better estate: so irregulate is a communaltie or multitude once drawne into mutinie, and their barbarous furie inuincible against all reason, order, or good prescription. No, oftentimes he was compelled to apply himselfe to the will of the people, and making his authoritie rather to be plausible to the multitude, then to punish their mutinies, he passed ouer things with sufferance, and obeyed the necessitie of the time, commaunding to retire and returne certaine other troupes that were appointed to come after him out of *Fraunce*. These beginnings gaue courage to the Commons to become more insolent, and (as it hapneth often in Cities declined to sedition) the gouernement, contrarie to the will of manie of the best sort of the Commons, fell almost absolutely into the power of the dregges of the people, who in their furie created to the selues a new magistracie or office of eight men of the populars with a great authority: and they, the rather to keepe the whole incensed by the dignitie of their name, were called Tribunes of the people. These, vnder this forme of pollicie, or rather apparant mutinie, occupied with armes the towne of *Spetie*, with certaine other townes of the riuer of *Leuant*, whereof *Iohn Lewis de Fiesquo* was gouernour for the king. This gouernour complained to the king of those insolencies, both in the name

name of the whole Nobilitie, and for his particular interest, wherein he recommended to his Ma-
 iestie the manifest danger to loose the iurisdiction of *Genes*, seeing the insolent libertie of the com-
 mons had caried them so farre, that besides other oppressions & harms, they aspired (proceeding
 directly against the authoritie of the king) to manage the townes of the riuer: That vsing expedi-
 tion, there might be raised remedies conuenient to repress so great a furie, seeing it was as yet but
 in the nature of a popular warre, without the protection of anie greater Prince: where if he ioyned
 negligence to the oportunitie, and became slow in leauing the prouisions that were necessarie, the
 euill would more and more resolue, and take with tract of time more firme roote, for that both the
 importance of *Genes* was such by sea and land, that it would easily allure some forreine Prince to
 nourish such a diuision, so hurtfull for his estate: And also the commons comming to know that
 which at the beginning was perhaps but in the qualitie of sedition, would in the end change ha-
 bite, and turne into rebellion, and so become a pray to any that would giue hope to defend it. But
 on the other part, the Embasiadors sent to the king from the Commons of *Genes*, laboured to iu-
 stifie the action, and to make their cause be found good: They declared, that no other thing had
 disaltered the people, but the pride of the gentlemen, who, not contented with the dignities and
 honors conuenient to nobilitie, aspired to higher degrees, seeking to be redoubted as Lords and
 Princes: That the people had long borne the yoke of their insolencies, but at last feeling outrages
 not onely in their goods and generall callings, but also in their persons and estates most priuate,
 their patience was now overcome with the weight and violence of their pride: And yet albeit by
 these compulsions, they were no longer able to containe themselves: they were not for all that
 proceeded to any other actions, then such as without the which their libertie could not be assured:
 for, seeing the gentlemen communicated by equall part in the offices and iurisdctions, there was
 no possibilitie by the meane of courts and iudgements, to resist their tyrannie: And *Iohn Lowis*
 commaunding ouer the townes of the riuers, without the traffike whereof *Genes* stood as it were
 besieged, there was no safetie for the Commons to entertaine traffike and conuersation there: That
 the people had bene alwayes most deuout and faithfull to the kings Maiestie, and that the muta-
 tions of *Genes* had in all times more proceeded of the ambition of the gentlemen, then infidelitie
 of the people: That they besought the king to pardon those offences, which during the heate of
 the contentions, certaine particulars had committed against the vniuersall will and consent, & that
 he would confirme the law made for the distribution of offices, and suffer the townes of the riuers
 to be managed vnder the name publike: Lastly, that by that meane, the gentlemen enioying hono-
 rably their degrees and dignities, and the populars also possessing their libertie with suretie, and all
 things being reduced by his Maiesties authoritie into such an estate of tranquillitie, they should be
 bound to honor perpetually the clemencie, goodnesse and iustice of the king. The king was much
 troubled with these tumults, either for that the licentious behauiours of the commons were sus-
 pected to him, or perhaps for the honorable inclination which the French do commonly beare to the
 name of gentlemen: in so much that he could haue bene disposed to haue punished the authors of
 these insolencies, and reduce all things to their first degree, sauing that he feared least if he should
 vse sharpe remedies, the *Genoways* would haue recourse to *Cesar*, whose sonne was not yet dead.
 For which cause, making conference of things, more according to the necessitie and consideration
 of the time, then agreeable to the estate and merite of their doings, he determined to proceed with
 clemencie and tolleration, and therefore called into pardon and forgiuenesse all their offences they
 had committed, and ratified their new law for disposing of offices, so far forth as they would put
 into his hands the townes of the riuers which they occupied: wherein the better to encline and
 dispose the people, he sent to *Genes* doctor *Michael Ruccio* a banished man, to perswade the Com-
 mons, that they were better to vse and embrace the occasion of the kings clemencie, then (adding
 to their faults, contumacie and hardened obstinacie) to driue him to proceed against them with se-
 ueritie. But discretion hauing no societie with rashnesse, nor follie anie communitie with wisdom,
 their minds seemed to stand blinded with immoderate ambition and couetousnesse: for the people
 and Tribunes (notwithstanding the lawfull Magistrates were of the contrarie opinion) would not
 onely not render the places they occupied (nor accepting the softnes and tractabilitie of the king)
 but rising into thoughts of worse nature, they determined to assaile the borough of *Monaco*, which
Lucian Grimault possessed, either in regard of a common hatred borne against all Gentlemen of
Genes, or else for that the borough is of great importance for the Citie, hauing his situation vpon

*Rashnesse hath
 no societie
 with discretiō.*

the sea in a place of great conueniencie: or at least for certaine particular hatreds, since he to whom falleth the power and gouernement of that place, abstaineth verie hardly from piracies & robbing by the sea, the situation giuing fauour and oportunitie to such actions: & lastly, because (as they suggested) that borough appertained rightfully to the common weale. In which regards, notwithstanding the importunities of the gouernour to the contrarie, they sent thither many bands both by sea and land to besiege it: the same driuing *Philip de Ranastin*, who knew that he taried there vnprofitably, and, by the accidents that might happen, not without suspicion of daunger, to depart, & to leaue in his place *Rocabertin*. The king for his part, despairing that temperance was vnable to raunge things to a better forme, and iudging withall that if he should consent that they continued in that estate, it might be preiudiciall to his dignitie and suretie, and lastly, fearing that if he gaue longer sufferance to things, the daunger would be so much the greater: he began openly to make preparations both by sea and land, to reduce the *Genowayes* to his obedience. Which deliberation was the cause, that matters which were negociated betweene the Pope and him against the *Venetians*, were dissolued & broken: enterprises much desired by the king, who for the death of king *Philip*, found him selfe well deliuered of the suspicions which he had taken against *Maximilian*: but much more wished for by the Pope, by reason of the townes which they occupied in *Romania*, and did dispose of the Bishopricks vacant in their iurisdiction, without any respect to the sea Apostolike, and lastly did intrude them selues into many things appertaining to the lawfull authoritie of the Church. By reason whereof bearing a setled inclination to entertaine amitie with the king, he solicited him to passe into *Italy*, and to haue conference together; whereunto the king consented, the Pope hauing afore in gratification of the kings requests, consecrated Cardinals the Bishops of *Bayeux* and *Achx*. But (the affections of Princes suffer alterations according to times and occasions) the Pope vnderstanding afterwarde how the king had determined to take armes against the Commons of *Genes* in fauour of the Gentlemen, tooke it to great discontentment, for that hauing of long time frowned vpon the Gentlemen, he had alwayes borne fauour to the dispositions of the people: wherein he made great instance to the king to be contented, without chaunging the estate popular, to haue that Citie in his obedience; and perswaded him as much as he could to abstaine from armes, alleaging many reasons, but chiefly the daunger, least by that meane some great alteration kindling in *Italy*, the warres which they had determined against the *Venetians*, were not cut off or hindred. The king bearing no inclination to these demaunds, the Pope, either ouerruled with anger or sorow, or else for that the old suspicion of the aspiring mind of the Cardinall of *Amboise* did eftsoones stirre in him, either by the naturall operation of him selfe, or by the subtil suggestion of others (which made him feare to be retained by the king when they should meete in one place) and perhaps aswell for the one as the other occasion: he published on the sudden, in the beginning of the yeare 1507, against the expectation of euery one, that he would eftsoones returne to *Rome*, not for other reason, then that aire of *Bologna* was contrarie to his health, and that his reuenues were much diminished by his absence from *Rome*. This alteration of counsell brought no litle maruell to euery one, but specially to the king, for that without occasion he would leaue vnperfect the practises he had so much desired to aduance, and breake of himselfe the interview and conference which he had so much required: and therefore calling into consideration the estate and intricate disposition of things, he laboured what he could to draw him from that new counsell, and make him change opinion: wherein his paines were more hurtfull to him then vaine, for that the Pope entring into a greater suspicion for the request the king made, made eftsoones an obstinate confirmation of his first counsell, and departing from *Bologna* vpon the end of Februarie, he expressed how litle he could dissemble the contempt he had conceived against the king. Afore he issued out of the Citie, he set with vnfortunate signes the first stone of the Castle which was made there by his commaundement, neare the gate which leades to *Ferrara*, in the selfe same place where *Philip Maria Viscount Duke of Millan* had aforetime erected another with no lesse ill fortune. And his new anger against the French king hauing in some sort qualified his auncient hatred against the *Venetians*, and not minding to turne out of his right way, he determined to passe by the Citie of *Faenza*, new controuerfies happening from time to time between the French king and him, both for that here required that the familie of the *Bentiuoleu* might be expelled the Duchie of *Millan*, notwithstanding they were referred to that habitation by his consent: & also for that he would not render to the Pronotorie the possession of those benefices which

He had promised by his proper accord and consent (so often preuailed more in him the contention of his mind and his wilfull election, then either reason or equitie.) Which disposition the king laboured not to appeale with any art or diligence, but standing aggraued for so great a variation, and entring withall into suspition, least (as the truth was) he gaue secret encouragement to the people of *Genes*, he forbare not to threaten him openly, and to obiekt with iniurious words, his infamous place and birth, the Pope being descended of a verie base place, and trained for manie yeares in verie vile estate. And resolving more and more in his first deliberation touching the affaires of *Genes*, he prepared his armie with great diligence to go thither in person, hauing well experienced by his former successes in the kingdome of *Naples*, what difference there is to administer a warre in proper person, and to recommend it ouer to the doing of Captaines.

These preparatiōs amazed nothing the *Genowayes* being busie to take *Monaco*, about the which they kept employed many vessels, and fixe thousand men leauied of the Communalities and generall multitudes of the countreys of *Genes*. These bands were led and commaunded by *Tarlato* a Captaine of the *Pisans*, who, together with *Peter Shortlegge* and certaine vniuerfall souldiers, had bene sent by them in fauor of the *Genowayes*. And at *Genes*, as they perseuered in their first offences, adding alwayes some new transgression, the Captaine of the Castell, who till then had expressed no action, nor had not bene molested by the conspirators, vpon the sudden made many of the Commons prisoners, and began to vex the hauen and Citie with his artilleries. This was either by the kings commaundement, or vpon his owne authoritie ioyned to a desire to make pillage: by reason of which, *Roccaberti* in conferring with the common daunger of the towne, the priuate feare he had of his owne person, went his way, not whither he would (for extremitie leaues no libertie) but whither the necessitie of his fortune suffered him, the footbands of the French which were set to guard the publike Pallace, retyring into the Castell. A litle after, the siege which had remained afore *Monaco* many moneths, tookē end and brake vp; the reason was, that such as were encamped afore it, vnderstanding that *Tues d'Alegre* and many gentlemen were at hand to succour it with a strength of three thousand footmen of their owne pay, and certaine other bands which the Duke of *Sauoy* had sent, had leauied the siege, hauing no courage to abide the armie that marched. Besides, the bruter an, that the maine armie appointed for the king, passed continually into *Lumbardie*: by reason whereof, those men rising into increase of furie, who ought to haue bene the authors of better counsels, the Commons that till that day had dissembled with words the rebellion which they had exercised in deeds, & neither forbearing to call vpon the name of the French king, nor once touching his Armes, nor remouing his ensignes nor banners out of the publike places, created Duke of *Genes* one *Paule de Nove* a silke dyer, a man for his vertues, of no merite, and for his birth and descending, of very base place and condition; declaring themselves in this, manifest rebels, for that to the creation of Duke was ioyned a declaration, that the Citie of *Genes* should beare no subiection to any Prince: the same so stirring the king to greater anget, together with the relation of the Nobles, that they had deposed his Armories, and in their place had exalted the ensignes of *Cesar*, that he redoubled the preparations which he had prouided afore: wherein he was also so much the more kindled to reuenge and wrath, by how much *Cesar*, at the perswasions of the *Genowayes*, and haply by the Popes secret setting on, had written to him that he ought not to molest *Genes* as a towne of the Empire, offering so to labour, that the people should be raunged and reduced to all things iust and reasonable. The Duke and Tribunes were somewhat nourished in their rash boldnes, by certaine prosperous successes they had had on the coast of Leuant: for, *Ierome* the sonne of *Louis de Fiesquo*, hauing reconquered *Rapallo* with two thousand footmen & certaine horse, as he went by night to surprise *Recqua*, encountred the bands that were sent from *Genes* to succour it: and whether it were by any disaduantage of the place, or for any other peculiar respect of feare or daunger, he forbare to entertaine the skirmish, and without comming to short weapons, he fell disorderly to flying. Whereupon *Orlandin* nephew to *Iohn Louis*, which was marched as farre as *Recqua* with another regiment, did the like, hearing the noise of the chase. By this fortune the Duke and the Tribunes became more insolent, and in those glorying humors proceeded to besiege *Castellaccio*, an ancient Castell which the ancient Lords of *Millan* builded in the mountaines about *Genes*, at such times as they were commanders ouer that Citie, to serue as a helpe that those companies which they should send out of *Lumbardy*, might haue oportunitie to approach neare *Genes*, and succour the Castell, which containing a verie small garrison, they

forced it and tooke it easily: for that the French bands that were there, yeelded vnder faith to haue their goods and life preserved, which, according to the infidelitie of a composition, was not obserued, those that were the executors of such outrages, returning to *Genes* with bloudie hands and great reioycings, as tokens of their glorie and triumph. At the same time also they began to batter with their artilleries, the Castell and the Church of *Saint Francis* ioyning to it, their fortune making them blind against discretion and reason, as men more mightie in felicitie and chaunce, then in force or good experience. And albeit the king was already passed into *Italy*, and reenforced his armie continually to assaile *Genes* without delay: and the king Catholike, notwithstanding he wished their conseruation, would not shew himselfe deuידed from the French king, but furnished him with foure light galleys. And lastly, albeit the Pope durst not otherwise disclose his intentions the in giuing them secret hopes, & that they were desperately abandoned of all succour, he had but onely three hundred footmen forreiners, not one Captaine or commaunder experienced in warre, and great lacke of munitions: yet were they resolute, and continued in their obstinacie, reposing much for themselves in the straights of their countrey, and that by the difficulties and sharpnesse of wayes and passages they might easily let the enemy for comming neare *Genes*: and as men esteeming certaintie in the winde, they despised, in regard of these vaine hopes, the admonitions of manie, and specially the counsels of the Cardinall of *Finale*, who accompanying the French armie, perswaded them by many messengers and letters, to offer vp themselves to the kings will, giuing them hope to obtaine pardon and conditions tollerable. But the armie marching by the way of the borough of *Fornaro* and *Serauallo*, the vanitie of the enterprises of the *Genowayes* began to appeare, being not measured nor layed out by men trayned in warre, but followed with clamours and vaine braggings of a base and ignorant multitude. In so much as the courages of men nothing answering in a present perill, to that which they had promised when they were without feare, sixe hundred of their footemen set to guard their first straights, being charged by the Frenchmen, fled cowardly; by whose example, the residue that kept the other passages, abandoned their places and retired to *Genes*, leauing all the straights open to the French, whose armie hauing passed ouer without impediment the toppe of the mountaines, was now descended into the vale of *Pozzennero* within seuen miles of *Genes*: A matter that did not a litle amaze and maruell the *Genowayes*, for that contrary to their vndiscrete expectations, they saw their armie so hardie, as to encampe in that valley frontired with troublesome mountaines, and in the middest of the enemies countrey. At the same time also the kings nauie which contained eight light galleys, eight gallions, with many Fusts and Brigantines, presented themselves before *Genes*, and from thence sailed towards *Portonenero* and *Spezia*, pursuing the *Genoway* nauie being seuen galleys and sixe barks; which not daring to keepe the hauen of *Genes*, were withdrawn into those places. From the valley of *Pozzennero* the armie drew to the borough of *Riuarola* two miles within *Genes*, and neare to the Church of *S. Peter d'Arene*, which is ioyning to the sea: and albeit as they marched, they met in many places with diuerse footbands of the *Genowayes*, yet they all being of one resolution, and possessed with one pusillanimitie of minde, fled afore them, their feares being greater then their daungers. This day arriued in the armie the person of the king, and was lodged in the Abbey of *Bosbet*, right ouer against the borough of *Riuarola*: he was accompanied with the most part of the Nobles of Fraunce, with many numbers of Gentlemen of the Duchie of *Millan*, and with the Marquis of *Mantua*, whom not many dayes before the king had declared chiefe of the order of *Saint Michael*, and giuen vnto him the standerd, which had not bene giuen to any since the death of king *Louis* the eleuenth. In the French armie were eight hundred Launces (the king considering the difficulties of the countrey, had left the others in *Lumbardie*) a thousand and eight hundred light horsemen, sixe thousand *Swissers*, and sixe thousand footmen of other nations. It is to be vnderstood, that the *Genowayes* (because they would not leaue free that way which leades by the mountaines to *Castellaccio*, and so to *Genes*, a shorter way then by *Saint Peter d'Arene*, and ioyning to the sea) had builded a bastillion on the top of the mountaine called the Promontorie hill, betweene the borough of *Riuarola* and *Saint Peter d'Arene*, from which bastillion the way lay from *Castellaccio* by the backside of the rocke. The armie then that lay encamped at *Riuarola*, marched the same day to the said bastillion: and on the other part, there issued out of *Genes* eight thousand footmen, guided by *Iacques Corse* Lieutenant to *Tarlatin*: for *Tarlatin* & the souldiers of the *Pisans* which were enclosed in *Venimiglia* when the

The contents
of the French
armie.

The campe was leaued from before *Monaco*, albeit they were reuoked by the *Genowayes*, who for their conduction sent them the ship of *Demetrius Iustinian*, could not returne to *Genes* by land for the impediment of the French, nor by sea, for that the winds were contrarie. But the French being now to issue and ascend, discouered the foot-roopes of the *Genowayes*, who being ascended to the mountaine by that side of the valley that leades to the bastillion, and afterwarde the most part of them being descended, had made head aboue a rocke which is the halfe way of the mountaine: against whom *Monsieur de Chaumont* sent many gentlemen with a good strength of footemen. The *Genowayes* as well for their oddes in numbers, as the aduantage of the place, made a valiant defence, and that to the great damage of the French, who making a contempt of their enemies, for that they were bands compounded vpon artificers and people vniuersall, went gallantly to charge them, without considering the strength and situation of the place: and as *Monsieur de Paliffa* was hurt in the throate, but with no perill of life, *Monsieur Chaumont* seeking to driue them from thence, caused to be mounted on high two Cannons, which beating them in flanke, constrained them to retire to the mountaine, where the residue of their strength remained. The French following them in good order of warre, those that garded the bastillion (albeit for his seate and fortification, they might with suretie abide the Cannon) fearing least vpon them & such as were vpon the mountaine, might fall some of the French bands, they left it abandoned, to their great infamy; by meane whereof, such as from the rocke had begun to retire towards the bastillion, seeing their way was cut off, returned eftsoues to *Genes* by ditches and cawseys, leauing the ordinary pathes, and loosing in the retraite about three hundred bodies. These successes brought an incredible feare ouer all the Citie, which depending wholly vpon the willes of the inferiour multitudes, neither directed by counsels of warre, nor ruled by ciuill wisdom, sent two Embassadors to the Armie, to sollicite to render them selues vnder couenants conuenient: they could not haue audience nor access to the king, but were referred to be heard by the Cardinall of *Amboise*, who made them answer, that there was no disposition in the king to accept them, if they did not make a free and generall offer of their liues and goods to the kings absolute discretion, sparing to intromit all motions of capitulations or couenants, they that in the offence had not respected his Maiestie, nor their fidelitie. But during the parley with the Cardinall (it is hard to moderate a multitude giuen ouer to nutinie) one part of the Commons not enclined to reconciliation and peace, going out of *Genes* by heapes, displayed their ensignes with many other footebands, vpon the rockes and side of the valley which leadech from *Castellaccio*: they approached within a quarter of a mile of the Bastillion, ioping to recouer it, and entertaining the skirmish for three houres with certaine of the French bands that came against them, they retired at last to *Castellaccio*, neither reioicing in their fortune, nor leauing to their enemies any aduantage. All which meane while, the king more fearefull of a greater stirre, then well assured of the conquest, remained alwayes armed on horsebacke in a plaine betweene the riuer of *Pozzenero* and the place where the armie was encamped, his minde waueing, and his expectation not satisfied. Neuerthelesse the night following the *Genowayes*, whose counsels were now desperate, as the brute was common, that certaine principals of the people had secretly conspired and compounded with the king euen from the time he entred *Ast*, and the Commons ioyning to their declining condition, many complaints that they had bene abused: the Duke, with many of those that knew that no submission was worthy of place, nor their faults meet to be dispensed withall, together with all the regiments of *Pisans*, departed to go to *Pisa*, leauing the Citie to discretion, as themselves were driuen to follow their fortune. The morning following by the appearing of the day, the same Embassadors returned eftsoues to the campe, and consented to giue vp the towne to the kings discretion, not hauing sustained the warre aboue eight dayes: a notable example of the ignorance and confusion of multitudes and people, who grouning their doings vpon fallible hopes & vaine expectations, are furious when the danger is far off, very irresolute when peril approacheth, not temperat in their counsels, irregulate in their actions, for their cōmon affections, most dissolute & immoderate. The accord being made, the king with his army approached neare *Genes*, the footmen being bestowed in the suburbs, who became almost tractable, specially the *Swissers*, whom there was much to do to restrain fro entring the towne, & to make pillage of the goods: so sweet a pray is the spoile of a Citie, & so vnbridled is the mercenarie souldier that serueth but for his hire, bearing for the most part very negligent respects to equity, order, or conscience. After this *Monsieur Chaumont* entred into *Genes* with the most part of

The first de-
seate of the
Genowayes.

The *Genoways*
send to sollicite
for pardon.

The rebels of
Genes yielding
to the French
king.

*The French King
entred as a conqueror into
Genes.*

the other regiments, having first furnished *Castellaccio* with garrison. The *Genowayes* delivered vp to him all the armes as well publike as priuat, which were immediately bestowed in the Castell, with three peeces of artillerie brought thither by the *Pisans*, & afterwards reconueyed to *Millean*. The next day being the xxix of Aprill, the person of the king made his entrie into *Genes*, with all the companies of men at armes and archers of his guard. And as he was alighted vnder a stately arch, holding in his hand a naked sword, and himselfe all attired in white garments, there appeared afore him the familie of the *Amians* accompanied with many honorable Citizens, who falling at his feete with teares, sorow and submission, and all other arguments of offenders, the one of them in the name of the whole, after silence was graunted, besought the king in this sort:

*The submission
of the rebells of
Genes.*

We come not here vpon our knees (right mercifull king) to debate the transgressions we haue done, but to offer our selues guiltie in as many faults as it shall please you to heape against vs: our rebellion so late and apparant testifieth how little we hold of innocencie, and our aggriued minds shew forth how much we are humbled by the remorse and conscience of our proper disobedience. The innocent man finds words to speake, but to the offender it is hard to keepe a temperance in his tale, specially where the greatnesse of the fault exceeds the expectation of mercie or forgiuenesse. None can better iudge of sorow then such as are afflicted, nor any further off to speake for pardon then the minds that stand heauily loaden with the burthen of their proper transgressions: it takes away their libertie of speaking, and makes them more ashamed to confesse a fault then to do it, confounding the nature of the offence with the remorse of conscience that followeth, which mans frailtie cannot suppress. If we would be silent, our humilities yet speake for vs, attired with all those demonstrations of dolour which nature in any sort can disclose in hearts desolate and abandoned. And albeit (most Christian Prince) in the beginning of our commotions against our gentlemen, we may assure that most part of the Commons were chiefe actors; yet touching things that haue bene insolently done, but chiefly the contempt and disobedience to your commaundements, they haue proceeded from the dregs of the most base and inferior sort of people, whose rashnesse, the reuerent authoritie of the best sort of this Citie could not restraine. And therefore the punishment that shall be imposed either vpon this towne, or vpon vs, it will afflict the innocents, without hurting the authors or parties to so hainous transgressions, who neither possessed of goods nor place in the Citie, are not esteemed with vs in the Societie of men, and much lesse of Citizens; neither do they hold this wretched Citie for their patrimonie and countrey. But our calamity hauing no conformitie with excuses, our intention is not to alleage reasons, but referring vs to the same iustice which we confesse we haue offended, we come accompanied with no other hope then such as may yet remaine in the magnanimitie and mercie of so great a king, not reasoning how farre it may be stretched, but reposing simply in it, and most humbly beseeching the same, that as not long since the offenders of *Millean* found fauour in your eyes, you will also vse the same propertie of grace and forgiuenesse vpon this Citie, which within these few moneths was one of the most happie regions in the world, and now lyeth at your Maiesties feete the very example of all desolation and miserie. If the clemencie you vsed then, ran through the world, with reputation ioyned to a perpetuall glorie of your name, it cannot be lesse honorable to confirme it now in this action, vsing equal pietie and compassion. You beare a title of right Christian, which deriueth his beginning of Christ redeeming mankind; by whose example, clemencie and mercie are recommended to you, as next vnder him appertaining properly to your name and title. There are faults so great which may not be either pardoned or excused; and for the offences we haue committed against your Maiestie, though in the respect of vs they are abominable, and for their owne nature hatefull, and in the iudgement of the world irreparable, yet can they not be more great, more vile, nor more odious, then that your clemencie is not sufficient to qualifie them, nor beare such intollerable respects as cannot be raunged by your pitie, bountie, and perpetuall religion. Your Maiestie representeth amongst vs with your dignitie and power, the image of the great God, and you are bound no lesse to represent him with the semblance and similitude of will and working, whereof there is not one more glorious, none more agreeable, nor any that makes his name more wonderfull, then the action of mercie. In cases of offence and trespassse, by how much the fault is great & grieuous, by so much more religious is the nature that pitieth, but farre more worthy the clemencie that forgiueth, since to fall and erre is familiar to frailty and humanity; but to pardon & dispence is a propertie inspired of the liuing God. These speeches were followed with the lowd voyces of euery one,

ore, crying, *Mercy, mercy*. But the king passed on without giuing any answer, bidding them neuertheless to rise, and deliuering his naked sword which he held in his hand; he shewed some tokens of a minde more inclined to compassion then to crueltie: hee ascended immediatly to the great Church, wherein infinit flocks of women and children of both kinds, fell prostrate at his feet, crying vpon his clemencie and mercie with weeping and wringing of hands, and other demonstrations of humilitie, expressed also in their vniuersall attire of white. This was it that most moued the king, notwithstanding the others were not without their particular impressions, in so much that albeit he was determined to depriue the Citie of all gouernement and authoritie, and to confiske the reuenues which vnder the name of *S. George* belonged to many persons priuate, and lastly taking from them all forme and image of liberty, to reduce them into the same state of subiection which he had done the townes of *Millan*; yet considering afterwarde, that by this maner of proceeding, not onely many innocentes should be punished, but also the mindes of the whole nobilitie estranged, and that it would be more easie to him to gouerne with remission and sweetnesse, then with rigour & seueritie, he reconfirmed the auncient gouernement, & left it in the same forme wherein it was before the seditions. And yet, to temper his mercy with some iustice, and somewhat to accompany his clemencie with seueritie, hee condemned the communaltie in a hundred thousand duckats for the penaltie of the offence, with aggrauation of penaltie of two hundred thousand duckats more, payable within a certaine time, both to defray the charges he had sustained, & also to edifie a Citadell in the place where is the towre of *Codisa* not farre from *Genes*, & standing vpon the sea about that suburbe which leadeth to the valley of *Pozzennero* and *S. Peter in Arena*: which Citadell, for that it may commaund the hauen and whole Citie, is rightfully called the bridle. He ordained also that they should furnish a greater garrison then they were wont, & keepe continually armed in the hauen for his seruice, three gallies, and fortifie the Castell and *Castellaccio*: he brake all the capitulations and couenants that had bene made afore betweene the Citie and him, graunting to them againe all the same things, but in forme of priuiledge, and not in nature of couenant charter, to the end he might alwayes stand in power to depriue them: he defaced out of their moneys and coynes their auncient stampes, causing them for afterwards to beare his standers and stamp in signe of absolute superioritie. To these actions was added the death of *Demetrius Iustinian*, who was beheaded, disclosing in his examination all the practises which the Pope had made, together with the hopes hee had giuen them. Within few moneths after was beheaded *Paule de Nouo* lately made Duke, who sayling from *Pisa* to *Rome*, was betrayed by a pirate that had bene his souldier, & sold to the French men: A death not much lamented of any, for that aspiring to his creation not by descent or merite, but by rash election, there was left to him no power to exercise the humours of a Prince: and to himselfe so much the lesse grieuous, by how much the short continuance of his imperie cut from him those delites which dominio do breed, loosing with litle sorow the thing which he had got with litle paine, & of the which his fortune gaue him no oportunitie to tast the very first and greene fruites. After the king had ordained these things, solemnly receiuing of the *Genowayes* an oath of fidelitie, and giuing pardon to all, except to three score whom he committed to the disposition of the law, he went to *Millan*, disperfing immediatly after this conquest, his armie, with the which continuing the course of victorie, he might easily haue oppressed in *Italie* whom he had list, all the Potentates there standing more in feare of his power, then any way provided to resist perils. But hauing regard to the estate of things, and promise he had made, he dissolued his armie, the better to assure the Pope, the king of *Romanes*, & the *Venetians*, who were not without fearefull suspicions, that his discending into *Italie* was for some other cause then to range the rebels of *Genes*, and reduce the towne to a policie.

But nothing could appease the fretting minde of the Pope, who taking all things in the worst part, complained effsoones (not temperatly) of the king, as if it had bin by his meane, that *Anniball Bentiuole* with fixe hundred footemen leuied in the Duchie of *Millan*, did assay in those times to enter *Bologna*, assuring that if he had preuailed in that action, the king would yet haue declared himself more against the estate Ecclesiastike. Wherewith the Pope being wroth, notwithstanding he had before with great difficultie published Cardinals the Bishops of *Achx* and *Bayeux*, he refused to raise to that dignitie the Bishop of *Albie*, complaining chiefly that by *Monsieur de Chaumont* his brother, the *Bentiuoleis* had sufferance to dwell in the Duchie of *Millan*: yea (which was of greater consequence) the Pope ouerruled indifferently with hate & suspition (two violent pas-

The Pope and
the Venetians
incite the king
of Romans to
make warre
vpon the
French king.

The dyot of
Constance.

The Emperour
speaketh in the
dyot.

sions in a minde placed in authoritie) when the king first published that he would reduce *the* *nowayes* to obedience by armes, signified by his *Nuncios* and peculiar letters to the king of *Germanes* and Electours of the Empire, that the French king prepared to passe into *Italie* with a most mightie armie, vnder colour to reappease the tumultes of *Genes*, which he might redresse with his authoritie, his intention being to oppresse the estate of the Church, and vsurpe the dignitie of the Empire. The *Venetians* also ioyned with him in this certificat, hauing the same feares of the coming of the French into *Italie* with an armie so well addressed: which aduertisements being communicated with *Maximilian*, whose inclination embraced naturally new things, and being at the instant newly returned from *Flanders*, where he had practised in vaine to take the gouernement of his little sonne: he assembled in the towne of *Constance*, the Princes of *Germanie* and the free townes (those are called the free Cities, which acknowledging by certaine tributes and determinate payments the authoritie of the Empire, do gouerne them selues notwithstanding in all things by their owne lawes, not seeking to amplifie their territories, but to preferue their libertie.) At this assemblee appeared all the Princes, Barons, and communalities of *Germanie*, perhaps with more readinesse and in greater numbers then had bene seene long time before in any dyot: for thither resorted in person, all the Electors and Princes of *Germany* both Ecclesiastike and Secular, except such as were restrained by lawfull impediments, in whose places were sent either their sonnes, their brethren, or some very neare kinred to represent their personall presence. All the free townes in like sort sent thither Embassadours: in which generall assemblee & aspect of the vniuersall body of *Germany*, *Caesar* caused to be publikey read the Popes writ, with many other letters signifiatorie from diuerse places, some of them expressing that the French kings intention was to aduaunce the Cardinall of *Amboise* to the supreme sea of *Rome*, & to receiue of him the Imperiall crowne. These aduertisements breeding no small murmure in the mindes of the audience, ran through the Princes & Barons with great variety of iudgement, some of them fearing indeed the ambition of the king, but the most sort disdayning much so great an indignitie against the maiestie & crowne Imperiall, wherein as euery particular began to prepare himself to make knowne with words and speeches his opinion & affection, *Caesar* cutting off that inclination by his authority, spake to them in this sort: You see now (my Lordes) what effectes, the long patience we haue hitherunto vsed, hath brought forth, what fruites
 “ are gathered of the small reckening that hath bene made of my former complaints expressed in so
 “ many dyots. And now your owne eyes do behold that the French king, who heretofore durst not
 “ offer himselfe against any thing that appertained to the sacred Empire, but vpon occasions vrged &
 “ colours very apparant, is now in preparation with an open force, not to protect our rebels as he was
 “ wont, not to vsurpe any particular place which reasonably apperteineth to the Empire, but, taking
 “ the oportunitie of the time, turning our patience into mockery, and forming an aduantage and oc-
 “ casion vpon our long setled negligence, he draweth his sword to dispoile *Germanie* of the Imperi-
 “ all dignitie, so honorably gotten, and so long time continued, by the vertue and valour of our an-
 “ cesters: he is not entred into this boldnesse, by any coniecture or perswasion that either our forces are
 “ diminished, or his powers encreased, neither can he be ignorant by how much the region of *Ger-
 “ manie* is mighty aboue the nation of *Fraunce*, both in maiestie of imperie, in grauitie of counsell, in
 “ agilitie of bodies, in multitude of Princes, in obedience of subiectes, & generally without all com-
 “ parison in valour of Captaines, and resolution of souldiers, in moneys, in munitions, in disciplines &
 “ directions of warre, with all other furnishings requisite to defend a violence and offend a proud
 “ enemy. But he is caried into this ambitious enterprise onely by a hope, that according to the expe-
 “ rience of things past, we will still dwell in securitie and negligence, and that our proper dissensions
 “ and ciuill factions preuaile more with vs, then the prouocations of glorie, yea then the considera-
 “ tion of our particular safetie: he thinketh that the same respectes for the which we haue suffered
 “ him to our common shame, to vsurpe the Duchie of *Millan*, that he hath nourished in our owne
 “ bosomes our ciuill quarrels, and that he hath borne a defence and protection of our rebels of the
 “ Empire, feeding vs lastly with vanities & errors, as men gouerned by humours light & wandring:
 “ he hopeth that the same sufferance, securitie, and solemne negligence, will likewise keepe vs lulled
 “ asleepe to endure that by him should be rauished from vs the dignitie of the Empire, and the glory
 “ and felicitie of this nation transported into *Fraunce*: it would be a thing lesse infamous to our com-
 “ mon name, and to me in particular lesse grievous and intollerable, if it were knowne to the world,
 “ that the power of *Germanie* were inferiour to the forces of *Fraunce*, or that in the *Almaines* were
 not

not continued the same vertue which in all ages, in all actions, & in all fortunes was found to beare reputation about the valour of the French: for the damage should afflict me lesse then the infamie, since at the least, things should not be imputed to our negligence & indiscretion, which might proceede either of the condition of times, or of the malice of fortune. What greater calamitie can happen? what miserie more, then to be reduced to these termes, either to wish to be lesse mightie, or to make a willing election of a great damage, onely to auoyde (since otherwise it can not be) the perpetuall infamie and dishonour of our name? The magnanimitie of euery one of you so many times experienced in matters particular, your resolute courage proper & naturall to this nation: and lastly, the memorie of the ancient vertue and triumphes of our elders (the very terrour heretofore of all other realmes and kingdomes) do giue me both hope and assurance, that in an action of so great importance, your inuincible mindes will be awaked and receiue new life and spirite: for here is now no question of the alienatiō of the Duchie of *Mullan*, nor of the reuolting of the *Swissers*, in which actions of so great consequence there was made no great account of my authoritie, both in regard of the affinitie I had with *Lodowik Sforce*, and for the particular interests of the house of *Austrich*. But now my Lords, what excuse may we pretend? what colour or couerture may be giuen to our ignominie? what merite can we challenge in the world, or what maiestie can we hold at home, when it is euen now in question whether the *Almaines*, who stand possessed of the Romaine Empire, not by the hand of fortune, but by their proper vertue, and whose name and armes heretofore hath sounded feare and terrour to most Princes in Christendome, should now cowardly depose the selues of so great a dignitie, & remaining the perpetuall exāple of infamie, of the most ancient, most glorious, and most inuincible Monarchie of men, to become the most reuerfed, most despised, & most dishonored region that stādeth vnder the view and face of the skie? If these reasons, if these interests, if these disdaines will not moue you, what can be further obiected against your securitie & negligence? if these respectes, if these contemplations of perill, infamie, and perpetuall ruine, can stirre vp no life in you, what can be sayd in more importunitie? what can kindle in you the seedes of the valour and resolution of your elders, if your mindes be not inclined to the consideration of these aduersaries? In ages and posterities to come, with what sorow shall your children & descendants remember your names, if you leaue not vnto them the name of *Almaines* in the same degree of greatnesse, authoritie, and reputation, wherein your fathers left it transferred to you? But let vs fall from those sortes of comfortes & perswasions, for that it is an office inconuenient in me, whom you haue lifted to the height of this place, to vse such libertie of wordes, but rather to recommend to you deedes and examples. I am determined to passe into *Italie*, vnder pretence to receiue the Imperiall crowne; a solemnitie as you know more full of ceremonie, then of substance, for that the authoritie and dignitie Imperiall depend wholly vpon your electiō. But my principall intention is, to breake the necke of the wicked purposes and plots of the French, and to chase them out of the Duchie of *Mullan*, seeing we haue no other suretie against their insolencies. I hope there resteth in none of you all any difficultie, to accompanie me according to your custome with other Emperors going to be crowned, neither doubt I, that carying with me your harts & affections, ioyning with all your forces to mine, I shal not passe a journey victorious, marching with such felicitie, as the most of the potentates and communalities in *Italie* will meete me as petitioners, some to confirme their priuiledges, some to implore our iustice against the oppressions they suffer, and some to appease with a deuout submission, the ire of the victor. I doubt not, but the French king will giue place at the first brute of our comming, that nation bearing yet in memorie, that being but yong and almost an infant, I brake with true valour and magnanimitie, the armie of king *Lows*, the eleuenth neare *Guinegaste*, since which time that kingdome refusing to make experience of my armes, haue neuer fought with me but by ambushes and conspiracies. Consider with that reputation and magnanimitie, which so long hath liued inuested in the name of the *Almaines*, whether it agreeth with your honour, with your renowne, and with our common perill, in a case so extraordinarie, to make extraordinarie prouisions. The glorie and greatnesse of our name, to the which this hath bene alwayes proper and peculiar to defend the dignitie of the Popes of *Rome*, and the authoritie Apostolike, & which now are wickedly defiled by the ambitiō & impietie of the Frēch king, calleth vs, I say, with the common decree of all *Germany*, to draw our swords & turne our scepters to so holy, so iust, & so reuerent a protection. It is an interest that is wholly yours, seeing I haue sufficiently acquitted the ductie I owe, in making so ready assembly of you, to lay afore you the common daun-

ger, vrging you with the exāple of my deliberation. The resolution of courage shall not war. I me
 to communicate with you in all daungers, & lesse shall you lacke the disposition of my person, be-
 custumed of long time to endure paine and trauell, neither is my counsell in conducting a warre
 so insufficient, either by greatnesse of age, or doubtfulnesse of experience, as, in this enterprise you
 may haue want of a leader worthy of so great an honor. And by how much you shall honor & set
 forth the greatnesse of your king with fulnesse of authoritie, by how much you shall honor him
 with an armie mightie and appointed, with so much the more facilitie and your perpetuall glory,
 shall you be protectours of the libertie of the Church of *Rome* our common mother, & leaue ex-
 alted to heauen, together with the reputatiō of the *Almaine* name, the Imperiall dignity, comon to
 you all in greatnesse and amplitude, and particular onely to this nation in iust office of procection.

This speech wrought maruellously in the mindes of the assistants, being now ashamed that in
 the other dyots his complaints found no better passage and fauour: and as it is easie to set on fire
 those mindes that are already kindled: so euery one hauing a vehement disdain, that by their ne-
 gligence the maiestie of the Empire should be translated into other nations: they begā with a great
 vnitie, to treat vpon articles necessarie, holding it conuenient to leaue a most mightie armie, and
 of such a sufficient appointmēt as (though the whole regions of *Italie* would oppose against them
 with the French king) to be able to renew and recouer in *Italie* the auncient rights of the Empire,
 which had bene vsurped either by the disabilitie, or other infirmitie of the Emperours past: for so
 required the glorie of the name of the *Almains*: such a preparation worthy the assemblie of so ma-
 ny Princes and free townes: And that at last it was necessarie to shew to all the world that though
 in the willes of the *Almains* had remained a long diuision, & their mindes not reconciled for ma-
 ny yeares, that yet the nation was not lesse mightie, nor their spirites depriued of that magnanimitie
 which in other worldes had made their aunceltors terrible to all estates and principallities of men:
 by the meane of whose vertue, both there was diuolued in generall to the nation of *Germains*, a li-
 berall glorie with the dignitie Imperiall, and in part particular, many noble personages had aspired
 to much greatnesse & dominion, many of the best houses in *Italie* hauing by long prescription rai-
 gned in estates gotten by their valour. These things were begun to be debated with so great for-
 wardnesse and inclination, that it is manifest no dyot to haue assembled of long time, wherein was
 expectation of so great euent, the multitudes perswading them selues vniuersally, that besides the
 strength of all the other reasons, the Electours with the residue of the Princes, exprest a more
 quicke readinesse to the enterprise, for a hope they had, that (for the minoritie of the children of
 king *Philip*) the Imperiall dignitie which had successiuelly continued in *Albert*, *Federik*, and *Maxi-
 milian*, all three of the house of *Austrich*, would at last be passed into an other familie.

By these resolutions and agreements, the French king was induced to dissolue his armie im-
 mediately after the action of *Genes*, both to take away the occasion of so great a suspition, & to leaue e-
 uery partie satisfied of the integritie of his intention: yea his owne person had eftsoones repassd
 ouer the Mounts, had it not bene for a desire he had to speake with the king of *Aragon*, who pre-
 pared to returne into *Spaine*, altogether disposed to resume the gouernement of *Castile*, for that
Jane his daughter was vnable to so great an administration: not so much for the imbecillitie of her
 sex, as for that by a superabundance of melancholie, growen since the death of her husband, she was
 become somewhat estranged from her vnderstanding, & also for the minoritie of the children com-
 mon betweene king *Philip* and her, whereof the eldest had not yet attained ten yeares. Besides, he
 was pushed forward by the desires of many, which called him to that gouernement by a remem-
 braunce that they had bene iustly gouerned, and that those kingdomes had flourished vnder him by
 a long continuance of peace, the diuisions already begun amongst the great Barons, together with
 the manifest signes of troubles to come, much encreasing this desire: but his coming was no lesse
 desired of his daughter, who, wandring in minde in all other actions, was neuertheless constant in
 this, that she desired the returne of her father, refusing obstinately against the perswasions and im-
 portunities of many, to subscribe with her owne hand to any expedition, without which subscrip-
 tion, according to the custome of those realmes, the affaires occurrent had not their perfection. For
 these reasons, the king of *Aragon* departed from *Naples*, where he remained but seuen moneths,
 leauing vnstatisfied the great expectation that was had on him: not so much for the shortnesse of
 time which runnes in a voluble motion without respect, nor for that it is hard to answere the colli-
 ceptions of men, which for the most part are inconsiderate and not measured with due proportiōs:

As for the many difficulties and impediments that opposed against him, by reason whereof he did nothing deserving memorie for the vniuersall benefite of *Italie*, nor any thing worthy of monument for the particular profit of the kingdome of *Naples*: for such was his desire to returne efts-oones to the gouernement of *Castillo* (the principall pillar of his greatnesse) that he reserued no oportunitie to thinke of the affaires of *Itale*: onely he turned all his studies to deuise to keepe him selfe in amitie with the king of *Romains* and the French king, to the end the one vnder colour to be grand-father to the idle children of the dead king, and the other with the oportunitie of his power giuing courage to who would oppose against him, should giue no impediments to his returne. And the obligation wherein he was bound by the treatie of peace made with the French king to restore the estates that had bene taken from the Barons of *Aniow*, and distributed either by couenaut or by recompence to such as had followed his faction, hindred him to redresse and gratifie the kingdome of *Naples*: for seeking not to estrange from him, the mindes of his good seruauents, he was constrained to recompence those of *Aniow* either with estates of equall reuenue (which he must buy of others) or with readie money (whereunto his Courts of faculties and treasures would not suffice) in which respectes he was compelled not onely to raise improuementes vpon his reuenues, and to refuse, according to the custome of new kings, to distribute grace and exemptions, and exercise any sort of liberalitie: but also with the incredible complaint of euery one, to taxe his peoples, who expected to be discharged of their intollerable burdens. The complaints made by the Barons of both the one and other part, were nothing inferiour, for that to such as were possessed, besides that they resigned their estates with ill will, necessitie made their recompences short and limited, and touching others there was restrained as much as was possible, the benefite of restitution in all things, wherein hapned any difference, for that how much lesse was restored to those, by so much lesse was the recompence of others. The great Captaine departed with him leaving behind him a good will incredible, and a renowne nothing inferiour, of whom besides his merites and prayles in other times, his present liberalities then were most notorious, promising and disposing giftes of great valour, for the which hee sold a great part of his owne estates, caring lesse to make himselfe poore, then to faile in such an action of honour. But the king of *Naples* departed verie ill contented with the Pope, for that demanding the inuestiture of the kingdome, the Pope refused to giue it him, but with those taxations and tributes wherewith it had bene giuen afore times to the former kings: he made instance that there might be made to him the same diminution which had bene made to *Ferdinand* his cousin, and to his sonnes and nephewes, demanding the inuestiture of the whole realme in his owne name as successour of the old *Alfonso*, in which forme whilest he was at *Naples*, he had receiued oath and homage, notwithstanding in the capitulations of peace made with the French king, it was disposed that touching the land of *Lauora* and *Abruzzza* the name of the Queene should be ioyntly acknowledged. It was thought that the refusall which the Pope made of the inuestiture, was the cause that *Ferdinand* would not speake with the Pope, who remaining at the same time in the rocke of *Ostia*, it was sayd he tained there to expect his passage. But how soeuer the truth was, the king of *Aragon* tooke his course to *Sauona*, where it was agreed that he should haue enteruiew and speech with the French king, who staying for that cause in *Italy*, was come thither from *Millan* as soone as he vnderstood he had taken passage from *Naples*.

In this enteruiew and conference, the demonstrations on all sides were manifest, free, and full of confidence, and such for the libertie thereof, as in no memorie had bin seene in any meeting or communication of like Princes: for that other potentates, betweene whom were either priuate enuies, or anciēt quarrels, were wont to meete with such order, that the one was not in the power of the other, where this suffered neither restraint of companies nor exception of place: for when the ships of the king of *Aragon* were within the hauen of *Sauona*, the French king being in their seeming descended vpon the wall of the hauen, passed by a bridge of wood made for the nonce vpon the poope in the galley of the king of *Aragon*, with a very small trayne of Gentlemen, and without any gard at all: where, being receiued with a ioy agreeable to the honor that was in him, and with a common gladnesse of the king and Queene his neece, spending some time there in deuises of mirth and curtesie: they went out of the galley by the same bridge, & made their entry on foot into the citie, hauing much to do to passe through the presse of so many multitudes of men &

The kings of
Aragon and
France haue
enteruiew to-
gether.

women as were drawn thither from the townes there aboutes. The Queene went accompanied with her husband on the right hand, and her vnckle on the left, being preciously attired in stones of price, and other sumptuous array: the Cardinall of *Amboise* and the great *Captaine* marched after the two kings: after them followed the young Ladies and Gentlemen of the Queenes Court, all set forth with glorious shewes: and before and behind were the Courts of the two kings appointed in an incredible pompe of rich and gorgeous ornaments. With these companies the king and Queene of *Aragon* were conueyed by the French king to the Castell, which was appointed for their lodging, hauing his prospect vpon the sea: that part or halfe of the towne which appertaineth to it was appointed for their trayne: and the French king was lodged in the Bishops houses right against the Castell; a spectacle truly worthie of memorie, to see together two of the most mightiest kings in Christendome, not long afore cruell enemies, and now not onely reconciled and conioyned by parentage, but also setting apart all signes of hatred, and memories of offences past, did euery one commit to the arbitrement of the other his proper life, with no lesse assurance and confidence then if they had bene lineall brethren: a manner of behauiour which gaue occasion to such as were present to dispute, whether of the two kings had shewed the greater confidence. Many referred much to the fidelitie of the French king, who was the first that put him selfe in the power of the other, hauing no other assurance then the bonde of faith: And to the other was transferred a greater occasion of shame, for that faith was kept to him first, and it was a suspition more likely that *Ferdinand* desired to be assured of him, the better to establish him selfe in the kingdome of *Naples*. But the most sort gaue greater reputation to the confidence of *Ferdinand*, who exceeding the example of the French king, put him selfe in his power, not for a moment or few houres, but for many dayes and long time. And hauing dispoyled him of so great a kingdome, with so many harmes and damages to his peoples, and so late a slander of his name, he had to feare that the French kings hatred was no lesse mortall, then his desire of reuenge iust. Besides, it was also to be doubted in whom was greater the profit of the disloyaltie: for, to make the French king prisoner, *Ferdinand* could reape no great commoditie by it, since the estate of *Fraunce* is managed vnder such a policie of lawes and customes, that to keepe the king restrained, could not much diminish the forces and authoritie of the kingdome. But there hanged other perils vpon the person of *Ferdinand*, for that if he had bene made prisoner, it was not to be doubted, that both for the minoritie of his heyres that then were very young, and the realme of *Naples* being to him a new kingdome, and also for that his other states, and singularly the realme of *Castile* were through many accidents disordered amongst them selues, the French king should not haue receiued of long time any impediment by the power and armes of *Spayne*. In this enteruiew and honorable spectacle of great Princes, the consideration of the great *Captaine* ministred not the least occasions to debate and commune vpon: vpon him were occupied the thoughts and eyes of euery one, no lesse for the renowne of his naturall valour, then for the memorie of his many victories: Considerations which so entised the mindes and affections of the French men, that notwithstanding they had bin so often vanquished by him, and were wont to hold his name in common hatred, yet his very aspect and presence confirming the opinion and image of his vertue, tooke another habite in the mindes of the French, for that they could not be satisfied to behold and honour him, making discourse to such as had not yet bene in the kingdome of *Naples*, sometimes with what incredible celeritie and shift of warre he inuaded in *Calabria* the Barons encamped at *Laine*, sometimes with what patience and resolution of mind he endured so many difficulties and aduersities, when in the middest of pestilence and hunger he was besieged in *Barletto*: sometimes with what diligence and efficacie he kept retained the mindes of men, and amid a penurie and want of money entertained long time his souldiers without pay: with what singular valour he managed the battell at *Sirignola*: & with what greatnesse of courage, with what industry of a souldier, & with what vnexperienced stratagemes amid so many difficultes, with an armie vn timer, and farre inferiour in forces, he kept his ground, and obtained the victorie vpon the riuer of *Garillon*: and lastly, how vigilant he had bene alwayes to embrace oportunities, and make his profite vpon the disorders of his enemies. But that which drew men into most wonder and admiration of him, was the excellent maiestie of his presence, the stately representation of his wordes & gestures, full of grauitie, affabilitie, & mildnesse, equall to those effectes and actions which had alwayes flowed from his right worthy & excellent

excellent vertues : aboue all the rest, the French king, who desired that he might sup at the same
 table with *Ferdinand*, the Queene, and him, and by commaundement was placed neare to *Ferdin-*
and, was as it were raiued with contemplation and deuising with him, finding in the action of
 his countenance and speech, a confirmation of those singularities and merites which he had afore
 expressed in so many worthie examples of his naturall valour and vertue. In so much that in the
 iudgement of euery one, that day was no lesse glorious to the *great Captaine*, then when he entred
 with his victorious armie into the Citie of *Naples*, honoured with all those ceremonies of triumph
 which are wont to be exercised vpon conquerours. But as time nourisheth a law of dissolution and
 forgetfulnesse of things worldly and transitorie, so those were the latest triumphant dayes of the
great Captaine, for that departing no more out of the kingdome of *Spaine*, he had afterwarde no
 meane to exercise his vertue, neither in warre, nor in things memorable for peace. The two kings
 had conuersation together for the space of two dayes, wherein were holden betwene them many
 discourses both long and secret, and Cardinall *de S. Prassida* the Popes Legat not admitted to
 that conference, nor honoured but generally : but by that that might bee comprehended by
 generall coniecture, and also by the manifestation of things afterwarde, they passed a recipro-
 call promise the one to the other, to entertaine together a ioynt and perpetuall amitie and intelli-
 gence, and that *Ferdinand* should labour to reconcile *Maximilian* and the French king, to the end
 that being all reunited, they might declare and protest quarrell against the *Venetians*: wherein, to
 expresse that they were no lesse carefull for things common, then for such as concerned themselues
 in proper and particular, they published an intention to reforme the estate of the Church, and to
 that end to call a Councell. Neuerthelesse *Ferdinand* proceeded not with sinceritie, but seeking
 to nourish in that hope the Cardinall of *Amboise*, who thirsted much to be Pope, he lulled him so
 much by that abusing meane, that (with no litle damage to the affaires of his king) he perceiued
 too late, and that by many signes and demonstrations, what difference were betwene the wordes
 and workes of that Prince, and what subtleties and euasions were in his counsels. They commu-
 ned together touching the cause of the *Pisans*, wherein the *Florentins* had entertained negocia-
 tion both with the one and other of them during the whole yeare: for whē the French king prepa-
 red his armie against the *Genowayes*, being discontented that the *Pisans* bare fauour to the rebel-
 lions of that people, and foreseeing how much it would be for the commoditie of his affaires to
 haue the *Florentins* to recouer that Citie, he gaue them hope, that as soone as he had repressed the
 mutinies of *Genes*, he would conuert his armie to the deuotion of their seruice, expressing in that
 promise, as also appeared in the generall inclination of the Court, that the auncient good will
 which had bene afore time borne to the *Pisans*, was for this occasion turned into hate. But euen as
 the counsels of Princes haue their variations and imperfections, so in their promises oftentimes is
 found litle certaintie, bearing more regard to the trayne and euent of times, then to accomplish the
 wordes they speake: for the French king hauing performed his enterprize vpon the *Genowayes*,
 chaunged his determination with the *Florentins*, both for the same reasons which made him dis-
 misse his armie, and also for that he would not offend the minde of the king of *Aragon*, who assu-
 red him that he would so dispose the *Pisans*, that they should willingly returne to the obedience of
 the *Florentins*, from whom the French king hoped by that meane to draw no small quantitie of
 money. To this the king of *Aragon* disposed himselfe, but for many sundry occasions, and albeit
 it had bene more agreeable to him that the *Florentins* should not recouer *Pisa*, yet knowing that it
 could not be long kept without great expences & difficulties, and fearing withall least they should
 obtaine it by the French kings working, he hoped when hee was at *Naples*; to haue bene able
 to induce the *Pisans* by his authoritie, to returne vnder honest conditions, to the obedience of
 the *Florentins*, who promised (so farre forth as the action were accomplished) to confederate
 with him, and to giue him within a certaine time, an hundred thousand duckets: but not finding in
 the *Pisans* that conformitie and deuotion which hee expected, to let that the gratification and
 recompence should not remaine onely to the French king, hee then protested openly to the *Flo-*
rentine Embassadors, that if they should attempt in any sort to reconquer *Pisa* without his ayde,
 hee would manifestly obiect his power against them, and the French king (to turne him from
 those thoughtes which hee had to manage that enterprize by armes) hee entertained cunningly
 with deuises full of varieties, sometimes perswading that he hoped to draw them in the end to some
 composition, and sometimes he iustified that the *Pisans* were vnder his protection: a matter no

lesse false and contrarie, then his deuises were vaine and fabulous : for albeit the *Pisans* had made many solicitations to him, with offers to indue him with the absolute iurisdiction of their towne, yet entertaining their requestes with hopes, and keeping his intentions dissembled, he alwayes forbore to accept them, knowing what it was to take vpon him the protection of a warre popular and confused. But this matter being more particularly debated in *Sauona*, they concluded that it were good and necessarie, the *Pisans* should returne vnder the iurisdiction of the *Florentins*, so farre forth as either of them might tast of the profit : the same being the cause that the *Florentins* (fearing to stirre too much the mind of the king of *Aragon*) forbore to giue the spoyle that year to the harvest of the *Pisans*: an action wherein they had reposed a great hope, for that what by the want of victuals, and weaknesse of forces in the towne, the *Florentine* souldiours ouerran to the whole countrey euen to their gates : and the peoples of the maine countrey, more mightie in numbers within the towne then the proper Citizens, grievung much to loose the fruite of their trauell for the whole year, began to abate much of their accustomed obstinacie. Besides, their generall cause was no more succoured by their neighbours as before, for that the *Genowayes* ouergriued with so many calamities, had no more the same thoughts, *Pandolffe Petrucci* made wearie betweene importunitie and suspition, found also the charges intollerable: and they of *Lucquois*, albeit they ministered secretly to their wants, yet their abilitie was no more sufficient to beare out so great a burden, being for the present no lesse heauie and intollerable, then in expectation, ielousie and full of perill. The two kings departed from *Sauona* the fourth day, with the same demonstrations of concord and amitie: the one tooke his course by sea to *Barcelona*, and the other returned by land into *France*, leauing the other affaires of *Italie* in the same degree, but with a greater discontentment of the Pope, who taking of new his occasion vpo the stirre made by *Anmball Bentiuole*, had made instance by *Cardinall de S. Prassida* to the king at *Sauona*, to deliuer vp to him as prisoners *John Bentiuole* and *Alexander* his sonne, whom he kept retained in the Duchie of *Millan*: he alledged that since they had broken the contract made in *Bologna* by the interposing of *Monsieur de Chaumont*, the king was at libertie & no further bound to keepe his faith, offering withall that if his maiestie would satisfie his desire, he would send the Cardinall cap to the Bishop of *Alby*. The king answered, that albeit he could discern in them no sufficient apparance of fault or crime, yet for that he would somewhat bridle and restraine their dispositions, he had kept retained many dayes in the Castell of *Millan*, *John Bentiuole*, but not finding good matter wherein they had offended, he ought to haue no lesse regard to the innocencie of the parties, then to his proper honour, vnder the which hee stood bound to keepe his faith: and yet to gratifie the Pope and leaue him satisfied of his inclination, he sayd he was disposed to suffer him to proceede against them with curses and paines, as against the rebels of the Church, euen as he had endured without complaint that in *Bologna* in the heate of that stirre, their Pallace was destroyed euen to the foundations.

The Dyot of *Constance* continued still with the same expectation of men wherewith it was begun, which *Cesar* forgat not to nourish with diuerse sleighes and gallant wordes, publishing that hee would passe into *Italie* so accompanied, that farre greater forces then the armies of *Fraunce* and all *Italie* ioyned together, should not be able to resist him. And to giue greater value and authoritie to his cause (alwayes protesting that he had onely fixed in his intention the protection of the Church) he aduertised the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals, that he had declared the French king rebell and enemie to the sacred Empire, for that he had descended into *Italie* to transerre into the person of the Cardinall of *Amboise* the supreme dignitie pontificall, and to set vpon his owne head the crowne Imperiall, and lastly to driue the whole region of *Italie* into one seruite subiection: That he prepared to come to *Rome* onely to take the crowne, and to establish a common suretie and libertie: And lastly, that in regard of his Imperiall dignitie being protectour of the Church, and for his proper pietie verie deuout and desirous to aduance the Sea. Apostolike, it was not conuenient he should tarie to be required or prayed, knowing well inough, that the Pope for feare of perill and harmes was fled from *Bologna*, and that the same feare kept restrained both him and the religious Colledge from communicating their daungers, or sending to demanda succours. Thus the matters which were treated in *Germanie* being by manie intelligences signified into *Italie*, and the brute that was spread surpassing the truth of things, together with the generall preparations which the French king made, being causes enforcing more credit and testimonie of the publike

publike rumours, for that it was beleueed that he feared not without occasion. These things (I say) inquired much the mindes of euery one, some for desire of new things, some for hope, some for feare, some for respectes generall, and some for their priuate and particular interestes: In so much as the Pope sent as Legate to *Maximilian*, the Cardinall of *Saint Crosse*, and the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, with all other Potentates in *Italie*, (except the Marquis of *Mantua*) that were absolute and depended vpon themselves, addressed to him messengers speciall; either in the name of Embassadours, or vnder some other nature, euery one foreseeing for his safetie according to the lealousie of the time. These things troubled much the minde of the French king, being verie doubtfull of the will of the *Venetians*, and more uncertaine of the disposition of the Pope, as well for many reasons and experiences of things past, as especially that he had elected to this legation Cardinall *Saint Crosse*, in whom had remained an auncient and partiall inclination to further the greatnesse of *Maximilian*. But touching the will of the Pope, much lesse that it was manifest to others, seeing it was scarcely knowen to himselfe: for, having his minde full of discontentments and suspicions against the French king, sometimes (to bee at libertie from those humours wandring and troublesome) hee desired the coming of *Cesar*: and eftsloones the memorie of auncient quarrels betwene the Popes and Emperours, disaltered and amazed him, the same occasions remaining, and the same propertie of spirits working. In which incertaintie and frailtie of minde, he deferred to resolute himselfe, expecting first what would be determined in the Dyot: and therefore proceeding in termes generall, he had instructed the Legate to perswade *Cesar* in his name to passe into *Italie* without an armie, offering to him greater degrees and proportion of honours then euer had bin done by any Pope at the crowning of Emperours. But a litle after (the counsels of men obey occasions and times) the expectations that were had of the resolutions in the Dyot, began to diminish: for when it was credibly vnderstood in *Germanie*, that the French king had dissolued his armie immediatly after the victorie of *Genes*, his person also returning with the same fidelitie & obseruation of promise ouer the mounts, the heate of the Princes and peoples began to abate, and their fierie inclinations to resolute to smoke and fume, the feare being ceased that he came not to vsurpe the Popedome and the Empire. Besides (as it often hapneth) publike respectes fell not so strongly in consideration, but they were ouercaried with interestes priuate; for that, besides all other reasons, there was a generall and auncient desire in all *Germanie*, that the greatnesse of Emperours should not be so absolute, as the other estates should be compelled to obey them. And the French king omitted no diligence that might giue aduancement to his cause, for that he sent to *Constance*, men expresse, who forbearing all publike practise, but working secretly, laboured by the hidden fauours of the Princes that were his friends, to appease the mindes of the residue, purging the infamies that had bene imposed by testification and euidence of the effects, since as soone as he had ranged *Genes*, he did not onely disperse his armie, but also returned in person into *Fraunce*, with that speede that was agreeable to a personage of his greatnesse: they affirmed besides that he had not only abstained in example and action from offending the Empire of *Rome*, but also in all confederations, contractes, or bondes, he did alwayes protest and except that he would bee bound to nothing that was contrarie to the rights of the sacred Empire: wherein neuertheless they reposed not so much in these iustifications, but that they laboured with great diligence and many liberalities to abate the fierce mindes of the *Almains* with the engine of gold and siluer, whereof that nation is not a litle couetous: A batterie of no litle force, to make breaches into the mindes of most sortes & properties of men, that beare more inclination, to corruption then to vertue. The Dyot at last determined and brake vp the twentieth day of August, in the which was agreed, after many disputations, that there should be deliuered to *Cesar* to follow him into *Italie*, eight thousand horse, & xij. thousand footmen, payed for six moneths, and to furnish the expences of the artilleries, with other charges extraordinary, six thousand Florins of *Rhein* to be continued so long as the artillerie was in seruice: the bands and regiments to be in the field and assemble neare *Constance* about the middest of October. It was published at that time, that they would happily haue furnished him with a greater proportion of men & money, if *Maximilian* had consented that the enterprize (alwayes vnder his gouernment & counsell) had bin managed wholly in the name of the Empire, & that the election of Captaines had passed by order from the Empire, and distribution of the places that should be conquered to be made according to the determination of the Dyot: but *Maximilian* retaining still a singler ambition in this iorney, would

admit no companion or communitie of name or authoritie (albeit all went vnder a generall title of the name of the Empire) and much lesse suffer that the rewardes of the victorie should apperteine to any other then to him and his: in so much as standing better contented with the aide they deliuered to him in this sort, then to go better accompanied, with an authoritie assitant, there was made no other resolution. And yet albeit it answered not the expectation that men had conceived afore, yet ceased not for all that the feare that was in *Italie* of his discending: for it was considered that the souldiers which his subiectes would giue him, with such as he would leaue of him, being ioyned to those bands that were erected in the *Dyot*, he would come appointed with a very mightie armie, compounded of bodies resolute and trayned, and furnished with sundry naturcs of artilleries: a matter so much the more to be feared, by how much *Maximilian*, for the disposition of his nature, and long exercise in armes, was very able and sufficient in martiall discipline, and could well beare, with the labour of his body and faculty of his minde, all aduersities and difficulties whatsoeuer: a sufficiencie for the which he merited more, and caried away greater reputation then had bene giuen to any Emperours many ages before. He laboured besides, to leaue and bring into his pay ten thousand *Swissers*, whereunto albeit the Bailife of *Dion* and others sent by the French king, did oppose and object with great instance in the *Dyots* of that nation, reducing to memorie the alliance continued for so many yeares with the crowne of *France*, and estfoones lately confirmed by the king raigning, together with the many sortes of profites which their peoples receiued by the conuerlation of *France*: and on the other side, they preferred their old and settled quarrels with the house of *Austria*, their grieuous warres they haue had with *Maximilian*, and lastly what indifferent perill and preiudice the greatnesse of the Empire brought to them. Yet all these notwithstanding, in the Parliaments and *Dyots* of the *Swissers*, appeared a manifest inclination and desire to satisfie the demaundes of *Caesar*, or at the least not to take armes against him, for that (as was supposed) they would not offend the generall name & state of *Germanie*, which it seemed was intangled and ioyned to this action. For this reason many doubted that the French king, if he were abandoned of the *Swissers*, or that the *Venetians* sayled to ioine with him, being not furnished with a sufficient strength of footemen to resist the footbands of the enemies, and hoping that the furie of the *Almaines* entring into *Italie* as a landflood, would vanish and dissolue for want of money, would retire his army into townes; the likelihood whereof was already manifest in this, that with a wonderfull diligence he fortified the suburbes of *Milan*, with many other places in the Duchie of greatest importance. In regard of which alterations and preparations, the *Venetians* were trauelled in no lesse perplexitie of minde then the other regions of *Italie*, and by how much their deliberations and counsels were of greatest consequence, by so much more busie, and greater were the paines and diligence that euery one tooke to haue them ioine with him: for *Caesar* from the beginning, had addrested to them three Embassadors of great authoritie, not only to sollicite that he might haue free passage through their dominions, but also to induce them to contract with him a straiter alliance, wherein should be agreed that they should participate in the rewardes of the victorie, protesting to them on the contrarie, that it was in his power to accord to their preiudice with the French king, with the same conditions that so often had bene offered to him at diuers times. On the other side, both by his Embassadors, and the Oratour of *Venice* that was resident in his Court, laboured to perswade them to oppose with maine hand against the comming of *Caesar* as a matter of equall preiudice both to the one and other, offering for his part the seruice of all his forces, and to remaine their perpetuall confederate. But in those dayes the Senate was not contented that the tranquillitie of *Italie* should be troubled, neither were they caried into humors of new tumultes, by the hopes that were offered to enlarge their dominions: for they had proued by a smarting experience, that the benefite and spoile of the conquest of *Cremona*, did not counteruaile the suspitions and daungers wherein they had bene continually holden, since they had the French king so neare a neighbour. They could willingly haue bene contented to be newters, but being pressed with the importunities of the Emperour, they stood in a necessitie either to refuse or graunt him passage: if they refused him, they feared to be the first that should be vexed: and in gratifying his demaundes, they offended directly the French king, being expressely forbidden in their reciprocal confederation, to graunt passage to the enemies of the one or other: and they were not ignorant, that beginning once to offend him, it would be great indiscretion after *Maximilian* were past, to be idle beholders of the issue of the warre, and expect the actions of the Princes, whereof the

the one would be an enemy to the name of the *Venetian*, and the other hauing receiued no other measure then libertie of passage, had no great occasion to be their friend: Respects which wrought much with the Senate, that it was necessarie to sticke openly to the one or other parties, but to whether of them, their opinions, for the importance of the matter, were very different: and therefore, being no longer able to temporise in a cause so earnestly laboured by the Embassadors of both Princes, they made it at last a counsell matter in the Senate house of the *Pregati*, where *Nicholas Poskarin* vsed this forme of reasoning:

If it were in our power to set downe a resolution, by the which might be continued the peace and tranquillitie of our common weale amid so many conspiring deliberations of these great Princes, I am sure there would be amongst vs no varietie of opinion and counsell, & much lesse should any hope or offers leade vs inclined to a warre of so great expences and perill, as is like to be this, which standes now in preparation. But seeing in regard of the reasons and causes so often debated amongst vs in our late assemblies, there is no expectation to entertaine that common tranquillitie: the principall reason whereupon we are to establish our deliberation, is to consider whether we may beleue that betweene the French king and king of *Romains* (dispaireing once of our amitie) may be contracted an vnion: or whether the hatreds betweene them be so mightie & resolute, as to let them from ioyning together in one sociable vnitie: for if we were well assured of such a danger, it were to be proued that we ought not to depart from the amity of the French king, both for that our forces being ioyned in good faith and meaning with his for a common defence, we should easily protect our estate, and also it would be more honorable to continue the confederation we haue with him, then by light euasions to shift vs from it without euident occasion. Besides, we should enter with more recommendation and fauour of the world into a warre which should beare the title and name of the protection of *Italie*, then to ioyn with those armies and powers which we know manifestly to be leauied to stirre commotions and troubles. But if we set before our eyes the daunger of this vnion, I thinke it will not be denied that there is not great necessitie to preuent it, since it would be more profitable about all comparisons to ioyn with the Emperour against the French king, then to tarry till both the one and other be vnited against vs. And albeit it is hard to iudge certainly which of the two will happen, for that it is a thing that not onely dependeth of the will of others, but also is subiect to many accidents and occasions, which scarcely will leaue this resolution in the power of those that ought to execute it: yet, for that the experience of times past is a true instructour of things to come, and that matters that are to succede can not be comprehended but by coniecture, we may discern that in this is more perill then profite, lesse suretie then confidence, & an action whereof we ought to haue great suspicion and feare. For, as touching the king of *Romains*, it is not like that he shall finde any great impediments, considering with what feruent desire he aspieth to passe into *Italie*, which he can not do with any conueniencie or reason, vnlesse he ioyn with the French king or with vs. And albeit he soliciteth much our alliaunce, yet if we refuse him, who doubteth but necessitie will driue him to seeke confederatiō with the French, hauing no other meane to accomplish his purposes. Touching the French king, it seemeth there are farre greater difficulties for this vnion: but yet I hold them not such, as vnder them we may promise to our selues any suretie: for that he may be caried to that deliberation by suspicion & ambition, two mightie motions in the mindes of great Princes, either of them in his singler nature, being able to driue on those thoughts that are already raised to dominion: he marketh well the instance that *Cæsar* maketh to enter vnitie with vs, and measuring (albeit with false weightes) our intention and desire, he may doubt that the same suspicion that we haue, not to be preuented by him, induceth vs to preuent him, knowing also that we haue good intelligence of those things which so long time they haue consulted together against vs. Lastly, he may feare that we are allured by ambition, looking into the liberalities and offers that may be made to vs; & from this feare there can be no meane sufficient to assure him, seeing there is nothing that naturally breeds more suspicion then matters of estate. And besides suspicion, he may be driuen on by ambition, hauing a desire as we know to the Citie of *Cremona*, wherunto he shall be the more kindled by perswasions of the *Millanois*, and no lesse for a thirst to occupie all the auncient estates of the *Viscounts*, which he pretendeth to be his inheritance as well as the Duchie of *Millan*: to these he can not hope to aspire, if he first seeke not confederacie with the king of *Romains*, for that our common weale being mightie of it selfe, if the French king assaile vs alone or of his proper forces, it will alwayes stand in our power to ioyn with

*The Oration
of Nicholas
Poskarin.*

" *Maximilian*: which thoughtes as they haue alwayes occupied his minde, so in this it is also appro-
 " ued, that he neuer durst lift vp his hand to oppresse vs without that vnion, which being the direct
 " line to leade him to the marke he shoots at, why should we not feare that in the end he will be dis-
 " posed to it? we are not assured frō this feare by the cōsideration that it would be a resolution vnprom-
 " fitable to him, for the cōquering of two or three Cities, to bring into *Italy* the king of *Romains* his
 " naturall enemy, of whom in the end he should be alwayes molested, and with whom he should ne-
 " uer haue friendship but vncertaine, and yet such as by this reason he should be alwayes driuen to
 " buy and entertaine with great summes of money: for that if he feare that we will not ioyne with
 " the king of *Romains*, he is to thinke that in preuenting vs, he shall not onely put himselfe out of
 " daunger, but also shall stand in securitie. And though he do not feare this vnion, yet he may happily
 " iudge it necessarie to confederate with him, to deliuer himselfe from the troubles & daungers which
 " he may suffer by him, either by reason of the aides of *Germany*, or by other alliances and occasions.
 " And albeit greater daungers may happen to him if the king of *Romains* begin once to set foote in
 " *Italy*, yet it is the common nature of men to feare most the daungers that be nearest at hand, to
 " esteeme more then is necessarie things present, and to hold lesse reckning then they ought of such
 " as are farre off and to come, seeing that to the same are referred many hopes of remedies, as well by
 " the fauour of times, as benefite of accidents: but be it that it were not profitable for the French king
 " to make this vnion, we are not assured for all that, that he will not do it: the mindes of men are sub-
 " iect to many mutations, sometimes altered by feare, and sometimes blinded by couetousnesse: we
 " know that the nature of Frenchmen is light, and ready to embrace any new enterprises, and whose
 " hopes are neuer lesse then their desires: we are not ignorant, with what perswasions and offers (suf-
 " ficient to kindle any minde) the French king is stirred against vs by the *Millanois*, the Pope, the
 " *Florentins*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, & by the Marquis of *Montua*. It is not giuen to all men to be wise
 " and foreseeing, no it is a gift that rarely discendes, and that but to a few; but who will prognosticate
 " what will be the deliberations of another, let him (if he will not deceiue himselfe) not so much con-
 " sider those things which by similitude and likelihood would make a wise man, as what is the spi-
 " rite and nature of him that is to make the deliberation: And therefore if we will iudge of that the
 " French king will doe, we are not to regard so much what belongeth to the office of discretion and
 " wisdom, as to consider the naturall humours of the French, light, wandring, and oftentimes accu-
 " stomed to proceede more with furie and rashnesse, then with counsell or foresight: We must con-
 " sider that the natures and inclinations of great Princes are not like to ours, neither so moderate in
 " their affections, nor so easie to resist their appetites as priuate, for that by how much more they
 " are accustomed to be honored in their kingdomes, and absolutely obeyed, by so much more are
 " they made not onely imperious and insolent, but raising their will aboute reason or law, they
 " can not endure not to obtaine that which they hold for iust: and that seemes iust to them which
 " they desire, being perswaded that they haue power to make plaine with a word both hilles and
 " mountaines, to remoue all impediments, and to surmount the nature of things: yea they hold
 " it a shame to restraints their inclinations for any difficulties, and measuring commonly great things
 " with the same rules wherewith they are wont to proceede in actions more inferiour, their coun-
 " sels haue lesse communitie with discretion and reason, then with will and arrogancie: vices which
 " aboute all other Princes, haue most societie and participation with the French nation: the same be-
 " ing confirmed with the late example of the kingdome of *Naples*, where the French king induced
 " by ambition and indiscretion, consented that the moytie of the kingdome should diuolue to the
 " *Spaniard*, not seeing how much he weakned his power (afore absolute and supreme amongst all the
 " *Italians*) to bring into *Italy* another king equall to himselfe in authoritie, and nothing inferiour in
 " might. But why proceede we by coniectures in things whereof we haue a certaintie: we are not
 " ignoraunt of that which the Cardinall of *Amboise* treated at *Trent* with *Maximilian* himselfe to:
 " ching the diuision of your estate: And we know well enough that to the same practise, they ioyned
 " also a conclusion in the towne of *Blois*, and the Cardinall going for the same cause into *Germany*,
 " brought backe the oath and ratification from *Cesar*. And albeit I confesse these practises brought
 " forth no effectes in regard of certaine difficulties that hapned, yet who can assure vs, that there will
 " not be found some meane to range or remoue those difficulties, which haue bene impediments to
 " their common desire: since their principall intention remaineth alwayes one. These be the reasons
 " that make me conclude, what necessitie we haue to consider with diligence, the imminent perils,

the infinite charges, and perpetuall infamies, which on all sides do offer to darken and deface the auncient reputation and wisdom of this Senate, if measuring vnadvisedly the condition of the affaires present, we suffer that another put vs in feare, and come to Inuade vs with those armes which be offered to vs for our suretie and augmentation of estate. Let vs consider (for the benefite of our countrey) what is the difference betweene mouing warre to another, and to expect till another inuade vs, to dispute how to diuide the estate of another, and to temporise till the same perill fall vpon vs; and to be accompanied against one onely, or to remaine alone against many: for, if these two kings knit and draw to conspiracie against vs, they are sure to be followed with the assistance of the Pope, by reason of the townes in *Romagnia*, to haue many commodities from the king of *Aragon*, by reason of the ports of *Naples*, & to finde many friendships through all *Italie*, some seeking to recover, and some to be assured. Lastly, being not ignorant how mightily the French king hath conspired against vs, & for so many yeares communicated with *Cesar* to our preiudice: I thinke that if we arme our selues against him that hath sought to surprise and beguile vs, much lesse that we shall merite imputation, or be touched with the crime of faith breakers, but of the contrarie, the world will respect vs as fathers to our countrey, prouident, wise, and iust, and vpon his head shall be broken the brand of that perill and daunger, which euerie one knoweth hee kindled to haue consumed vs.

To the contrarie of this opinion, *Andrea Gritti* a personage of great valour and vertue, rose vp and reasoned in this sort:

If it were conuenient that in one selfe matter, the counsels and opinions of men might be referred to voyces doubtfull, I confesse my aduise should haue no other reference, the present matter drawing on all sides such varietie of reasons, that the nature and consideration of them leades me into confusion: But for that there is necessitie of resolution, which can not be made vpon foundations and suggestions incertaine, it behoueth vs, paying well the reasons that impugne both the one and other, to embrace those which draw nearest to a likenesse and similitude of truth, and earie most mightie coniectures: which when I distinguish and examine, I can not finde that the French king, neither for suspicion to be preuented of vs, nor for desire of townes which earst appertained to the Duchie of *Millan*, will agree to bring the king of *Romains* into *Italie* against vs: for the daungers and harmes which such an enterprise draweth with it, are farre more manifest & great, then the perils that may happen by our vnite with *Cesar*, or the profits that he may hope for by that resolution: seeing, besides the other natures of iniuries & hatreds betweene them, there is concurrence of dignitie and estates, a matter able to set diuision betweene the best established friends among mortall men: In so much as the French king, calling into *Italy* the king of *Romains*, may be thought to do no other thing, then in place of a common weale peaceable, and remaining alwayes in good deuotion and friendship with him, to desire rather the neighbourhood of a king ambitious, iniurious, and nourishing a thousand occasions to quarrell with him, as well by reason of his authoritie and estate, as in regard of disdain and reuenge. Let no man say, because the king of *Romains* is poore, disordered, and vnfortunate, that the French king feares not his neighbourhood, seeing that for the memorie of the auncient factions and inclination of *Italie*, which remaine yet kindled in many places, and especially in the Duchie of *Millan*, an Emperour of *Rome* can not haue so litle a nest in *Italie*, which will not spread and multiplie to the great preiudice and daunger of others, but chiefly on the person of this man hangeth greatest feares and ielousies, being a Prince of high stomacke, of great conduit and experience in warre, and to whom may be ioyned the interest of the children of *Lodowik Sforce*, a ready meane to stirre vp the mindes of many: he may also hope to draw to him in any action of warre against the French, the powers of the Catholike, though for no other respect, yet at least for that both their estates are to descend to one heire. The French king is not ignorant, how mightie is *Germanie*, nor how easie it is to vnite either the whole or part when the way shall be made open in *Italie*, and the hope of pray and spoile layd afore them. And we haue well seene what feare he hath alwayes had of the descending of the *Almans*, and the king of *Romains*, how poore and disordered soeuer he be, who if he were in *Italie*, it were not reasonable to thinke that he should haue with him any other thing then a warre full of perils and aduersities, and a peace ill assured, and yet dearly bought. It may be he thirsteth to recover *Cremona* and happily all the other townes, but there is no conformitie or likelihood, that he will embrace a great daunger, to get a thing whose value is lesse then the aduenture. No, it is more cre-

The Oration
of Andrew
Gritti.

"dible that he will proceede in this case rather with discretion then rashnesse, seeing by the consi-
 "deration of the errors heretofore imposed vpon that king, we shall find that they proceeded of no
 "other infirmity then of his great desire to make his enterprises with surety: wherein I referre you
 "to his examples in the actions of *Naples* and *Cremona*; being induced to make partition of that
 "kingdome, and to deliuer to vs the city of *Cremona*, for no other reason, then to make more easie
 "the victory of those warres: so that it is more credible that euen at this present he will rather follow
 "his custome and wise counsels, then be caried with aduises sudden and rash, seeing withall he re-
 "maineth not altogether depriued of hope to accomplish his expectations with the fauour of ano-
 "ther time, in more surety, and with better occasion; which is a thing which mortall men are wont
 "to promise to themselves easily, the error being lesse to promise a change and reuolution of world-
 "ly affaires, then to perswade that they are alwayes firme and stable: neither doth that much a-
 "maze me which I sayd, those two kings haue treated so often amongst themselves, for that it is a
 "custome with the Princes of our time to entertaine one another artificially with vaine hopes, and
 "dissembled practises: which, for that in so many yeares they haue brought forth no effect, it can-
 "not be that they were other then faire shewes, fictions, and shadowes of things, or else nourished
 "in themselves such difficulties as they could not be resolued, the very nature of the affaires resisting
 "to take away the distrusts that are betweene the, without which foundation they haue no meane
 "to come to that coniunction. So that I cannot feare that for the couetousnesse of our townes, the
 "French king will throw himselfe headlong into so indiscrete a deliberation, and much lesse will he
 "attempt an action so casuall for any suspicion he hath of vs, for that besides the great knowledge
 "and experience he hath of our intentions, hauing no want of perswasions, and occasions to leaue
 "his alliance, the same reasons by the which we are assured of him, wil interchangeably hold him as-
 "sured of vs, for nothing can be more preiudiciall to vs then the king of *Romains* to haue any estate
 "in *Italy*, no lesse for the authority of the Empire, ouer whose amplification and greatnesse we ought
 "alwaies to stand feareful & ielous, then for the ambition of the house of *Austria*, pretending interest
 "to many of our towns, but most of al for the neighborhood of *Germanie*, whose inundations canot
 "but be too perillous for vs & our dominio, we bearing withal a brute to haue all our counsels ripe &
 "measured, & to erre more in being too hard & slow, then to proceede with too much rashnesse and
 "credulity. I denie not but things may fall out contrary to the opiniõ of men; for that worldly actions
 "oftentimes draw with them effects strange, and farr above the expectations and wisdomes of mor-
 "tall men, & therefore who could set down any warrant or surety, were not of the least merite or co-
 "mendation: but since that cannot be done without entring into most huge dangers and difficul-
 "ties, we must consider that oftentimes vaine feares are no lesse hurtful then too great confidence &
 "credulity: if we enter confederation with the king of *Romains* against the French king, the warre
 "must necessarily be begun and continued with our monies, which we must also aduance to furnish
 "all his prodigalities and disorders, otherwise he will either accord with the enemy, or retire into
 "*Germanie*, leauing vpon our shoulders the whole burden and peril of the quarrell: we must susteine,
 "a war against a most mighty king of *France*, Duke of *Millã*, Lord of *Genes*, a Prince enuironed with
 "many regiments of men at armes, and no lesse mightie in artilleries and prouisions, & at the brute of
 "whose payes and money will draw to him from all nations infinite bands of footmen. Besides, what
 "hope of good successe can be nourished in this enterprife, seeing we cannot but feare, that in all
 "those of *Italy* which either pretend against vs, or that we hold any thing of theirs, or at least stand
 "ielous ouer our greatnesse, will not be a dispositiõ to draw into cõspiracy against vs, but especially
 "the Pope, to whom, besides his disdaines towards vs, the power of the Emperour in *Italy* will ne-
 "uer be acceptable, for a naturall hatred that hath alwayes bene betweene the Church and the Em-
 "pire, the same making the Popes to haue no lesse feare of the Emperors in things temporall, then
 "they haue of the Turkes in matters spirituall. And this coniunction haply may be more dangerous
 "to vs, then the vnion which we feare betweene the king of *Romains* and the French king: for that
 "where is society of many Princes, which pretend to be equall, there commonly do kindle suspiciõs
 "and debates, by which oftentimes it hapheth, that those enterprises which haue bene begun with
 "no small reputation, slide easily into many difficulties, and lastly into dissolution and ruine: neither
 "ought we to make this a last consideration, that albeit the French king haue entertained certaine
 "practises contrary to the alliance which we haue with him, yet we haue scene no effectes, by the
 "which we may say he hath dealt vnjustly with vs, and therefore to leaue warre against him, would
 be

be no other thing then to merite imputation of infidelity & faith breaking, on the contrary whereof this Senate ought to build his principall foundation, as well for the honour as profite of the affaires which we haue euery day to manage with other Princes. Neither can it be profitable to vs to nourish & continually augment this opinion, to seeke to oppresse dayly all our neighbours, & to aspire to the whole monarchy of *Italy*. I would in God, we had intimes past proceeded more considerately, for almost all the suspitions that at this present are heaped against vs, haue no other beginning then that heretofore we haue too much offended them, and it will not be beleeued, that feare draweth vs to a new warre against the French king our auncient confederate, but rather that we are caried with certaine ambitious and couetous inclinations (ioyning with vs the king of *Romans*) to win vpon him one part of the duchie of *Millan*, as we won vpon *Lodowike Sforce*, being ioyned with him. In which time if we had gouerned our selues more moderately, and not feared too much suspitions vaine and light, neither should the affaires of *Italy* stand presently in such trouble and alteration, neither we, in whom should haue bene preserued a renowne of greater modestie and grauity, should not now be constrained to enter into war either with this Prince or that Prince, more mighty then our selues. Into which nature of necessity, seeing we are false, it cannot but be more to our wisdom and profite, not to depart from the confederation we haue with the French king, then ouerruled with a vaine feare, or hope of benefits vncertaine and hurtfull, to embrace a warre, which alone and of our singular power, we should not be mighty enough to support, and in those confociates and assistants which we should haue, would be found more burden and charge, then aduantage or profite.

The opinions of the Senate were diuerse in so great a variety of reasons: but in the end prevailed the memory of the inclination which they knew the king of *Romans* had long entertained, to recouer vpon occasion the townes holden by them, which he pretended to appertaine to the Empire, or to the house of *Austria*. Their resolution was to graunt him passage if he came without an army, but comming armed with a power, they determined to denie him liberty to march, and in the answer they gaue to his Embassadors, they seemed to perswade, that that conclusion was made more by necessity, hauing regard to the condition of the time present, and confederation which they had with the French, then by any disposition of will to leaue him discontented for any matter. They alleaged, that albeit they were constrained by the same confederation to ayde him in the defence of the duchy of *Millan* with a proportion of men expressed in the same: yet in this action they would proceede with a greater modesty, without exceeding in any sort their limites and bounds; and, except they were compelled to any action for the defence of *Millan*, they would not oppose against any other his aduancement, according to the true meaning of their affection, who so farre as their power would stretch, would neuer fayle him with those oblations and reuerences which became the Senate of *Venice* to beate to so great a Prince, with whom they neuer had any thing then a perpetuall amitie and alliance: in commemoration whereof, they sought not to enter into new confederations and bonds with the French king, but desired to communicate as little as they could with the warres that should be betweene them, hoping that *Maximilian* (not to increase his owne difficulties) would at least leaue their frontiers in peace; and embracing their affections according to the simplicity and innocency thereof, to turne his armies either against *Burgundy*, or the Duchy of *Millan*. But as enterprises of high importance are full of imperfections, and draw with them their proper impediments, so *Cesar* being out of hope to ioyne with him the *Venetians*, many other difficulties began to fall vpon him, which albeit he labored to surmount with the greatnesse of his spirit and conceptions, apt to promise him dayly more hopes then impediments, yet they delayed much the effects of his resolutions and purposes: for that, both of himselfe he had not sufficient money to leaue his proportion of *Swissers*, and furnish the other expenses necessary for so great an enterprise, and also the treasures that were promised to his aide in the Dyot, were not sufficient to furnish the least part of the substance and body of the warre. And the foundation whereupon from the beginning he had layde his greatest hopes, that the communalities and iurisdiccions of *Italy* would for terror of his name and comming, offer composition and contribution of money, grew euery day lesse and lesse: for, albeit in the beginning many shewed a certaine deuotion, yet the conclusions of the Dyot of *Constance* not answering the expectation that was conceiued, that the enterprise should rather be of the whole Empire, and almost of all *Germanie*, then his owne in peculiar, and seeing haply into the mighty preparations of the

Deliberation
of the Venetians.

French king, and the new declaration of the *Venicians*, euery one remained in doubt, not daring (in ministering to him things whereof he had most neede) to offend so greatly the French king. Neither were the demandes of *Maximilian* such in the time when he was most feared, as with their facility they might induce him to administer to his helpe: for, according to his conditions, he demanded much of euery one, wherein his rates imposed vpon the Duke of *Ferrara* (whom he pretended did owe to *Blanche* his wife the dowry of his sister *Anne* dead many yeares before) were excessive, and his porportions to the *Florentins* no lesse intollerable, vpon whom the Cardinall of *Brexe*, managing his affaires at *Rome*, and hauing power to compound with them, demanded fise hundred thousand duckets: which demaund, for the immoderation thereof, was the cause that they resolu'd to temporise with him, till they discerned better what traine his affaires wuld take, and withall (foreseeing not to offend him) they protested excuses to the French king demaunding men, which they sayd they could not accomplish for the impediments of the waste and spoyle to be giuen this yere to the *Pisans* in great preparation, and for that the *Genouaies* and other neighbours beginning eftsoones to administer new succours, they were constrained to stand continually prepared against them. In these regards, the Emperour sayling (contrary to his hope) to haue his turne serued with the money of the Italians (hauing only fixe thousand duckets of them of *Siena*) he made request to the Pope, that at the least he would suffer him to take the hundred thousand duckets which had bene afore leauied in *Germanie* vnder colour to make warre vpon the *Turkes*, and being for that effect preferred in that prouince, they could not be conuerted to any other vse, without licence of the sea Apostolike: he offered him also, that where he could not satisfie his demaund not to passe into *Italy* with an army, that neuerthelesse, after he had restored to the Duchy of *Millan* the children of *Lodowike Sforce* (the protection of whom he protested, both to make the peoples of the state more fauourable, and his passage more easie and lesse hatefull) he would go on to *Rome* without armes, to receiue the Crowne Imperiall, leauing all his bands in the duchy of *Millan*. But the Pope, in whom appeared no more affection to the one then to the other, refused also to satisfie him in this demaund, alleaging that in such a condition and estate of affaires, he could not without his great daunger prouoke the armes of the French king against him. And yet *Maximilian*, according to the property of his inclination being carefull, credulous, & quick to execute all things of himselfe with paines incredible, amidst so many difficulties forgot nothing that might entertaine the brute of his discending, and causing to march the artilleries towards many places of frontiers of *Italy*, he recontinued the practise to haue the twelue thousand *Swissers*, who demanding many things, and propounding strange exceptions, gaue him not any certaine resolution: he solicited the bands that were promised him, and traueilling in person from one place to another for diuerse expeditions, he brought mens mindes into many confusions, their iudgements varying more through all *Italy* then earst had bene seene in any other action: for in some the opinion of the enterprise was greater then euer, and others supposed it to be already in an estate declining, which incerteinty of mind was increased by himselfe, who being of nature secrete and particular, did seldome communicate his thoughts with others, and to the end his intentions should be lesse priuate in *Italy*, he had ordeined that the Popes Legate nor other Orators of the *Italians* should not followe his person, but keepe a parte in places remoued from the Court.

Now was come the day appointed for the assembly of the *Almain* companies, of whom notwithstanding there mustred at *Constance* but a very small crew, neither was seene any other preparations on his part, then remouing of artilleries, and studying by what meanes he might recouer money. In so much as being vncertaine with what forces, in what time, and on which side he would enter: such as doubted him made mighty prouisions in many places: some supposed he would make his entry by *Friul*, and others thought he would march by *Trent* into the countrey of *Verrona*, others iudged that comming by *Sanoy*, or by *Coma*, he would assaile the Duchy of *Millan* hauing many of the exiles of that state in his campe: others stood in some doubt least he would make some stirre on that side to *Burgondy*. In regard of these fearts, the French king sent to the Duchy of *Millan* many bands of horsemen and footemen, and besides other preparations leauied for the defence of that state, he dispatched two thousand fise hundred Spanish footemen, vnder the fauour of the king Catholike, to whom *Cesar* complained grieuously of such a suffrance. *Monsieur de Chammont* doubting the faith of *Boromei*, surprised in the same time *Arona*, a
Castell

Castell belonging to that familie standing vpon the lake *Maior*: into *Burgundie* the king had also sent five hundred Launces, vnder *Monsieur Trimonille* gouernour of that Prouince. And to draw away in many places the thoughts & forces of *Cesar*, he succoured continually the Duke of *Guel-dres*, who molested the countreys of *Charles* the little sonne of the Emperour. Besides all this, he had sent to *Verona* *Iohn Idoues de Triauce* with foure hundred French Launces, and foure thousand footemen, to the succours of the *Venetians*, who had also sent to *Rouera* the Count *Pettilano* with foure hundred men at armes, and many bandes of footemen, to the end to remaine there for the repressing of those stirres that might arise towards *Trent*: and to *Friul* were sent eight hundred men at armes vnder *Bartlemew Aluana*, who long time before was entred into their payes. But the first danger appeared on that side which was least doubted, for that *Paule Baptista Iustinian* and *Fregosin* exiles of *Genes*, led to *Casola*, a towne belonging to *Lodowike Confagua* feodar of the Empire, a thousand *Almaine* footemen, who marching secretly and with great diligence ouer the mountaines and impassible places of the *Venetian* territorie, had an intention to go to *Genes*, after they had passed by the riuier of *Po* along the mountaine of *Parma*. This expedition being doubted of by *Monsieur Chaumont*, he dispatched suddenly to *Parma* many horsemen and footmen, to give impediment to the enemy, which so cut off all hope from the *Al-mains*, to be able to execute any thing against *Genes*, that they returned into *Germany* by the same way, but not with the same diligence & danger, for that the *Venetians*, respecting their comon benefite, made a secret consent to their retreating. There were at the same instant, many of the exiles of *Genes* in the towne of *Bolonia*, which draue the king into a suspicion, that this matter had bene wrought by the consent of the Pope, of whose inclination and will, many other things put him in doubt, both for that the Emperour was solicited to march by the Cardinall *S. Cresse*, notwithstanding more of his proper mores & disposition, then for any other occasiō: & also the exiles of *Furly* being by chace issued out of *Favara*, & allying one night to enter into *Furly*, the Pope complained that it was a matter compact betweene the French king & the *Venetians*. To these was added the conspiracie of a Monke, who being prisoner in *Mantua*, had confessed that he had practised with the familie of *Bentiuole* to empoison the Pope, & that he was solicited from *M. de Chaumont* to performe all his promises to the *Bentiuolen*: by reason whereof the Pope proceeding by examinatio in forme authentike, sent it to the king by *Achilles de Grassi*, Bishop of *Pefera*, and afterwards Cardinall, to make request that the truth might be knowen, proceeding to the punishment of such as should be found guilty in so great a wickednes. In so much as *Alexander Bentiuole*, being suspected more then the residue, was adiourned by the king to appeare & answer in *Fraunce* to such things as he was to be charged withall. With these actions and incertainties, ended the yeare 1507.

But in the beginning of the yeare following, the traueilling mindes of them of *Bologna*, no longer disposed to nourish their tranquillitie, drew into conspiracie, and being led by *Annaball* and *Hermio Bentiuole*, who had intelligence with certaine young Gentlemen of the familie of the *Pepolies*, with others of race and yeares equall, they approached vpon the sudden *Bologna*: an enterprize not without perill, for that the conspiratours to the end to let in the residue, had occupied the gate of *S. Mamila*. But as it became to repress a violence in the beginning, so the people taking armes in fauour of the estate Ecclesiastike, the young men abandoned the gate with more feare then valour, and the *Bentiuolen* retired, finding onely that safetie in their aduentures. This inuasion rather abated then inflamed the minde of the Pope against the French king, for that his Maiestie shewing great tokens how much it did discontent him, commaunded *Monsieur Chaumont* to be ready to succour *Bologna*, and all that depended vpon it, in all necessities and occasions: he gaue order besides, that from thenceforth the *Bentiuolen* should not be receiued into any part of the Duchie of *M. Ma*. By which restraint, *Iohn*, one of the chiefe of them, dyed about that time of displeasure, for that much lesse that he had bene accustomed afore he was expelled *Bologna* to seeke the aduantages or bitter blowes of fortune, seeing he had bene the most happie of all the other tyrants of *Italie*, seruing a long time as an example of prosperous fortune: for, in the course of fortie yeares, during the which he commaunded as he would in *Bologna*, much lesse that he was touched with any heauie affliction, seeing in all that race of time he felt not so much as the death of any his friends: he had alwayes for himselfe and children, pensions, appointments, and great honours of all the Princes in *Italie*, being followed withall with this felicity to escape easily out of all waightie and dangerous affaires: for all which graces and good

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succceedings, he seemed (besides the convenient situation of that Citie) to be principally beholding to fortune, for that according to common iudgement, he could not merite any thing by the propertie of his wit, or by his wisdom, and much lesse by any valour that was in his person.

Cæsar now minding no more to deferre the mounting of armes, dispatched a Herald to *Verona*, to publish his resolution to passe into *Italie* to take the Imperiall Crowne, and to require lodging for foure thousand horse. Whereunto the gouernours of *Verona*, having first communicated with the counsell of *Venice*, answered him, that if he would passe for no other occasion then to receiue the crowne, they would honour him with all the offices and obseruances they could, but they saw effects contrarie to his perswasions, having already brought & bestowed vpon their marches so great proportions of men at armes and artilleries. In regard of which answer, measuring by them the deuotion of others, *Maximilian* as soone as he was come to *Trent*, to giue beginning to the warre, made a solemne procession the fourth of February, which he assisted in person, hauing before him the Heralds of the Empire, and the Imperiall sword naked, and in the end of the solemnitie, his Secretarie *M. Lango* afterwards Bishop of *Garce*, being mounted in to a high seat or theater, published in the name of *Cæsar* his determination to passe in warlike array into *Italie*: he named him no more king of *Romains*, but Emperour elect, as are wont to be intituled the kings of *Romains* when they come to take the Crowne: And forbidding the same day that none should issue out of *Trent*, after he had caused to be baked a great quantitie of Bisket, and made baskets of wood, and sent by the riuer of *Adice* sundry boates and lighters laden with prouisions, he went out of *Trent* the night after a litle before day with a thousand five hundred horse, and foure thousand footemen: not of those regimentes which were agreed to him in the Dyot, but of the peoples of his Court and proper estates, taking the way that leades by those Mountaines to *Vincenza*. At the same time the Marquis of *Brandebourgh* marched towards *Rouero* with five hundred horsemen & two thousand footmen of the same countrey bodies, with whom he returned the day after, with no memorie of other action then that he presented himselfe before *Rouero*, and demaunded in vaine to bee lodged in the towne. But the Emperour elect being come to the mountaine of *Siagne*, the foote whereof draweth within twelue myles of *Vincenza*, after he had taken the landes of the seuen communalities (a people so named dwelling in the top of the Mountaine vnder many exemptions and priuiledges of the *Venetians*) and after he had filled vp many trenches which they had cast for their defence, and to stop the way, hee caused to bee drawn thither many peeces of artillerie. Here it seemed that either his intention had imperfection, or his fortune was contrarie to the disposition of the time, for, as mens mindes entertained a wonderfull expectation of some good successe, hee retired from this place the fourth day after he departed from *Trent*, and returned to *Bolsana*, a towne further remoued from the confines of *Italie*, then *Trent*: wherein as it gaue occasion to euery one to wonder at so great an inconsideration, or rather inconstancie: so, so weake a beginning reuiued effoones the mindes of the *Venetians*, in so much that as they had already entertained many bandes of footemen, so they called to *Rouero* the French companies which were at *Verona* with *Triumice*, and beginning to make great preparations, they stirred vp the French king to do the like, who marching towards *Italie*, sent before an armie of five thousand *Swissers* of his payes, and three thousand payed by the *Venetians*, that Nation (for that *Maximilian* was not able to minister pay to them) being runne without any regard to the intertainment of the French: and yet after they were departed and payed, they would not go vpon the landes of the *Venetians*, alledging for their reasons, that they would not serue the French king in any other action, then for the defence of the estate of *Millan*.

A greater stirre, but farre more wretched and vnhappie, as wherein was nourished the beginning of greater things, was kindled in *Friul*, whither did passe by the way of the Mountaines, and by *Cæsars* appointment, foure hundred horse and five thousand footemen, all bodies commaunded in his countrey of *Tirol*. As soone as they were entred into the valley of *Caorsa*, they tooke the Borough and Castell, wherein was a verie slender garrison, together with the Magistrate of the *Venetians* that was within, which being vnderstood at *Venice*, they commaunded *Aluano* and *George Cornaro* Superintendent remaining vpon the landes of *Vincenza*, to make speedily to the succours of that countrey; and to keepe occupied the enemies on that side, they sent towards *Trent* foure light galleys with certaine vessels of other nature. And at the

At the same time *Maximilian*, who was marched from *Bolsano* to *Brunich*, and turning to the way of *Frinl* for the oportunitie of the passages, & largeness of the countrey, ran through certaine valleys more then fortie myles within the territories of the *Venetians*, with a strength of six thousand footmen leauidd in those quarters: and after he had taken the valley of *Cadora* which leadeth to *Trenisfa*, leauing behind him the borough of *Boltauero* lately appertaining to the Patriarkes of *Aquilea*, he tooke the borough of *S. Martin*, the borough of *Pienna*, & the valley which was kept by the *Comtes* of *Sauonina*, with other places adioyning. He performed these incursions rather in the proprietie of an intrepid Captaine, then in the person and maiestie of a king, more contented with victories of men in persons & places, then seeking after actions of importance according to the expectation of his name and vertue. And after he had spent some dayes in these trifling seruices, he commaunded his companies to draw to *Trenisfa*, and returned himselfe vpon the end of Februarie to *Ispruch* to lay Jewels in pawne, and make other prouisions for money, wherof being rather a prodigall waster, then a temperate distributor, no reasonable quantitie could suffice to furnish the necessitie of his affaires: for that his wants could not be satisfied with the abundance of things, since he measured not his sufficiencie according to the kinde of neede, but after the rage of his opinion and prodigality. But vnderstanding on the way that the *Swissers* had taken the pay of the French, he was not a litle discontented with them, and so went to *Vilma* a Citie of *Swauia*, to induce that ligue to ayde him as they had done in times past in the warre against the *Swissers*: he made also vehement instance to the Electours, that the aydes promised in the Dyot of *Constance*, might be yet recontinued for sixe moneths more, alledging that the action of great enterprises require a long and deliberate time. And about this season the regimentes of the estates which were abyding at *Trent* to the number of nine thousand bodies as well footemen as horsemen, had battered the Castell of *Baioquo*, and ranged it to discretion within three dayes: it standes right ouer against *Ruero* on the right hand, vpon the high way that leades from *Trent* into *Italie*, and betweene it and *Rouero* which is on the left hand, runneth the riuier of *Adica*.

Aluiano departed in great diligence to succour *Frinl*, and passing along the mountaines laden with snowes, he came in two dayes neare to *Cadora*, where expecting his trayne of footemen, who could not march with the same speede and swiftnesse, he occupied a passage not guarded by the *Almaines*, by the which is made the entrie into the valley of *Cadora*: and as in a generall perill a litle comfort profiteth much, so at the comming of *Aluiano*, the men of the countrey affected to the iurisdiction of *Venice*, taking new courage, commaunded the other passages of the valley by the which the *Almaines* were to retire: who seeing themselves inclosed, and no hope of safetie but by the sword, and iudging by the disposition of *Aluiano* that he would dayly strengthen himselfe, marched out against him in great furie: hee refused not the offer of the fight, taking no lesse courage in the oportunitie of the enemye, then in the innocencie of the quarrell, whereupon began betweene both parties a most cruell fight, wherein the *Almaines*, who fought with great rage, more for desire to dye gloriously, then that there was hope to saue their liues, and casting themselves in a grosse squadron, their wiues in the middest, made a valiant defence for certaine houres: but as in actions of battell God oftentimes giues the victorie, not to those that fight best, but to such as he fououreth most, so the *Almaines*; not able to make long resistance, both for the numbers and vertue of the enemies, were in the end vanquished, more then a thousand of them remaining dead on the place, and the residue falling to be prisoners according to the aduenture and fortune of the fight. After this victorie *Aluiano* ioyning diligence and expedition to his felicitie, tooke the Castell of *Cadora*, which he assaulted on two partes, *Charles Malatesta* one of the auncient Lordes of *Rimini* being slaine with a quarrell shot out of a tower: and following still the streame of his fortune and good luckesse, he tooke *Porto Nauona*, and afterwarde *Cremonsa* situate vpon the height of a hill, & so discented to encampe afore *Gorissa*, standing at the foote of the *Alpes* of *Iulian*, strong by situation, and no lesse mightie by the munition it containes, and hath a Castell of very hard access: and taking first the bridge of *Gorissa*, and planting afterwarde his artilleries before the towne, he caried it the fourth day by composition, being in great necessitie of weapons, water, and victuals. After the towne was commanded, the Castlekeeper and companies within the Castell, eschewing their proper calamities by the examples of their fellowes, came to rendring after they had receiued foure thousand ducets. The *Venetians* erected there forthwith many fortifications to serue as a bulwarke & bridle against

Aluiano being sent to succour Frinl, giueth the rout to the Almaines.

the Turkes, and to hold them in feare for passing the riuier of *Lisono*, since with the oportunitie that place there might be easie impedimentes giuen to their retraites. From *Goritia* *Vilquiano* marched to encampe before *Triesta*, a Citie at the same time much molested by the sea, which he tooke easily, not without the discontentment of the French king, who gaue counsell not to pro- uoke so much the king of *Romains*: but for that it stood vpon the gulse of *Venice*, and by that rea- son very conuenient for their traffikes, they made proud by the prosperitie of their fortune, could not be discourtelled to follow the course of their victorie: in so much as after the action of *Triesta* and the Castell, they tooke *Porton*, and afterwards *Fiume*, which is a towne of *Esclanon*, in the prospect of *Ancona*, which they burned, for that it was the retraite of the ships which would passe by the sea *Adriatique*, without paying the customes that were imposed: & afterwards, passing the *Alpes*, they tooke *Possionia*, which is vpon the marches of *Hungarie*.

These were the enterprises that were done in the countrey of *Friul*: But on that side towardes *Trent*, the *Almaine* armie which was now come to *Calliana*, a towne famous for the harmes of the *Venetians*, for that twentie yeares afore *Ro. S. Seuerin* a notable Captaine of their armie was ouerthrowen and flaine, charging vpon three thousand footmen of the *Venetians*, left for the garde of the mount *Bressonia*, who notwithstanding they were sufficiently fortified, fled suddenly into the next mountaine, fearing more then was necessarie the perill that was farre off and doubtfull, which made the *Almaines*, scorning the cowardise of the *Italian* footemen, rise into more violent actions, burning many houses, and after they had reuerled many of their trenches & defences made in the mountaine, they returned to *Calliana*. By this successe, the Bishop of *Trent* taking stomacke according to the fortune of the time, went with an armie of two thousand footmen, appointed with part of the people that were at *Calliana*, to besiege *Rina Trent*, which is a great borough standing vpon the lake of *Garde*, whither *Triunice* had already sent a sufficient garrison: and after he had for two dayes battered the Church of *Saint Francis*, and in the meane while made certaine incursions vpon the villages that are about *Lodrona*, two thousand *Grisons* seruing in the *Almaine* campe, fell into mutinie for a quarrell of small importance concerning their pay- mentes, and made pillage of the victuals of the campe: by reason whereof, all things being in disorder, and most of the bandes of the *Grisons* forsaken the campe, the remainder of the armie containing seuen thousand men, was constrained to retire, the same ministring oportu- nitie and courage to the *Venetian* regimentes to make inuasions vpon the next villages; of whom as three thousand went in troupes to burne certaine townes of the *Count d'Agreste*, they were charged and broken by the *Paisantes*, and three hundred of them cut in peeces, not remem- bering that in matters of enterprise it is an office as necessarie to foresee perils to come, as to exe- cute when occasion is giuen. For the retraite of the *Almaines* which were before *Rine*, almost all the bandes being separate, and the horsemen (containing a body of twelue hundred) being re- tired from their lodgings of *Calliana* to *Trent*, the regimentes of the *Venetians*, on Easterday morning assailed *Pietra*, a place within sixe myles of *Trent*: but assoone as the strength that was within *Trent* issued out to their succours, they retired, and afterwards assailed the Roche of *Crest*, which is a peece of importance, and yeelded before the succours that came from *Trent* were arriued: the same being the cause that the *Almaines*, hauing esloones reassembled and re- ordained their footemen, returned with a thousand horse and sixe thousand footmen to *Calliana*, distant from *Pietra* the shot of a Crossebow: and two hundred horsemen of the Duke of *Wit- temberg* being gone from them, the *Venetians* with foure thousand horsemen, and sixteene thousand footmen, came and encamped before *Pietra*, planting there a proportion of sixteene peeces of artillerie. *Pietra* is a Castell seated at the foote of a mountaine, on whose right hand the way leades from *Romera* to *Trent*, and out of the same comes a very strong wall containing in length the shot of a Crossebow, and stretcheth euen to the riuier of *Adice*, and in the midst of the same is a gate, of the which who is not maister, can hardly hurt *Pietra*. The two armies were with- in a myle one of another, and they both had before them the Castell and the wall, and on the one side the riuier of *Adice*, and on the other the mountaines, and either armie hauing at their backs, places of sure retraite. And for that the *Almaines* had the Castell and the wall in their power, they might when they list driue the *Venetian* armie to fight, which was impossible to the *Vene- tians*, who for that they were inferiour in numbers, much lesse that they durst commit things to aduenture, seeing they deuised onely to raise impedimentes that the enemies should not carie the

Castell which was continually battered by their artilleries. But the *Almains*, in whom was indiffer-
rent the vertue of celeritie & courage, perceiuing one day that their artillerie was slenderly garded,
gaue a furious charge vpon it, & putting to flight the footemen that garded it, they won with great
valour two peeces, & drew them to their lodgings. This accident abated the stomackes of the *Vene-*
netians, who now indging it but lost time to entertaine the action of *Piedra*, which had deuoured
many of their peoples, brake vp and retired to *Rouero*, and the *Almains* returned to *Trent*,
where within few dayes after most part of the armie disbanded and were dispersed: and the regi-
mentes of the Dyot, which neuer contained aboue foure thousand (for all those in substance that
asssembled at *Trent* and *Cadera*, were of the countreys thereabout) returned to their houses, their
terme of sixe moneths being ended, by whose example also most part of the footemen that were
leauied, brake vp the seruice and departed. *Maximilian* himselfe who was much troubled in going
from one place to another to leaue prouisions and practise, could neuer be present at those acti-
ons, but for that the Dyot of *Ulma* was referred to a time more conuenient, being confused in him
selfe with the multitude of affaires, and shame of his successes, withdrew himselfe to *Cologne*, not
being acknowen for many dayes where he was: and being not strög inough, neither in men, munia-
tion, nor money to resist so great a storme, hauing lost all that he held in the countrey of *Friul*, with
the other peeces affronting, he found himselfe abandoned of all succours, and in greater perill
to be depriued of *Trent*, if in the French bandes had bene any disposition to ioyne with the *Ve-*
netian armie. But *Trinulce*, who by the kings direction was resoluéd rather to pacifie then to
prouoke, would passe no further then was necessarie for the defence of the *Venetians*: holding it
as iust and honourable in the office he had, to forbear to afflict further the Emperour, as to pro-
tect the *Venetians*.

Maximilian standing thus abandoned, and desiring by some meane to put himselfe out of *Truce between*
daunger, sent, since the ouerthrow at *Cadera*, one of his Gentlemen to *Venice*, to demaund truce *Maximilian*
for three moneths, of which the Senate made no account, hauing no disposition to make truce for *and the Vene-*
lesse then a yere, nor yet to giue any consent, if the French king were not comprehended in it.
But his daungers rising in encreasing for the losse of *Triesta*, and his calamities altering things in-
to worse condition, the Bishop of *Trent*, as of his peculiär motion, perswaded the *Venetians* to
truce, alleaging by that meane and foundation, a ready possibilitie and expectation of peace: The
Venetians answered, that their mindes were not estraunged from it, so farreforth as they were not
alone in the action, but that there were libertie for the French king to communicate. In so much
as after this beginning there drew to conference together the Bishop of *Trent* and *Serentane* Se-
cretarie of *Maximilian*, and for the French king *Trinulce*, and *Charles Geffray* President of the
Parliament of *Millan*, and for the *Venetians* *Zacharia Contarin* Embassadoir particularly appoin-
ted for that action. They agreed easily for other conditions, seeing, as touching the time, they were
resoluéd that it should last for three yeares, and euery one to retaine that he possessed at that pre-
sent, with power to build and fortifie such places as they commaunded. This onely was the diffi-
cultie, that the French would haue had a generall truce, wherein should be comprehended such
confederates as euery one had out of *Italie*, and especially the Duke of *Guelldres*; but the Agents
of the Emperour stood obstinately against it, for that he had determined the ruine of the said Duke.
They alledged besides, that the warre being managed wholly in *Italy*, it was neither iust nor neces-
sarie to communicate of any other things then such as touched *Italie*. Wherein albeit the *Venetians*
did what they could to haue satisfied the desire of the French king, yet seeing litle hope to dispose
the *Almains*, they were contented to embrace the truce in sort as they had consented, especially for
a desire they had to deliuer themselues of such a warre which was now brought wholly vpon their
estate, and no lesse to confirme in their obedience by the commoditie of the truce for three yeares,
the townes which they had conquered in those stirres. They excused theselues to the French with
these reasons no lesse true then iust, that neither the one nor the other of them being not further
bound then for the defence of the matters of *Italie*, and their confederation being grounded there-
vpon, they had not to do to thinke vpo matters beyond the Mountes, which if they were not bound
to defend with armes, they were not also bound to deuise to assure them with the truce. Vpo this
controuerfie *Trinulce* wrote into *France*, and the *Venetians* to *Venice*, whose Senate returned an-
swere, that if there could not be admission of other conditions, that they should at least cöclude the
truce for *Italy*, onely reseruing time & place for the French king to enter: whereunto albeit neither

Triunlee nor the *Presidēt* would not consent, cōplaining grieuouſly that they would not ſo much as tarie for the kings answer, & that notwithstanding the *Presidēt* protested that a ioynt & cōmon enterpriſe ſhould not be determined but by ioynt & common conſent, alledging with all how little were reſpected the kings amitie & alliance, yet the *Venetians* forbore not to proceede & conclud with *Maximilian*, & the ſtraight ruling ſimply in their proper names, they agreed that on the behalfe of *Maximilian* ſhould be named & holden as comprehēded & nominated, the Pope, the king Catholike, the king of England, the king of *Hungarie*, & all the Princes & ſubiects of the ſacred Empire in what place ſoeuer, together with all the confederates of *Maximilian* and the ſaid kinges and ſtates of the Empire, which ſhould be named within three moneths. And for the *Venetians* were named the French king, the king Catholike, with all the confederates and friends of the *Venetians*, of the French king, and king Catholike in *Italie* onely, whom they ſhould likewise name within three moneths. Thus was the truce accorded the xx. day of Aprill, and with no leſſe expedition ratified by the Emperour and the *Venetians*, by which meanes ceaſed the warre, with great hope, that the regions of *Italie* ſhould now returne to a perpetuall concord and peace.

• After armes were layd aſide by the reſolution and couenants of this peace, it ſeemed to the French king that the *Florentines* would haue declared themſelues rather for *Caſar* then for him, if the Emperours affaires had had a more happie beginning: and knowing withall that that diſpoſition proceeded of no other thing then of a deſire they had to recouer *Piſa* in what fort they could, and of a diſcontentment that without reſpect they had bene alwayes at his deuotion, and in the ſeruices they had done him, he had not onely not fauoured them, neither with authoritie, countenance, nor armes, but alſo had ſuffered that the *Piſans* were ſuccoured by the *Genowayes* that were his ſubiectes: hee determined in theſe regards to deuife how by ſome honeſt meane they might obtaine that they deſired: wherein for that (for the benefite of his former purpoſes) he would do it to his proper profite, and that hee thought that feare would be a better meane then hope to draw from them a greater ſumme, he diſpatched *M. Riccio* to make complaint, firſt that they had ſent men expreſſe to accord with *Caſar* his enemy, that vnder colour to giue the ſpoyle to the *Piſans*, they had aſſembled a mightie armie, without hauing regarde to the conditions of the time, and his ſuſpicions and daungers: that in ſo great a ſtirre and commotion which was prepared, they were neuer willing to expreſſe ſimply their intentions, wherein they gaue him juſt occaſion to doubt to what end tended thoſe preparations: and laſtly, that hauing deſired them to ayde him with their armies in ſo great perils, they reſuſed it againſt all confidence and expectation. All which notwithstanding, aſwell for the perpetuall amitie which he had alwayes borne to their common weale, as for the memorie of the good offices and obſeruances they had done in times paſt for his ſeruice, he was very ready to pardon them all theſe new iniuries, ſo farreforth, as to cut off all occaſions that might eſſeſoones trouble the tranquillitie of *Italie*, they would not hereafter moleſt the *Piſans* without his conſent. To theſe complaints the *Florentines* answered, that neceſſitie had induced them to ſend men to *Caſar*; not with any intention to couenant with him againſt the king, but (if he paſſed into *Italie*) to aſſure their eſtate, which the king in the capitulation made with them would not be bound to defend againſt *Caſar*, according to the teſtimonie of an expreſſe claufe, bearing theſe wordes, *Sauing the rights of the Empire*: That he could not reaſonably complaine of the armie leauied againſt the *Piſans*, for that it being no greater then of cuſtome, it miniſtered no juſt occaſion of new ſuſpicions, and being aſſembled for no other effectes, then (as in other times) to giue impediments to the harueſt of the *Piſans*, there was no reaſonable cauſe of doubt, if mens iudgements were as indifferent as the matter was innocent: That for ſuch a matter, and for the ſuccours which the *Genowayes* and other neighbours gaue then to the *Piſans*, it was not poſſible for them to ſend their ſouldiers to the king, whereunto albe it they were not bound, yet for the deuotion they had alwayes borne to him, they would not haue ſtucke to haue done it, yea though they had not bin required: that they maruelled greatly at the kings deſire, that the *Piſans* ſhould not be moleſted, whom he had no reaſon to eſteeme or value with the *Florentines*, if he had any impreſſion of their actions againſt him in the rebellion of *Genes*: And that he could not juſtly forbid them to moleſt the *Piſans*, for that the confederation which they had made with him did ſo import and beare it. Vpon theſe beginnings they conſulted afterwarde to reduce *Piſa* vnder the obedience of the *Florentines*: whereunto it ſeemed this did ſuffice, if order were giuen that neither the *Genowayes* nor *Lucquois* ſhould ſuccour it in ſuch a neceſſitie of victuals and forces,

Forces, that the *Pisans* durst no more issue out of their towne: adioyning withall, for the losse of the trust, the ill disposition of those of the plaine countrey, being in greater nūber then the Citizens: so much as it was beleueed that they could not hold out, if they receiued not from *Genes* and *Lucqua* certaine quantities of money, by meane of which such as gouerned kept within *Pisa* certaine forreine souldiers, and distributing the residue to the young men, aswell of the towne as of the plaine countrey, they astonished with the armes of those, such as desired to accord with the *Florentins*, keeping by this meane the towne in peace and free from mutiny. To this practise begun by the French king, was added the authority of the King Catholike, ieaious belike that without him such a matter could worke no effect: and therefore assoone as he vnderstood that *A. Riccio* was gone to *Florence*, he dispatched also an Embassador, who going first to *Pisa*, encouraged them in the name of his king to take comfort and hold out: not for other respect, then that remayning wilfull and obstinate to yeeld to the *Florentins*, they might be sold for a greater price. A litle after these enterpeeches by consent of both kings, were caried into the Court of the French king, where, without any regard to the protection so oftentimes promised, the king Catholike solicited with great importunity the resolution of that businesse, both for that he knew that *Pisa* being not defended, would necessarily fall into the power of the *Florentins*, & also he had at that time no disposition to entangle himselfe with new affaires, and chiefly against the will of the French king: for, notwithstanding he had immediatly vpon his returning into *Spain*, resumed the gouernment of *Castille*, yet he stood not well confirmed in it, both for the separate wils and inclinations of the Barons, and also they had not iustified his consent in the name of his nephew. But after the cause of the *Pisans* had bene long debated in the Court of *Fraunce*, diuersity of affections hindring the successe: at last, for many difficulties which hapned, but principally for that both the kings sought to appropriate to themselues the price of the sale of it, the practise was dissolued without any forme of conclusion.

The end of the seventh booke.



THE EIGHT BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

Most of the Princes of Christendome draw into league at Cambray against the Venetians, who being overthrowne by the French king, render the townes of the Church, and make submission to the king of Romaines. Pisa returneth to the obedience of the Florentines. The Venetians recover the towne of Padua, which is soone after besieged by Caesar. Afterwards they make warre to the Duke of Ferrara. The Pope gines them absolution of the Church censures.

THe diuisions of *Italie* were not so tractable, as that they could be reconciled with litle labour, nor the infirmities of the countrey so easie and priuate, as that they stood subiect to be redressed or recured with light medicines: but as it often hapneth, that in bodies replenished with humours corrupt, the remedie that is applied to repurge the maladie of one part, ingendreth more daungerous infections: euen so the truce made betweene the king of *Romaines* and the *Venetians*, in place of the vniuersall expectation of tranquillitie, brought forth to the Potentates and Communalities of *Italy*, infinite calamities and cruelties of warre, farre exceeding the examples passed: for, notwith-

standing the regions of *Italy* for foureteeen yeares, had borne a perpetuall crosse of warres and mutations: yet, quarrels being oftentimes ended without effusion of blood, and battels and skirmishes falling for the most part vpon the strangers onely, the peoples had lesse sufferance then the Princes, and the naturall regions much spared from the bloudie miseries and actions of warre. But the gap being opened to new discords in time to come, there followed throughout all *Italy*, and against the *Italians* themselves, a miserable traine of many calamities and cruell accidents, infinite murders, sackings, destructions, and spoiles of Cities, a libertie of warre no lesse offensive to their friends, then hurtfull to their enemies, and a lamentable violation of religion and all holy things, with lesse reuerence and respect, then if they were prophane and popular, the law and equitie of things being measured by the wils of the souldiers, and nothing iudged vnreasonable against him, that was able to alleage authoritie, might or will: fruites ordinarie following ciuill discord, and by so much the more perillous and working, by how much they happen in a second mutation, as all euils are more daungerous in a second degree then in the first. The cause of so many afflictions in a generall consideration was, the ambition and couetousnesse of Princes, of whom many of them could not brooke any limitation of power, imperie or kingdome: but if they be weighed in a particular consideration, they may be seene to take their beginning of the too rash and insolent manner of proceeding of the *Venetians*, by occasion whereof were ceased those difficulties which till that time had holden in suspence and impediments the French king and *Cesar* from agreeing together against them: of whom, the one being greatly kindled, they put him in dispaire, and at the same time moued the other to no small indignation, or at the least gaue him meane to disclose vnder an apparant colour, that which he had long desired: for *Cesar*, being netled by so many infamies and harmes receiued, loosing part of his proper inheritance, in place to conquer the estates of others, was not to omit any oportunitie wherein occasion might be giuen him to recouer or repaire so great slaunders and losses: a disposition which the *Venetians* vndiscretely increased anew, since the making of the truce: for that not sparing to aggrauate his indignation no lesse with vaine demonstrations then worse effects, they receiued into *Venice* *Aluiano* with publike pompe, almost resembling a ceremoniall triumph. And the French king, albeit at the beginning he gaue a certaine hope to ratifie the truce that was made, yet expressing afterwardes the discontentment he tooke, he complained of the presumptiō of the *Venetians* to name him & conclude him as adherent, & prouiding for the ir proper tranquility, to giue him ouer & leaue him in the cares and trauels of the war.

These dispositions of mind both of the one and the other, began to burst out into speedy and manifest experience: for *Cesar* hauing no further confidence in his proper forces, and lesse expectation that the Princes or peoples of *Germanie* would take to heart the iniuries that had bene done to him, made as though he had a desire to confederate with the French king against the *Venetians*, as the onely remedy to recouer eistsoones the honour and estates he had lost: and the French king, following the course and oportunitie of the time, nourished the same inclination, the new disdain renewing in him the memory of auncient offences receiued in the warres of *Naples*, entertaining also a working desire to draw out of their hands *Cremona*, and other townes of the auncient possessions of the dukes of *Millan*. Therefore to the ende that in remouing the impediments of things inferiour, they might withall proceede to those of higher degree, they began to debate how to resolue the quarrels betweene the Archduke and the Duke of *Guelldres*, whose safety the French king held much for recommended, for the auncient alliance and commodities he had receiued by him. The Pope did also communicate in this motion, stirring vp at the same time the French king against the *Venetians*, being, besides the auncient indignations newly kindled and made hatefull against them for an opinion he had that by their meanes the exiles of *Furly*, who were retired to *Faenza*, had made a tryall to enter that city, hauing withall receiued into their dominions the family of *Bentiuoleis* chased by the king out of the Duchy of *Millan*. To these was added this imputation, that in many things they had borne slender regard to the authority of the court of *Rome*, and of late experience had slenderly respected it in this, which troubled not a little the Popes mind: the Pope had translated the Bishoprike of *Vincense*, vacant by the death of the Cardinall *S. P. ad Vincula* his nephew, to *Sixtus* his nephew also suborned by him into the dignity of Cardinall, and to those benefices. But the Senate of *Venice*, making small reckening of this collation, chose a gentleman of *Venice*, who, the Pope refusing to confirme him, tooke boldnesse to name himselfe Bishop of *Vincense* of the election of the most excellent counsell of the *Pregati*: But the Pope

The Pope being not a little kindled for these obstinacies, dispatched first to the king, *Maximus* Secretary to the Cardinall of *Narbona*, and afterwards the Cardinall himselfe, who newly succeeding the late Cardinall of *Achx* in his Bishoprike, was called the Cardinall of *Achx*. They were willingly receiued and heard of the king, and brought backe with them the deuise of many meanes and ploys to put in execution that which he desired both without the Emperour, and without any confederacy with him. But the Pope shewed a more inclination to complaine, then to determine any thing, for that on the one side, the vnquiet desire he had to make armes to be leauied against the *Venetians* troubled his mind, and on the other, he seemed fearefull to be constrained to depend too much of the greatnesse of another: but much more was he moued by an auncient ieaousie he had taken against the Cardinall of *Amboise*, in whose respect it seemed grieuous to him that the armies of the French king should passe into *Italy*. Besides, the affaires of greatest importance were somewhat troubled by the late presumption of the Pope, disposing a little before without the kings knowledge, the Bishoprikes of *Ast* and *Plaisance*, and withall, for that the king resisted the new Cardinall of *S. P. ad Vincula*, to whom by the death of the other, the rich Abbey of *Cleruault* neare to *Millan* was transferred, to take possession of it: so irrefolute was the Pope, wandring betwene feare & ambition, and so inconstant the French king, obseruing to make his profit on the traine & euent of things: for albeit the Pope could not be resolued amid so many difficulties, yet in the end the French king & *Cesar*, both applying with the course & oportunities of times, determined to communicate secretly together against the *Venetians*, wherein for the better countenance & colour to the actiō, & withall to giue perfection to those things that shold be debated, there assembled in the town of *Cābray* for *Cesar*, the Lady *Margaret* his daughter Regent of *Flanders*, & of those other estates which were disceded to king *Philip* by the mothers right, assisted for the regard of this actiō by *Mathew Lōgo* a Secretary of great credit with *Cesar*: & for the French king, was sent the Cardinall of *Amboise*, followed with certaine other particulars, rather to furnish his traine, then to communicate in the action. They caused to publish a brute that these estates assembled to solicit a peace betwene the Archduke & duke of *Guelldres*, betwene who they had set downe a truce for forty yeares: And keeping alwayes vnknowne frō the *Venetians* the true occasion, the Cardinall assured by great oathes to their Embassador, that his king would continue in the confederation he had with them, wherein also the Embassador of the king of *Aragon* followed him, rather not denying then graunting, for that albeit that king was the first mouer of these conferences betwene the Emperour and the French king, yet hauing continuation afterwards without him, both the one and other of them, were perswaded that the prosperity of the French king would be intolerable to him, and as touching the gouernment of *Castille*, would hold for suspected the greatnesse of *Cesar*, and therefore his thoughts in that action were not conformable to his words.

At *Cambrey* things were resolued in very few dayes, without communicating with the Embassador of the king Catholike, till after the conclusion, which the tenth day of December was solemnly confirmed in the great Church, with the oathes of Lady *Margaret*, the Cardinall of *Amboise*, and the Spanish Embassador. In this publication they expressed nothing, but that there was established betwene the Pope and either of those Princes a perpetuall peace and confederation: but in Articles more priuate and secret, were contained clauses of right great importance, which being full of ambition, and wholly contrary to the couenants which *Cesar* and the French king had with the *Venetians*, were couered with a preamble full of great piety, and affection to religion, as though the diuersity of words were sufficient to alter and change the effects of things. It was expressed in that preamble, that, for a common desire to begin a warre against the enemies of the name of Christ, and the impediments which the *Venetians* had giuen, occupying ambitiously the landes of the Church, which now they meant to remoue, to proceede with better consent and agreement to so holy and necessary an expedition. And by the perswasions and counsels of the Pope, the Cardinall of *Amboise* as his Procurer, and with his authority, and as deputed and authorised by the French king, and by the personall solicitation of Lady *Margaret*, assigned and authorised by the king of *Romains*, & as gouernesse to the Archduke and the estates of *Flanders*: and lastly by the cōsent of the Embassador of the king of *Aragon* as fully appointed by his king: they were resolued to make war vpon the *Venetians*, euery one in his owne right to recover the things they had vsurped vpon them, which for the Pope were *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Rauenna*, & *Ceruia*: for the king of *Romains*, *Padua*, *Vincenza*, & *Verona*, appertaining to him in the name of the

Empire, and the places of *Friul* and *Trevisan*, being parcell of the inheritance of the house of *Austria*: for the French king were *Cremona*, *Guaradadda*, *Bresse*, *Bergama*, and *Crema*: and for the regard of the king of *Aragon*, were the townes and hauens which had bene morgaged by *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*. The articles were these: That the French king was bound to the warre in person, and to giue the first recall beginning the first day of the next Aprill, at what time also the Pope and the king Catholike should enter into the action: That to the end the king of *Romains* should haue iust cause not to blesse the truce that was made, the Pope should demaund fauours of him as of the protector of the Church, and that after that the king of *Romains* should send to him at the least a Captaine, & should be bound forty dayes after the French king had begun the war to inuade the estates of the *Venetians* in person: That which soeuer of them should recouer that which appertained to him, should be bound to minister aide to the others, till they had made a full and sufficient recouery: That they were all bound to defend one another, in case the *Venetians* offered to oppresse them for any places that were recouered, and not one of them in particular should compound or agree with the *Venetians* without a comon consent: That the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marquis of *Mantua*, and who else would pretend the *Venetians* to vsurpe any place of theirs, had liberty to be named in the league within the monethes: and being once named, to inioy all the benefits and fauours of the confederation in as full power and nature as the principals of the same, communicating the fulnesse of authority for the reconquering of those things that they had lost: That the Pope should summon the *Venetians* vnder great paines and curses, to make restitution of such things as they occupied of the Church: That he should be iudge betweene *Blanch Maria* the king of *Romains* wife, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, touching the contention for an inheritance and succession of *Anna* her sister, and sometimes wife to the sayd Duke: That *Cesar* should inuelt the French king in the duchy of *Millan*, for himselfe, *Francis de Angoulême*, & to their issue males, for which inuestiture the French king should pay to him an hundred thousand duckets: That *Cesar* and the Archduke should not during the warre and fixe monethes after, make any innouation against the king Catholike for any respect of the gouernment and titles of the realms of *Castile*: That the Pope should exhort the king of *Hungarie* to enter into the confederation: That euery one should name within foure monethes his confederates and adherents, excepting expressely to comprehend the *Venetians* and the subiects freeholders of the confederates, and that euery principall party in the contract, should ratifie all these articles within threescore dayes next following: To this vniuersall league was adioyned the particular accord betweene the Archduke and the Duke of *Gueldres*, wherein was agreed that restitution should be made of those townes that were taken vpon the Archduke in this warre, but not in like sort of such as were taken vpon the Duke.

Assoone as this new confederation was concluded in this sort (all things that concerned the *Venetians* being kept as secret as might be) the Cardinall of *Amboise* departed the day following from *Cambray*: the Bishop of *Paris* and *Albert Pio Count of Carpi* being first sent to the king of *Romains* to receiue his ratification in the name of the French king: he made no delay to confirme all the articles with the same oath and forme of solemnities with the which it was published in the Church of *Cambray*, holding it but iust to ratifie the thing that so much tended to the confirmation of his estate and security, as he held it equall and reasonable to iustifie that by publike approbation, which he had so long solicited by priuate desire and intention: it is most certaine, that albeit the words of the publication bare, that the authority of the Pope and king of *Aragon* did communicate in it, yet the confederation was made mecrely without their assistance and consent: And action which *Cesar* and the French king tooke wholly vpon themselves, not doubting of the Popes and king of *Aragons* consent, partly in regard of their proper profit, and partly for that according to the estate & condition of things present, neither of them both durst gainsay their authority, & particularly the king of *Aragon*, to whom albeit the articles in their due construction seemed both ielous & intollerable, for that fearing least the greatnes of the French king wold encrease too much, he preferred the surety of the whole kingdome of *Naples* afore the recouering of one part which was holden by the *Venetians*: yet, expressing cunningly a readinesse dissembled, and an inclination contrary to the intentions of his mind, he made present ratification with the same ceremonies which the others vsed. But touching the Pope, he made farre more doubt of things, wandring according to his custome betweene a desire to recouer the townes of *Romania*, ioyned to a disdain against the

the *Venetians*, and a troublesome feare of the greatnesse of the French king: he saw not how daungerous it was to him for the power of *Caesar* to begin to stretch farre in *Italie*, and therefore seeming that it was more for his profite to obtaine by accord part of that he desired, then to recouer the whole by warre and sword, he laboured to induce the *Venetians* to render to him *Rimini* and *Faenza*: wherein he forgot not to lay aforesaid them that those daungers which threatned them by the vnion of so many Princes, would be of greater terrour & importance, if he were concurrant with them in a confederation: as to whose authoritie and place it belonged to pursue them with armes spirituall and temporall: where, if they rendered the townes which they had taken vpon the Church since he was Pope, by which meanes he should make a ioynt recouerie of honour and estates, he should haue iust occasion not to ratifie that whereunto he had no interest either in assistance, consent, or authoritie: he debated with them that as the confederation communicating nothing with the holy and supreme authoritie would easily dissolue and vanish, hauing in it selfe many difficulties: so he sayd it was not reasonable they should doubt that he would not vrge to the vttermost of his authoritie & industrie to keepe repressed in *Italy* the power of straungers, which brought no lesse perill to the sea Apostolike, then to their state. In this perswasion he omitted nothing that might make aduanced his cause, which he followed no lesse with his authoritie and eloquence, then with liberalities and offers: Matters that moue not the least in a case of perswasion, carying as they list the mindes of men affecting ambition or worldly desires. The Senate drew to counsell vpon this demaund, some iudging it a thing of great importance, to separate the Pope from *Caesar* and the French king, and others thought it an action vnworthy, and not sufficient to turne away the warre. At last, as in matters of debate and controuersie, opinion oftentimes commaundes reason, so the faction of such as gaue the best counsell had caried it, had not bene the reasons and perswasions of *D. Trevisan* a Senatour of great authoritie, and one of the Procurers of the rich temple of *S. Marke*, an honour next to the dignitie of the Duke, of highest respect and reputation in the common weale of *Venice*: he discoursed with reasons full of efficacie and authoritie, that it was an action contrarie to the dignitie and profite of that renowned common weale, to restore those townes which the Pope required; & that the estate of their dangers would neither much increase or diminish for the coniunction or separation of him from the other confederates: for, albeit in the negociation of the accord they had vsed the Popes name, perhaps to make their cause seeme lesse dishonest, yet in effect they had agreed without him, hauing no necessitie of his consent and priuie, and therefore would become neither the more cold nor the more hot in the execution of things they had concluded: Of the contrarie, the armes of the Pope were not of that valour and importance, as to driue them to buy at so great a price the disposing of the same: seeing that albeit they should be assayled at one selfe time by the others, yet they might easily with a very slender garrison defend those Cities which the regiments of the Church (the very dishonour of souldiers and men of seruice) were not sufficient to take of themselves, and much lesse import much as touching the substance of the warre: he sayd, that in the stirres and heats of teniporall armes, men did litle respect either the reuerence or threatnings of armes spirituall, which they ought not to feare to be more able to hurt them in that war, then they had done in many others, namely in the expedition against *Ferrara*: in which the armes of the Church could not let that they obtained not a peace honorable for the, & infamous for the residue of *Italy*, which with one vniuersall accord, & in a time wherein it flourished most with riches, power, & valour, was banded wholly against the: And in reason & concordance of causes he alleaged, that it was not likely that the almighty & omnipotent God would suffer that the effects of his seueritie & his mercy, of his anger & his peace, should rest in the distribution & power of a man ambitious & proud, & by his subiection to wine, with many other dishonest and immoderate affections, would administer them not according to the consideration of iustice, & benefice of Christendome, but as he was pushed on with his vile, corrupt, & intemperate humours. Besides, he saw not by what reason they might hope for a greater constancie of faith in this Pope then in others his elders, & predecessours, making for the most part their authoritie subiect to their ambition, & their counsels alwayes running with the concurrence & course of times: Neither could he discern how they might be assured that the Pope, hauing obtained *Faenza* and *Rimini*, would not knit with the residue to recouer *Rauenna* and *Cervina*, hauing a minde specially watchfull ouer oportunitie and occasions giuen: That the experience of his actions and examples past, proued in him no greater stay or stabilitie of faith, then agreed with the custome of other

Deliberation
of the Venetians.

Popes, who, to giue a colour of iustice and equitie to those things they did, left ordeined amongst their other lawes, that the Church, notwithstanding all contract, promise, and benefites receiued, might retract and directly impugne any bondes or obligations which the selfe Prelates had made. He alleaged that albeit the confederation betweene *Maximilian* and the French king was made with a great vehemencie of disposition, yet the wils & intentions of the other contracted parties did varie and differ, the king *Catholike* being brought in by meanes compulsiue and extraneous, and the Pope well expressing signes of his accustomed doubts and suspitions: and therefore the league of *Cambray* was not more to be feared, then the confederacie which the same *Maximilian* and king *Louis* had with the same importunitie treated aforesometimes at *Trent*, and afterwards at *Blais*: for that many difficulties, which for their affinitie and nature, it was almost impossible to remoue or alter, did mightily resist the execution of things determined: That for those reasons it touched the Senate in principall studie, & diligence to deuise meanes to separate *Cesar* from such communion: a matter of easie hope and expectation, no lesse for the respect of his nature and necessities, then for his auncient hatred against the French: and being once deuised from it, the whole feares of the warre were taken away, for that the French king standing abandoned of his societie & succours, would beare no more stomacke to inuade them then he had done in times past: That in all publike actions the beginning ought deeply to be considered, since afterwarde it was not in the power of men to temporise or leaue off without dishonor & danger to their deliberations, wherein they had long consulted: That as their elders, so they by succession, had bin alwayes carefull in all occasions to augmet their dominion, & with a disclosed & open profession to aspire to great things: a matter which made them hatefull to many, partly for feare, & partly for displeasure & disdain of that they had taken from them: wherein albeit it hath bene perceiued long time before, that that hatred might engender some great alteration, yet, as they haue not for all that forborne to embrace the occasions that had bin offered them, so it was not now a remedie to the dangers present, to begin to leaue a part of that they did possesse, since it would rather kindle then quench the humours of those that hated them, taking courage vpon their fearefulness: And seeing it hath bene a perpetuall maxime amongst the Potentates of *Italia*, that the *Venetians* neuer forlooke things that once were falne into their hands, who would not iudge that to breake now so honourable a custome, proceeded not of a last dispaire to be able to defend the perils that threatned: That whosoever began to giue place and leaue any thing how litle soeuer, was the first detector of the reputation and auncient honour of his common weale, which as it is a ready oportunitie to the augmentation of daungers, so to that state that beginnes to decline, it is farre more hard to conferue against the least perils that be, than which remains then against another state, who caring to keepe his dignitie and degree, and making no signe to yeeld or giue place, conuerter his force readily against him that seekes to oppresse him: Valour and courage retaine long those things that of themselves are weake and impotent: and as nothing doth more terrifie the enemy then to seeme to be resolute, so to hold fast that that hath bin gotten, is a colour iustificatorie to enable the title and interest of the thing: There can be no greater infamie to a Prince or common weale, then by negligence or cowardise to lose that which their aunccestors haue gottē with diligence & valour: That it was necessarie either to reiect valiantly those first demaunds, or in yeelding to them, to looke to yeeld to many more, by which in short time is to be expected the absolute subuersion of their estate, and by consequent the irreparable losse of their proper libertie: That as their comon weale both in the ages of their fathers, & in their dayes, had borne out many great warres against the Princes of Christendome, of which they caried a glorious issue, for that they alwayes shewed one constancie and resolution of minde: so, in the present difficulties, notwithstanding they may seeme greater, may be hoped no worse successe, both for that their power and authoritie were greater, and also by experience that in warres managed in common by many Princes against one alone, the terrors are wont to be more then the effects, for that after the first furies be abated and banished, there riseth diuersitie of opinion, which breedeth variation of faith and constancie, all things dissoluing with a naturall facilitie, that grow into their being with an immoderate importunitie and furie. Lastly, that Senate was to hope, that besides the preparations and remedies which of their owne power they were able to furnish, God the most soueraigne and righteous iudge, would not leaue abandoned a common weale bred and nourished in a perpetuall libertie, & in whom did shine the very beautie & aspect of all *Europe*: & much lesse would suffer to be oppressed with the ambition of Princes

vnder

Under this colour to prepare warre against the infidels, that Citie, which in so great pietie and religion, had bene for many yeares the very protectour and defender of the whole common weale of Christendome. These reasons so wrought in the mindes of the most part, that according to the example of the yeare before, and being a thing farall to that Senate, the worst counsell prevailed, contrarie to the opinions of many Senatours of great wisedome and authoritie: in so much as the Pope, who had deferred the ratification till the last day, ratified the league, but under this expresse declaration, that hee would not enter into any action of an encmie against the *Florentins*, vntill the French king had begun the warre.

The Pope ratifieth the treaty of Cambray.

Thus the yeare 1508. ended with many seedes of great warres, and foundations subtilly layd of many dangerous accidents and mutations, which be the wretched & ordinary traynes of ambition, diuision, and secret hates. About this time also the affaires of the *Pisans* suffering of late many declinations, seemed dayly to diuolue more and more into harder and straiter termes: for, besides that the *Florentins* the sommer before, had cut downe their corne, & with their men at armes made continuall incursions vpon the townes adioyning, euen to the gates of *Pisa*, yet, the better to cut off all passage & traffike of victuals by sea, they entertained in their pay the sonne of *Bardell* of *Portouenere* with certaine proportiōs of vessels: by which impediment, the *Pisans* standing as it were besieged both by sea and land, and not able by reason of their pouertie & afflictions, to furnish themselves neither with vessels nor forrein souldiers, found themselves in great dispaire to hold out any longer, being very weakely succoured by their neighbours. And yet as God seldome giueth so grieuous a sentence of the estate of mans mortalitie, as to deny all compassion to men in miserie: so the *Genowayes* and *Lucquois* owing pitie to the afflictions of their neighbours, consulted to conuey into *Pisa* certaine quantities of corne, which being fraughted in a great number of Barkes, followed with two ships of *Genes*, and two gallions, were transported to *Spetia*, and from thence to *Voreggia*, to the end they might be conueyed into *Pisa* with fourteene brigantins, and certaine small barkes, according to the direction of the *Pisans*. But the *Florentins* seeking to oppose against this enterprise, as wherein consisted their hope or dispaire to get *Pisa* for that yeare, they ioyned to the nauy they had already, a ship of *England*, haply riding in the roade of *Lyuorne*, with certaine other fustes and brigantins. And to minister to the nauie at sea with all the succours and preparations they could make by land, they sent all the horsemen, with a great portion of the footmen which were hastily leauied in the countrey, along all those passages and shoares by the which the nauie of the enemy might runne the course of *Pisa*, either by the mouth of *Arne*, or the riuer called the dead Flood entring into *Arne*. The enemies arriued at the mouth of *Arne*, & the *Florentine* vessels lying betweene the mouth and the dead riuer, and the Landmen commaunding all the apt places, had plated their artilleries as well on this side as beyond the brinke of the riuer by the which they should passe: in so much as they seeing no possibilitie to passe further, retired into the riuer of *Genes*, with the losse of three brigantins laden with wheat. By the occasion of which successe, the victorie seeming almost certaine for want of victuals, the *Florentins* to take away all oportunities for victuals to enter by the riuer, made a bridge of wood vpon *Arne*, which they fortified with bastillions on both sides the bankes. And as when afflictions begin to fall, they thunder all at once, aduersities hauing this in proper, not onely to oppresse, but also to deprive miserable men of ordinarie comfort: so, in the same time, to cut off all succours of their neighbours, the *Florentins* fell to composition with them of *Lucquay*: for, hauing aforetime, to repress their insolencies, sent part of their footebandes that were within *Cascina*, to sacke the hauen of *Voregge* and the storchouses, wherein were many sorts of silkes belonging to the marchants of *Lucquay*: the inhabitants of *Lucquay* made timorous by those rigorous examples, sent their Embassadors to *Florence*, where was accorded, that betweene both their common weales, there should be a confederation defensue for three yeares, the *Lucquois* being namely & expressely excluded from all power any more to succour the *Pisans*. This consideration to be continued for twelue yeares further, if the *Florentins* should recover *Pisa* within a yeare: & that during the terme of this league, the *Florentins* (alway reseruing the prerogatiue of their rights) should not molest the estate of *Lucquay*, touching the possession of *Pietra Santa* & *Mutro*, a league opening the principall gap to the ruine of the *Pisans*. But that which was of greatest importace to make easie the conquest of *Pisa*, was the capitulation which they made with the kings Catholike & French, which being solicited many moneths, had suffered many difficulties: for, the *Florentins*, by the experience of things past, feared least it were a meane to draw frō

A continuatio of the wars of Pisa.

Contract be-
tweene the
French king,
king of Spaine
and the Flo-
rentines.

them a great quantity of money, and yet the affaires of *Pisa* to continue in the same degree, and on the other part, the French interpreted that they deferred cunningly, in hope that the *Pisans* would make a willing restitution, their extremities being desperate and now layd open to all men. The French king, vnwilling that they should recouer it, vnlesse he did communicate in the price, commanded *Bardell* his subiect to leaue their pay, & to *M. Chaumont* to dispatch frō *Millan* fixe hundred Launces for the succours of the *Pisans*: which ioyned to other actions of feare and suspicion, occupied the *Florentines* with such perplexities, that ceassing all difficulties, they entred couenant in this maner: That the French king and king Catholike should giue no ayde nor support to the *Pisans*, and also to forbid that from no places of their subiection and obedience, nor likewise from any their confederates or others vnder their protection, should enter into *Pisa* any succours of victuals, money, munition or men, nor any other nature of reliefe whatsoever: That the *Florentines* so farre forth as *Pisa* were recouered within a yeare following, should pay to either of them within a certaine time fiftie thousand duckets: And that in the same condition there should continue betweene them a league for three yeares, from the day that they reconquered *Pisa*. In consideration of which league the *Florentines* should be bound to defend with three hundred men at armes the citates that they held in *Italie*, receiuing in like sort for their defence, of either of them a proportion of three hundred men at armes. To this capitulation made in common, it was necessarie for the *Florentines* to adde (without the priuie of the king Catholike) new bonds to pay to the French king vnder the same conditions and termes, fiftie thousand duckets, promising withall fise and twentie thousand more to the ministers of both the kings, of which the greatest portion was to be distributed at the discretion of the Cardinall of *Amboise*. These couenants albeit they were heauie and costly to the *Florentines*, yet, in the opinion of men, they brought no lesse infamie to both the kings: the one for money abandoning the Citie which many times he had assured to be in his protection, and which being willingly offered to him, the great Captaine had accepted in his name: and the other contrarie to the reputation of so many promises made to the *Florentines*, both sold for a vile price the iust libertie of the *Pisans*, and constrained the *Florentines* to buy of him the power and sufferance to recouer that which iustly appertained to them: So mightie now a dayes is the force of gold and siluer, aboue the regard to honour, honestie, or conscience: and so weake is the resistance of Princes against the working of that enchaunted humor of couetousnesse, the subuerter of all honour, equitie, and honest regard.

The French
king prepareth
against the
Venetians.

But the affaires of the *Pisans*, vpon whom all *Italie* was wont afore to turne their eyes, were in this time of slender consideration, for that the mindes of men depended on the expectation of greater things: for, after the league of *Cambrai* was ratified by all the confederates, the French king began to make great preparations: and albeit he vsed not as yet any protestations or threatens of warre, yet matters being no longer able to be dissembled, the Cardinall of *Amboise* in the presence of the whole councell, complained with vehement words to the Embassadour of *Venice*, for that that Senate, despising the alliance and amitie of the king, caused to fortifie the Abbey of *Correia* in the territories of *Crema*; wherein had bene of old time a Castell which was rased by the capitulations of peace in the yeare 1454. made betweene the *Venetians* & *Frauncis Sforce* newly Duke of *Millan*, with couenaunt that the *Venetians* should in no time make fortresse there: to the capitulations of which peace, was referred in this & in many other things, the peace made betweene them and the king. But now the king being within few dayes after come to *Lyon*, his regiments marched towardes the mountes, and fixe thousand *Swissers* leauied and payed by him, prepared to descend at the same time into *Italie*: he obtained also of the *Genowayes*, foure Carracks, and of the *Florentines* fiftie thousand duckets, being his moytie which they should pay vpon the conquest of *Pisa*. And ioyning to the aides of others, his owne succours, he leauied vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, (desirous to repofesse the townes which the *Venetians* held) an hundred thousand duckets, besides the honourable deuotion of many particular Gentlemen and free holders of that state, furnishing themselves with horses and armes, to accompany the kings person in the warre.

The Venetians
looke to them
selves.

On the other side, the *Venetians* prepared in one common and resolute courage, to receive and sustaine so great a warre, labouring with money, with authoritie, and with the whole countenance & body of their territories, to leaue prouisions worthy of so great a common weale: wherein their diligence was so much the more importunate and resolute, by how much it seemed likely, that if they sustained the first brunt or furie, the league of the Princes so ill composed & worse

confu-

confined, would easily decline and dissolve, In which actions (to the glory of that Senate) was well expressed in those that afore had counselled in vaine to gouerne their good fortune modestly, the selfe same vehemencie of minde which had bene vttered by the others that had bene authours of the contrarie: for that preferring publike safetie afore priuate ambition, they sought not the increasing of their authoritie in reproching to others their preiudiciall counsels, nor in obiecing against the remedies which were obtained to the perils hapned by their indiscretion: & yet considering that almost all the regions of Christendome were banded against them, they summoned together all their wits to breake so great a league, repenting euen now that they so lightly reiected the occasion to deuide the Pope from the rest, hoping that he would not haue stirred, if onely they had made restitution of *Faenza*. In which regard, ioyned to the consideration of their present condition and estate, they renewed with him the first negociation, and withall dispatched messengers to *Cesar* and the king Catholike, forbearing to make any practise with the French king, in whom, what for hatred and other hindering respectes, they had no hope of disposition to conformitie: but the Pope had no power now to accept that which he had desired afore: so vaine is the second offer of things that haue bene once refused. The king Catholike, though he had no want of will and inclination, yet he was vnable to range the residue: so little power is left to him that is drawne into action by compulsion. And *Cesar* possessed with a spirite of enuie against the name of *Venice*, would not onely not agree, but also disdained to vnderstand with what nature of offers they tempted him, refusing to see their Secretarie whom they had sent to him with very large commissions. In so much as beholding on all sides nothing but a face of aduersitie, accompanied with a settled indignation of Princes, they disposed all their deuises and studies to defend themselves by armes, entertaining from all regions great proportions of horsemen and footemen, & armed many vessels to garde the shoares of *Romania*, and the townes of *Pouilla*, and to thrust into the lake of *Guarda*, and riuer of *Po*, with other places by the which they feared to be molested by the Duke of *Ferrara* and Marquis of *Mantua*. But besides the threatens of men, they were astonished with many aduentures either, fatall or accidentall: for, a small barke which they had sent to transport money to *Rauenna*, was drowned with tenthousand duckets: the Castell of *Bresse* was stricken with lightning: & the house where lay the charters of their cōmon weale called the *Archinio*, fell suddenly to the ground with a wonderfull ruine. But that which most filled them with feare and perplexitie, was at the same time, and in the very houre that the great Councell assembled, a fire kindled either by chaunce, or by some secret treason, in their store house called the *Arsenale*, euen in the roynth where was their saltpeter: which burst out with such furie, that notwithstanding the concourse of men labouring with an vniuersall diligence to quench it, yet, what by the force of the winde and nature of the matter proper to nourish and increase fire, it consumed to ashes twelue bodies of gallies, with a wonderfull quantitie of munitions. This was also added to their difficulties, that hauing entertained *Iulio* and *Ranſe Vrsins*, & *Troillo Saueſſo* with fise hundred men at armes, & three thousand footemen, the Pope, with seuerer commandements as being subiectes of the Church, compelled them not to depart out of the towne of *Rome*: inducing them withall, to retaine still fiseene thousand duckets, which they had receiued in prest for their payes, promising to abate so much of the debts which the *Venetians* ought to the sea Apostolike, for the fruits which they had receiued of the townes of *Romania*. The chief care of the *Venetians* was to prepare & make themselves strong on that side by the which the French king was to make his enterprife, but they heard not of him neither so soone as they looked for, nor so mightily as the opiniō went: for that from the king of *Aragon*, notwithstanding he had made great promises to the other confederates, appeared onely brutes and demonstrations, according to his custome, executing nothing that was of any consequence. And *Cesar* being gone into *Flanders* to induce the subiectes of his sonne in law to make some contribution of money, it was beleueed that he could not begin the warre so soone as he had promised: besides, it was supposed that the Pope hoping more in the victorie of others, then in his owne strength, would be gouerned according to the proceedings of the confederates. It was not doubted that the French king would make his first action vpon *Gusaradadda*, passing the riuer of *Adda* neare *Cascina*, and therefore the *Venetian* armie assembled at *Pontuico* vpon the riuer of *Ogla*, the Count *Petillano* being their Generall, and *Barthelemew Aluiano* gouernour, & Commissioners in the name of the Senate, *George Cornato* and *Andrea Gritti*, gentlemen much renowned & honorable, as well for their ordinarie qualities, as for

The ordinance
house of *Ve-*
nice on fire.

the glories they had won the yeare before, the one returning victorious from *Friul*, and the other for expulſing the *Almaines* from *Rouera*. Theſe two debating in what ſort the warre ſhould be managed, had not onely opinions diuerſe, but alſo euen betweene the generall and gouernour were contentions and ſeparation of counſell: for, *Aluiano* being of a minde ſtirring, and made proud by his fortunes of the yeare before, apt to embrace occaſions, and of a wonderfull celebritie both to conſult & execute, perſwaded that to plant rather the body of the war in the countrey of the enemy, then to expect till it were transferred to their territories, it were good to make an inuaſion vpon the Duchie of *Millean* before the French paſſed into *Italie*. But the *Count Petillan*, either for that the reſolution of his minde was abated by age (as *Aluiano* ſayd) or by his long experience conſidering with a deeper diſcretion the daungers that might happen, and not willing to tempt fortune without a manifeſt hope of victorie, gaue this counſell: that deſpiſing the loſſe of the townes of *Guiradadda*, which imported not much for the effect of the warre, the armie might encampe neare the towne of *Orci*, according to the examples of *Frauncis Carnignole* and *Iames Piccinn*, Captaines of great vertue and name in the warres betweene the *Venetians* and the *Milleanois*: he alleaged that the place was ſtrong, hauing his ſituation betweene the riuers of *Oglia* and *Seria*, and of ſingular oportunitie to ſuccour all the townes of the iuriſdiction of *Venice*, for that if the French men charged them in ſuch a nature and ſtrength of place, they neede not doubt an aſſured victorie, the oportunitie of the place miniſtring much to the action: but if they encamped at *Cremona*, or at *Crema*, or at *Bergama*, or at *Breſſe*, they might (for the defence of them) draw neare with the armie into a place of ſuretie, and with their troupes of light horſemen and eſtradiots, cut off their victuals and other commodities: a thing which as it would let them for taking any place of importance, ſo by this meane, without committing themſelues to the ſentence of fortune, the ſtate of *Venice* might be eaſily defended againſt ſo mighty a preparation of the French king. Of theſe counſels, neither the one nor the other was approued of the Senate: to the opiniõ of *Aluiano* was referred too much raſhneſſe & boldeneſſe: dangerous humors to direct a great enterpriſe, & in the Generall was noted too much fearefulneſſe, not conſidering the nature of the daungers preſent. The Senate could haue bin contented, according to the ancient cuſtome of that common weale, that they had proceeded ſurely, & aduentured as litle as they could: but they conſidered on the other ſide, that if at the ſame time when almoſt all their forces were occupied to make head againſt the French king, *Ceſar* ſhould make any mightie inuaſion vpon their eſtate, with what armies, with what Captaines, or with what bandes of ſouldiers could they oppoſe againſt him. In which regard that way which of it ſelfe ſeemed moſt ſure and moſt certaine, remained moſt vncertaine and moſt daungorous, their coniectures being confounded in the nature and condition of the enterpriſe: and therefore, as it hapneth in opinions contrarie, they made election of the meane, determining to draw the armie neare the riuer of *Adda*, not to leaue *Guiradadda* in pray to the enemies, and yet not to come to hand ſtrokes with them without a great hope or vrgent neceſſitie, and that by expreſſe direction from the Senate.

But farre otherwiſe was the reſolution of the French king, who deſired to finde out the enemy, and giue him battell. And comming accompanied with the Duke of *Lorraine* and all the nobilitie of *Fraunce*, ſent his Herald *Montſoy* (aſſoone as he was paſſed the Mountes) to denounce warre to the Senate of *Venice*, charging him to make publication to the Magiſtrates of *Venice*, as he paſſed by *Cremona*, to the end the Senate might the rather take ſignification. And albeit, his whole armie being not yet aſſembled, he had determined no action to be done, till he were arriued in perſon at *Cafcina*: yet, either to ſatiſſie the Pope, complaining that the time ſet downe in the capitulation was paſſed, or elſe to haſten the time againſt *Ceſar*, being bound to enter into the warre, ſortie dayes after the French had begun, he chaunged his firſt reſolution, and commaunded *Monsieur Chaumont* to broach the warre: obſeruing the oportunitie of the time, for that the regiments of the *Venetians*, expecting their full aſſemblies, were not yet departed from *Pontuico*.

1509.
Beginning of
the warre.

The firſt actuall beginning to ſo great a war was made the xv. day of Aprill 1509, when *Monsieur de Chaumont* paſſed the foorde of *Adda* neare *Cafcina*, conueying by boates ſixe thouſand footemen, and the artilleries: from thence he marched to the towne of *Treny*, which is within three myles of *Cafcina* wherein were *Iulian Morofin* gouernour of the *Venetian* eſtradiots, and *Vittello de ciſta de Caſtello*, with *Vincent de Naldo*, who diſpoſed the footemen, which were to be diſtributed amongſt the townes thereabouts. They beleued that thoſe French bands which lay diſperſed

in many places in the countrey, were not men appointed to assaile the towne, but to make incursions into the countrey, and therefore to make some experience of warre with them, they sent out an hundred of their footemen, who with certaine estradiots entertained the skirmish, and followed the chase euen to the fortresse of the gate: and being followed with their mainebattel & the arillerie, they began to play with such Culuerins and Falcons as they had, so visiting the towers and places of the wall, that what by the terrour of the shot, ioyned to the suddenesse and importunitie of the action, and vniuersall murinies of the multitudes in the towne, made a frayde by the examples of their chieftaines & leaders, they yeilded wholly to the discretion of *Monsieur de Chaumont*, to whom in this first fortune were made prisoners *Iustinian*, *Vitelli*, and *Vincent*, and many others, with a hundred light horsemen, & a thousand footemen, all of the vale de *Mone*: onely two hundred estradiots were saued by flying. After this good beginning *M. de Chaumont*, conquering also certaine places adioyning, repassed with all his people ouer the riuer of *Adda*, carying with him by the felicitie of this first action, great hope of an absolute victorie to the residue of the warre. The same day the Marquis of *Mantua*, to whom the king had committed an hundred Launces, ran vp to *Casalmajor*, which without resistance was rendred to him by the inhabitants, together with *Louis Bonne*, Magistrate for the *Venetians*. The same day in like sort *Roccabertin* with an hundred and fiftie Launces, and three thousand footemen, passing ouer a bridge made of boates vpon *Adda* as it entreth into *Paw*, made roades vpon the townes of *Cremona*, as did also in another part of the countrey the souldiers of the garrison of *Lodi*, building a bridge vpon *Adda*: besides, all the paisants of the Mountaine of *Brianza*, made incursions euen to *Bergama*, ioyning to so common a fauour of fortune, an vniuersall readinesse and resolution of minde. But this generall inuasion performed in one day, and in fise feuerall places, the enemies presenting no resistance, bare more brute the matter of effect, both for that *Monsieur de Chaumont* retired immediatly to *Mil-lan*, to abide the kings comming, and also the Marquis of *Mantua*, who after the enterprise of *Casalmajor*, had executed a vaine attempt vpon *Afala*, abandoned *Casalmajor*, hearing that *Alsinio* was passed on this side the riuer of *Oglia* at *Pontmolaro*.

The Pope seeing such a beginning giuen to the warre, published in forme of admonition a horrible Bull, wherein were declared all the vsurpations, made by the *Venetians* vpon the townes appertaining to the sea Apostolike, and the authoritie which they had attributed to them selues, to the preiudice of the Ecclesiastike liberty and iurisdiction of Popes, both in disposing Bishoprikes, & other benefices vacant, in deducing in secular course causes spirituall appertaining to the iudgement of the Church, and also all other natures of disobediences past. Amongst those declarations was not forgotten, that not long since, to the great trouble of the estate of *Bologna*, and preiudice of the Church, they had called to *Faenza* the *Bentiuoleis*, who being rebels to the Church, were subiect aswell in them selues, as in those that receiued them, to great censures: he admonished them to make restitution within xxiiij. dayes next of all those townes of the Church which they occupied, together with the account of the fruites they haue receiued since the time of their possession, and that vnder paine (in case of disobedience) to incurre the paines of cursings & interdictions, not onely to the Citie of *Venice*, and all the towes of their obedience, but also to all such, as being not subiect to their iurisdiction, were yet receiuers or rescuers of the *Venetians*, declaring them attainted of *crimen lese maiestatis*, and defied as perpetuall enemies to all Christians, to whom he gaue full power to take their goods where they were found, & to make their persons slaues. Against this Bull not many dayes after, was brought into the towne of *Rome*, a writing by me vnknowne in the name of the Prince & Magistrats of *Venice*, wherein, after a long & bitter narration against the Pope and the French king, was expressed an appeale from the admonition to the next Councell, and for want of humane iustice, to the tribunall of Iesus Christ the most righteous and soueraigne iudge. To these spirituall thunderboltes, were ioyned temporall threates, for that the French Herald arriuing at the same time at *Venice*, and brought afore the presence of the Duke and Senate, denounced in the name of the French king, the warre already begun, charging them to haue giuen many occasions more apparant then true or iust. The Duke, after some consulting with the Senate, answered the Herald in few wordes, that since the king his maister was determined to make warre vpon them, in a time whē they hoped most for the obseruation of the alliance which they had neuer violated, & for not breaking of it, had made *Cesar* their enemy, they would stand vpon their defence, which they hoped to be able to do with their forces, accompanied

The Popes Bull
against the
Venetians.

with the iustice of their cause. This answer seemed to resemble more the dignitie of their Common weale, then if they had vsed justifications and complaints to one that had already assayed them with armes.

The Venetians
armie.

The *Venetian* army was at last assembled and mustered at *Pontuico*, wherein were two thousand men at armes, three thousand light horsemen & estradiors, fifteene thousand footmen chosen, & the very flower of souldiers in all the regions of *Italie*, no lesse for their generally valour, then for the experience of the leaders, & fifteene thousand other footmen of choise, of the appointmēt of their countreys, accompanied with great quantities of artillerie: from thence the armie marched to *Fonteuella*, a towne within fixe myles of *Lodi*, & a retraite very commodious to succour *Tremona*, *Crema*, *Carauaga*, and *Bergama*, where iudging they should haue occasion, for the retraite of *M. Chaumont* beyond *Adda*, to reconer *Treny*, the kings armie withall being not yet assembled, they tooke the fields, following the deliberation of the Senate, but against the counsell of *Almano*, who sayd they were counsels almost repugnant, to forbid to fight with the enimie, & yet to draw so neare thē, seeing haply it might either not be in their power to retire, or if they did, it would be with a diminutiō of reputation hurtfull to the substance of the whole warre. In which regard, & for his particular honour, and vniuersall respect of all the men of warre of *Italie*, he had rather chuse to commit his life to hazard & fortune, then giue his cōsent to so great an infamie. The first towne the armie tooke was *Riuolce*, where the French had left no garrison, and hauing put into it fiftie horse and three hundred footmen, they drew neare to *Treny*, a towne very neare the riuer of *Adda*, hauing his situation somewhat high and bearing, and wherein *Monsieur Chaumont* had left fiftie Launces and a thousand footmen, vnder Captaine *Imbault*, *Frontalle Gascon*, and the white Knight. The artilleries were planted on that side to *Cascina*, where the wall was weakest, & making great executiō, such as were within yeelded the day following, the souldiers saued, but without armes, the Captaines remaining prisoners, & the towne wholly at the discretion of the victors: The houses and riches of the towne were put to present sacke, but with greater damage to the victors, thē to those that were vanquished, for that the French king vnderstanding the cāpe of the enimie to be before *Treny*, supposing that that place being lost almost in his sight, would bring great diminution to his reputation, he aduanced his armie, & with a speede according to the necessitie of the perill, marched frō *Millan* to rescue it: and arriuing the day after the execution of *Treny*, at the riuer neare *Cascina*, where were made before for the oportunitie of *Cascina* without impedimēt, three bridges of barks, he passed with his whole armie, his enemies making no countenance to resist him: a matter which made many men of experience to maruell, that they idly lost so faire occasion to set vpō the former part of his army, which was passed: & *Treny*, enforcing the glory of that aduantage, seeing the whole armie passe without resistāce, cried to the French king, *The victorie was won*: Of such force are occasions being giuen by negligence of the one partie, & followed with resolution and valour of the other: neuerthelesse it is certaine, that the *Venetian* Captaines both discerned the benefite of the occasion, and would haue vsed it, sauing it was not in their power, neither by authoritie nor by petition, nor with threats, to driue out of *Treny* the souldiers occupied in pillage and pray. And albeit in a disorder so generall, and a necessitie so desperate, *Almano* had no other meane for their common safetie, then to compell the multitude of souldiers to issue, by setting the towne on fire: yet it was a remedie too slow and late, for that the French vsing the fauour of their fortune, were already passed, scorning with great ioy the cowardise and wretched counsell of the enimie. The king encamped within litle more then a myle of the *Venetians*, who lay in a place somewhat raised, & bearing such strength as well by the oportunitie of his seate, as by the rampiers and trenches they had cast by their industrie, that there was no possibilitie to set vpon them without manifest perill, the time, the place, and almost the dispositions of men, with all other circumstances appertaining to such an action, being against them. As they drew to counsell in what forme and maner they should proceede, many were of opinion (standing also vpon the expectation of the descēding of *Cesar*) that they should temporise and deferre, for that the condition of him that expectes to be assayed, being better then he that seekes to set on another, necessitie would compell the *Venetian* Captaines to seeke to offer the battaile, seeing they had no reasonable meane to defend their iurisdiction, oppressed in so many places: A perswasion contrarie to the opinion of the king, who sought chiefly to fight in a place, whose situation was not about the valour of the champions, being moued thereunto either for feare that *Cesar* would aduance too slowly,

or else for that being really in the campe in person with the choise forces of his kingdome, he stood not onely in an absolute hope of the victorie, but also iudged it much to his dishonour, if he put not an end to the war of himself without the ministracion of others: as of the cōtrarie he esteemed it greatly to the glory and reputation of his name, if by his power and vertue, and in his owne person, the residue of the confederates might come to communicate no lesse then himselfe in the rewards and fruits of the victorie: an ambition of glorie much familiar with great Princes, and oftentimes most hurtfull to great enterprises, specially when one particular power aspireth to execute an action which in reason, counsell, and confederacie respecteth a ioynt assistance. On the other side, the Commissioners and Captaines of *Venice*, not forestalling their counsels for any feare they had of *Cesar*, were determined not to put theselues into places equall or cōparatiue with the enemy, but shifting alwayes into places of aduantage & strength, they sought at one time to eschue the necessitie of the battell, and withall to let that the French should do nothing of importance, seeking to obey time, necessitie, and all other things to be respected in an action of that nature.

With these deliberations and counsels, neither the one nor the other armie made any mouing, but stood encamped a whole day the one in the face of the other. And albeit in so neare aspect of two mightie enemies equall in ambition, and in glorie nothing inferiour, it is hard to containe men of seruice, yet there was nothing executed betweene them, but certaine light skirmishes by horsemen, wherein though the French by aduancing their artillerie, sought occasion to fight, yet the battell was not embraced, mens counsels varying, and the respects of things not resolued. The day after, the king remoued towards *Riuolta*, to try whether a desire to keepe that place would cause the *Italians* to moue: who, not stirring, to obtaine at the least a secret confession that they had no stomackes to accept the battell, the king stood foure long houres afore their lodgings with his whole armie aranged in battell, the *Venetians* doing no other thing then moue and shew themselves in the front of the Frenchmen in good order, without abandoning their trench. At this time the artillerie being drawne by part of the kings souldiers to the wals of *Riuolta*, the place was forced and taken in few houres, where the king lodged that night with all his armie, being not a litle troubled with the maner of proceeding of the enemies, whose counsels he prayled so much the more, by how much they were framed against his intentions; and discontented him. But to draw them by necessitie to that whereunto they bare a will estranged, after he had remained a whole day at *Riuolta*, and set fire in the place afore he departed, he remoued his campe to lodge at *Vailo*, or at *Pandin* the night following: he hoped that by the oportunitie of either of these places, he might easily giue impedimēt to the victuals comming from *Cremona* and *Crema*, & by that meane to put them in necessitie to leaue abādoned their lodgings wherein they had remained to that houre. The *Venetian* Captaines saw what were the thoughts and intentionis of the king; and did not doubt that it would not be necessarie to take a place strong & neare the enemy, to continue to hold them in the same difficulties and impedimēts: But the Count *Petillano* counselled to deferre the inouing of the campe till the day following, notwithstanding *Aluiano* made so great an instance to the contrary, alleaging how necessarie it were to preuent them, that in the end it was agreed to breake vp suddely (rashnesse preuayling more then maturitie of counsell.) There were two wayes to leade to the sayd places, the one lower neare the riuer of *Adda*, but a longer way and full of turnings: the other more remoued from the riuer, but more short, and more straight, the one making the string, and the other the bow, as the saying runnes. The lower way was taken by the kings armie, which contained more then two thousand Launces, sixe thousand *Swisser* footemen, and twelue thousand of *Gascoins* and *Italians*, well furnished with artillerie, & a sufficient prouision of Pioners. The *Venetian* armie marched by the higher way vpon the right hand towards the enemy: in it were two thousand men at armes, more then twentie thousand footemen, with a great quantitie of light horsemen, partly *Italians*, & partly leauied in *Greece* by the *Venetians*, who ranne before, but forbore to enlarge and spread according to their custome, the bushes & branches whereof the country was full betweene both the one and other armie, being their impediments, as also they so shadowed both the campes, that they could not see one another. But marching in this order, and the *Venetians* alwayes aduancing, there drew neare together in one time the French vauward containing five hundred Launces, and the *Swisser* footemen, led by *Charles d'Amboise* and *Iohn Iacques Triunlce*, & the rearegard of the *Venetians* gouerned by *Bartlemew Aluiano*, wherein were eight hundred men armes, with all the flower of the footemen of the armie, but they kept no good order

The armies af-
front one ano-
ther, and fight
not.

in their march, *Aluiano* not thinking that the battell would be offered that day: but when he saw himselfe in the face of his enemies, what by the renouation of his auncient valour, and that he was brought into such extremitie of place, that he was compelled to fight, he gaue present aduertisement to the *Count Petillano* leading the other part of the armie before, his necessitie, or else his resolution demanding his succours. The *Count* returned answer that he should continue his marching, and eschue the fight, the reasons of warre so requiring, and the resolution of the Senate agreeing. But in the meane while, *Aluiano* hauing bestowed his footemen with sixe peeces of artillerie vpon a litle trench made to stop the furie of a land flood, which at that time being almost dry of water passed betweene both the armies: charged the enemies with such courage and furie, that he compelled them to giue ground, wherein this ministred not a litle helpe to him, that the first charge was amongst certaine vines, where, by reason of the hedges and intricate branches of the vines, the French horsemen could execute litle: neuerthelesse the battell of the French army, wherein was the kings person, being aduanced for that daunger, the two first squadrons ioyned to charge the bandes of *Aluiano*, who entring into a great hope of the victorie for so happy a beginning, was not idle to labour to encourage the souldiers with vehement wordes. The battell was furious on all sides, the French receiuing courage & comfort by the succours of their companions, and for that the battell was drawne into a place open and discouered, where their horsemen had space & scope to manage at pleasure: besides, the presence of the king did much to stirre them, who bearing no more respect to his person, then if he had bene a priuate souldiour, refused not to stand in the daunger of the artillerie, not ceassing where he saw neede, to commaund, to encourage, and to threaten. On the other side the *Italian* footemen, who were full of resolution for their first felicitie, fought with great constancie of courage and valour, *Aluiano* forgetting nothing that belonged to the office of an excellent Captaine. At last, three houres being consumed in this execution, the *Venetian* bands receiuing by the plainnesse of the place great distresse by the French horsemen, & not able withall to keepe firme footing for the rayne that fell during the battell, which made the ground slippery, but specially for that they were not succoured by the residue of the army, began to fight with a great disaduauntage, & yet made resistance with great vertue, in so much as when they saw no hope to ouercome, it was well expressed in the effectes of their valour, that more to winne glory then to saue them selues, they laboured to make the victorie bloody to the French, despising perils with the same mindes wherewith they fought for glory & monument. And albeit they kept the battell a longtime in suspension and doubt, yet at last, being more depriued of strength then of courage, without turning their backs to the enemy, they passed almost all vnder the sentence of the sword, leauing to the residue of the armie an example of right worthy imitation, and to posteritie a perpetuall prayse of their merite and vertue. Amongst the rest that were slaine, many lamentations were made for one of the Marquisses of the Mount *S. Maria de Tuskana*, a Captaine of great exercise in leading footemen in the warres of *Pisa*, when he liued in the pay of the *Florentines*, and now one of the Colonels of the *Venetian* footemen. The honorable resistance which this onely one part of the armie made, bred almost a generall opinion, that if the whole *Venetian* campe had entred the battell, they had either caried the victorie, or at least past it to the enemy with greater perill and bloud-shedding. But the *Count Petillano*, with whom was the greatest part of the armie, abstained from armes, either for that (thus he alleaged) as he prepared to aduaunce the battell, he was ill aduertised by an esquadron that fled away, or rather (such was the bruce) standing in no hope or possibilitie of the victorie, and nolesse disdained that *Aluiano* contrarie to his direction had aduentured to fight, he esteemed it a counsell better assured, to keepe that part of the army reserved, then to referre the whole to hazard for the rashnesse of another, the extremitie of the perill making him more carefull then honourable. In this battell perished very few men at armes, the whole slaughter falling vpon the *Venetian* footemen, whereof died by good testimonie eight thousand bodies, notwithstanding some report that the number of the dead men on both parts, could not passe sixe thousand men: such variation followeth brutes and rumours, being for the most part full of incertainties and errours. But *Bartlemew Aluiano* remained prisoner, who receiuing a hurt in his eye, was by that misfortune halfe blinded with the bloud of his wound, and that array (pitifull in a Captaine of his merite) was led to the kings pauillion. The residue of the armie being not followed in chace, found safetie in flying, loosing in all twentie peeces of great artillerie. This was the notable battell of *Guaradadda*, or according to the opinion of some, the victorie of *Vaila*, which

Defeat of the
Venetians.

Aluiano taken
prisoner.

which was fought the xiiij. day of May, & in moment of which the king caused to be edified in the very place where the battell was executed, a Chappell, which he honoured with the name of *S. Maria della vittoria*.

The king, with the felicitie of this victorie, not willing to corrupt by negligence the occasion that had bene won with valour and fortune: marched the day following to *Caranage*, where the towne being suddenly rendred by composition, he battered the Castell with artillerie, which also within foure and twentie houres yeelded to discretion. The Citie of *Bergama* gaue vp the day after, without abiding the coming of the armie, where after the king had left fiftie Launces and a thousand footemen to batter the Castell, he aduanced to *Bressia*, but before he arriued there, the Castell of *Bergama*, after the cannon had executed a whole day, was rendred vpon condition, that *Marin Georgio* with other *Venetian* Magistrates, should be prisoners, for that the king not so much for hatred, as for hope to draw money, had determined not to accept any composition of townes, by the which the Gentlemen of *Venice* should be saued, seeking to make the benefite of his warres to beare out the greatest burden and expenses of his armie. In all ages, time hath carried a power to varie and alter the humours of men, governing their inclinations according to occasions that happen: the same being approued in the inhabitants of *Bressia*, in whom now remained no more that auncient disposition with the which their elders in the warres with *P. M. Visconti*, had sustained a grievous and great siege to preferue themselves vnder the iurisdiction of *Venice*: and being now disposed to take the yoke of the French, partly for feare of their armes, and partly at the perswasion of the *Count Ioh. Fea. de Cambara* chiefe of the *Gebelin* faction: they sealed vpon the gates of the towne the day after the battell, opposing manifestly against *George Cornato*, who being gone thither in great diligence, fought to strengthen the place with men. And besides, the *Venetian* armie which was very much diminished in numbers, not onely by the slaughter of the battell, but also for that many were gone away, as often hapneth when an armie falleth into aduersities: they respected nothing, neither the authoritie nor the petition of *Andre Grutti*, who was entered into *Bressia* to perswade them to take it for their defence: therefore the armie supposing no suretie in that place, marched towardes *Pesquero*, the Citie of *Bressia* yeelding to the French king, and the Castell within two dayes after doing the like, vnder this condition, that such as were within should depart in safetie, except the Gentlemen of *Venice*.

Nothing is more grievous then the report of an ill accident, and nothing more intollerable then when the expectation of things is chaunged by sinister successe: for that by how much the hope was likely and possible, by so much more desperate is the euent falling in a course contrary to that was expected. The newes of so great a calamitie was no sooner vnderstood in the towne of *Venice*, then it was incredible to behold the vniuersall alteration that appeared: some afflicted with sorrow, but the most part perplexed with feare, the minds of those being most confused and amazed, who much lesse that they had bene accustomed to feele such aduersities, but of the contrarie, had bene wont alwayes in other warres to carrie felicitie and victorie: and as men not accustomed to aduersities haue litle rule ouer their passions, so such as neuer felt but prosperitie, can least iudge of the worthinesse of patience: for in this affliction they cried out against heauen and earth, and accused iustly the instabilitie of mortall estate: their feare made them set before their eyes the losse of their whole dominion, with the latter ruine of their countrey and common weale, wherein their sorrow increased with the consideration of the time, seeming to depriue them of glory, power, and reputation, euen when they promised to themselves no lesse then the imperie of all *Italie*. And in those dolours and miserable demonstrations of minde, they ran crying and complaining to the publike pallace, where the Elders and Senatours taking counsell what to do in aduersitie so much importing, after they had long debated with great diuersitie of opiniõ, the Councell brake vp ouercome with dispaire: so weake and incertaine were the remedies, and so slender the hopes of their safetie and welldoing. Where the ill is common, the discomfort is generall, nothing remaining to retain the mindes of men but impressions of dispaire and calamitie: they considered they had no other Captaines nor men to imploy in their defence, then such as remained of the ouerthrow, and in them was equall the want of force, & diminution of courage. And for their popular multitudes, subiectes of their generall dominion, they saw them either inclined to rebell, or at least so estranged from suffering, that there remained no disposition to put themselves in further perill for their safetie. They beheld in the French king, (no lesse mightie for the greatnesse and glorie of his army,

The taking of
many townes
by the French

The lamentations
made at
Venice for the
ouerthrow.

then insolent for his late hapinesse and victorie) a resolution to come on and follow the course of his fortune. They saw that the chaunce of the battell had made him maister ouer the harts and courages of men, and giuen him commaundment ouer countreys and common weales. And if against him alone they were not able to make resistance, what would be their condition when *Cesar* should arriue, whom they vnderstood to be at hand, and to march with speede, being drawne on by so great an occasion. They saw from all parts great concurrence of daungers, with occasions of dispaire, and very small apparance of hope or comfort: They feared least in their proper countrey full of multitudes of men of warre, would rise some daungerous tumult, partly for a generall hatred against Gentlemen, and partly for desire of pillage. Lastly, in these contemplations of sorrow and calamitie, they made their mindes the very images of dispaire, esteeming all already hapned, all the aduersities that their timorous coniectures could imagine. Neuerthelesse taking courage and comfort in so great a feare, such as their present fortune would suffer, they determined, with the best diligence they could, to be reconciled in what sort soeuer with the Pope, with *Cesar*, & with the king Catholike, not looking any way to appease the minde of the French king, for that their dispaire was no lesse for the hate which he bare them, then they feared the power and might of his armes. And yet omitting nothing which they supposed might minister to their defence, they studied to leaue treasures & money, and gaue order to refurnish and raise new bands. And for feare of the armie at sea which was sayd to be rigged at *Genes*, they deuised to increase their nauie to fiftie galleys commaunded by *Ange Treuisan*. But all their counsels were preuented by the celeritie of the French king, to whom since the conquest *Bressia*, was rendred the Citie of *Cremona*, the Castell holding good for the *Venetians*, which, notwithstanding it was strong had followed the example of the others, together with that of *Pesqueto* yeelding also in the same time, if the king had consented that euery one should depart with safetie: but, for that there were within it many Gentlemen of *Venice*, as *Zacharie Contarin*, a man of great wealth and possessions, he would not receiue them but with condition to haue power ouer the Gentlemen: in which mind he sent an armie to keepe them besieged. And for that the *Venetian* armies encamping in the field of *Mars* neare *Verona*, & decreasing continually, for that they of *Verona* would not receiue them into their towne, the king went before *Pesquero* to get the Castell, the towne being already rendred: the batterie had not played any long time, but the footemen *Swissers* and *Gascons* entred with great furie through small breaches and ruines of the wall, & making slaughter of almost foure hundred footemen whom they found at defence, they tooke prisoner the Captaine of the Castell, being likewise Captaine of the towne, a Gentleman of *Venice*, who by the kings commaundement was hanged vpon the battlements of the same Castell: a crueltie which the king vsed for example sake, that such as defended the Castell of *Cremona*, induced by this punishment, might not continue in obstinacie to the extremitie. There is nothing more swift then victorie, specially where occasions are followed, and the oportunities of times and other circumstances embraced: for the French king within fiftene dayes after the battell, had reconquered (except the Castell of *Cremona*) all that appertained to him by the diuision which was made at *Cambray*: a conquest no lesse honourable for the king, then of great commoditie for the Duchie of *Millan*, and augmenting the reuenues of the king to more then two hundred thousand duckets by yeare. About this time, albeit the armies of the king of *Romains* had appeared yet in no place neither in action nor shew, yet the Pope, ioyning himselfe to the fauour of the time, assayled the townes of *Romania* with foure hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horsemen, & eight thousand footmen, with the artillerie of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he had chosen *Gonfalonier* of the Church, which is a title according to the practise of our times, that holdes more of dignitie then of authoritie: he recommended the charge of this armie ioyntly to *Francisco de Castello de Rie* Cardinall of *Pania* bearing the name of the Legate Apostolike, and to *Frauncis Maria de la Roaura*, sonne to *Iohn* his late brother, who, being adopted for sonne by *Guid*. Duke of *Vrbis* his vncler by the mother side, the adoption also confirmed in the consistorie by the Popes authoritie, had succeeded the yeare before in the Duchie, the Duke of *Vrbis* being dead without other children. They ranne with this armie from *Cesena* towards *Sernia*, and comming betweene *Imola* and *Faenza*, they tooke the towne of *Solarola*: and after they had bin certaine dayes at *Bastida* three myles from *Faenza*, they drew to *Bresiquella*, which is the capitall towne of *Val de Lamona*, wherein was newly entred *Iohn Paulo Mansfron* with eight hundred footemen, and certaine horsemen: who issuing out to fight, were trayned

ned into an ambush, and so hotly charged by *John Paule Baillon* and *Lodowike de la Mirandola* Captaines of the Church armie, that as they would haue sought their safetie in the towne, the enemy entred *Pelmell* with them, and that with such furie, that *Mansson* being felled from his horse, had scarce leisure to retire to the Castell: afore the which the artillerie being brought & planted, the munitions that were within were set on fire at the first blow: an accident that so terrified the defendants within, that they rendred absolutely the place to the discretion of the victor. After the whole valley was taken, the armie descended into the plaine, and tooke *Garanarola* with all the other townes of the countrey of *Faenza*, and so went and encamped before *Rossi*, which is a borough situate betweene *Faenza* and *Rauenna*, but not easie to be taken, for that besides it was enuironed with very large and deepe trenches, it was defended with sixe hundred footemen for-reiners. But that which made more vneasie the action of that towne, was, that there was not in the Church armie, neither that counsell, nor that concorde that was necessarie, notwithstanding it abounded in strength and forces, three thousand *Swissers* payed by the Pope being there newly arriued: for which cause, albeit the *Venetians* were not strong in *Romania*, yet things had no great aduancement on that side: onely *John Greeke* Captaine of the eltradiots issuing out of *Rauenna* with his bands, was broken and taken prisoner by *John Vitelli*, one of the Captaines of the Church. Lastly, after they had remained ten dayes afore *Rossi*, they tooke it by cōposition. And the victorie of the king hapning in the same time, the Citie of *Faenza*, who stood now in her owne power, for that the *Venetian* strength was now diminished, agreed to acknowledge the Pope for their Lord, if they were not rescued within fiftene dayes: by the benefite of which conuention there issued out of *Faenza* vnder the faith of the Legate, sixe hundred footemen of the *Venetians*, who were stripped by commaundement of the Duke of *Ferrara*: The Citie of *Rauenna* did the like as soone as the armie approached. Thus, more by the reputation of the victorie of the French king, then by his proper forces, the Pope conquered in a little time, those townes which he had so long desired in *Romania*, in the which as the *Venetians* held no other peece then the Castell of *Rauenna*, so, euer since the first ouerthrowing of their armie, there disclosed dayly against them new enemies: for, the Duke of *Ferrara*, who till that day had not declared him selfe, chased out of *Ferrara* the *Visdomino*, a Magistrate which the *Venetians* kept resident there, according to the auncient conuentions, to minister equitie to their subiectes: And taking armes, he recouered without impediment *Polesina*, and sonke with artilleries the *Venetian* Nauies floting vpon the riuer of *Adice*. To the Marquis of *Mantua* were yeelded the townes of *Afola* and *Lunato*, which the *Venetians* had taken in the warre they had against *Philip M. Viscount*, vpon *John Frauncis de Gonsagua* his great grandfather. In *Istria*, *Christopher Frangipan* occupied *Pisina* and *Diuinia*: and the Duke of *Brunswike*, who by *Cesars* commaundement was entred into *Friul* with two thousand men trayned, tooke *Feltro* and *Bellona*. At his comming, together with the brute of the victorie of the French, *Triesta* with the other townes (the conquest of which had bin the very wellspring and beginning of all the aduersities to the *Venetians*) returned vnder the obedience of *Cesar*. In like sort the *Counts* of *Lodron* occupied certaine Castels and Boroughs that were neare them, and the Bishop of *Trent* vsurped *Rina* and *Agresta*. But amid all these calamities and declinations of fortune, there was nothing that so much amased the *Venetians* since the battell, as the taking of the Castell of *Pesquero*, whose strength and situation, with other oportunities of the place, they supposed would haue stayed the furie of the victor: so weake is the hold of hope where is nothing but daunger on all sides, that the *Venetians* standing amased amid so many perils, were fearefull that the king would passe further: And their condition being made so desperate, that the feare that possessed them, left them no libertie of counsell, together with their bands which were retired to *Mestre*, (amongst whom was neither obedience nor order) being reduced to a very small nūber. They determined (& haply too soone) to abandon the iurisdiction of the firme land, to the end to haue no more enemies, and no lesse to take from the French king all occasions to draw neare to *Venice*: for they were not without suspition, that in that Citie would rise some tumult, either by the people that now were growen insolent, or by the innumerable multitude of straungers that dwelt there: some for desire of pray and pillage which makes men mutinous and disordered, and some for that they would not endure their deprivation of honours, and in all things to beare such a yoke of subiection to the Gentlemen, seeing they were Citizens borne by long succession of times in libertie & freedom, and most of them of the same bloud and families: wherein in so great a dispaire and losse of

courage, this reason was alleged in the Senate, that if willingly they abandoned the government, to eschue the perils present, they should easily recover it with the returne and oportunitie of a better fortune: for that the peoples and subiects that willingly should separate themselves from them, would not make so strong resistance to returne intooones vnder the obedience of their auncient Lordes, as they would do if they deuided themselves from them by manifest rebellion: for which reasons the magnanimitie of the *Venetians* comming now to be defaced, together with the reputation of so glorious a common weale declining, they were content to keepe to themselves the salt waters onely, addressing to the Magistrates and officers gouerning at *Padua*, *Verona*, and all other townes bearing interest to *Maximilian*, directions to returne with speede, and leaue the townes to the deuotion of the peoples. Besides, to the end to obtaine peace of *Maximilian* vnder what conditions soeuer, they sent to him with diligence their Embassador *Iustinian*, who being admitted to his presence in publike audience, spake very pitifully and with great humilitie & submission, but in vaine, for that *Cesar* denied to make any contract without the priultie of the French king. But the better to make knowne how much the common weale of *Venice* was humbled and abated of courage, not feeling the like aduersities in two hundred yeares before. It can not be impertinent to expresse here the selfe Oration which their Embassadour vttered afore *Cesar*.

The Oration of
Anth. Iustini-
an to Cesar.

In the auncient Philosophers and first men of ciuilitie, it was a disposition no lesse honorable, then a iudgement equall and iust, to assure that that was the true, firme, eternall, & immortall glorie, which men got in conquering their proper affections: An action which they preferred about all kingdomes, triumphes, and vertues, for that in it was represented the very image and similitude of that which they called the diuinitie in men. For this vertue *Scipio* caried more glory and reputation, then for all the victories he won against *Affrike* or *Carthage*: This was the respect for the which ages & posterities do yet nourish the immortalitie of *Alexander*, when *Darius*, ouerthrowne by him in a mightie battell, besought God that in case he had determined to dispose his kingdome, he would ordaine him no other successour then his enemy, whose victorie could not make him other then mercifull and gracious. *Cesar* the Dictator, of whom you beare the name, & communicates no lesse in his fortunes and felicities, then in his liberalities, clemencies, and other vertues, was honoured with diuine titles and glories, for that he fauoured, respected, and pardoned. Lastly the Senate and people of *Rome*, whose imperie in earth is onely resembled in your person, as the maiestie and greatnesse hath there his perfect image, brought more peoples and prouinces vnder their subiection with clemencie, equitie, and mildnesse, then with the rigour of armes and warre. There is nothing more worthy then clemencie, nor any thing better becomming the maiestie of a Prince, then to be easie to be appeased, and ready to forgiue: for that if it be holden iust and honorable to throw downe an obstinate enemy, it is no lesse worthy and commendable to haue pitie on them that are already fallē into misfortunes. In consideration of these reasons bringing iustification by vertue, I hope it shall not be the least of your prayes, if your Maiestie, in whose hands stands the victorie gotten ouer the *Venetians*, looking into the frailty of worldly things, will vse it with moderation & temperance, & encline rather to the deuises & studies of peace, then to the doubtfull euents of war. For touching the inconstancie of humaine things, how incertaine aduentures are, and how doubtfull, how mutable, how deceitfull, and how full of daungers is the estate of men mortall, I neede not proue it by examples straunge, forreine, or auncient, since the common weale of *Venice* standes at this houre the true figure and representation of the infirmitie of humaine condition and kingdomes. It was not long since, neither lesse mightie, lesse flourishing, nor lesse renowned, then that our name and reputation could not only be celebrated & contained within the limites of *Europe*, but with a great pompe & magnificence, ranne through all *Affrike* & *Asia*, & caried brute and terrour euen to the extreame bounds of the earth: And now by the onely losse of a battell, no lesse light & easie, then depriued of the prayse & merite of armes, it is become dispoyled of riches, deuided from strength, defaced in renowne, ruinated of all things, and especially of counsell, & so reuerfed & abated, that there remains nothing of our auncient vertue, but signes and shadowes, all things being turned into desolation, & nothing remaining but a lamentable expectation of perpetuall ruine. But greatly do the French men beguile themselves, if they make a glory of our spoile, or attribute our aduersities to their yertue, since notwithstanding we haue bene heretofore worne and trauelled by so many afflictions, wasted and consumed with so many daungers and ruines, yet we neuer made our courage baser then our fortune: yea euen in those daungerous warres which

we managed many yeares against the terrible enimie and tyrant of the Turkes, of men vanquished, we seemed victorious. And as there are no men miserable, but those that esteeme themselves so by the base reputation of their courage, so we had still retained the same shew of valour, resolution, and magnanimitie, sauing that the brute of the terrible name of your Maiestie, together with the liuely and inuincible vertue of your souldiers, hath so abated the mindes of vs all, that there remaines no hope, not to vanquish and ouercome, no not to defend and resist: an aduersitie so lamentable to vs, that depriving our selues of armes and weapons, we haue reposed the hope and remedie of our afflictions in the diuine pietie and clemencie of your Maiestie, which we doubt not to finde euen in the greatest despaire of our affaires. In which respect as well on the behalfe of the Prince and Senat, as of the people and communalitie of *Venice*, we pray, beseech, and coniuere you, to cast the eyes of your mercy vpon our afflictions; and to cure our grieues with remedies of comfort and consolation: we offer not to debate any articles of peace, but we come accompanied with mindes to embrace all such conditions as you thinke meete to impose, iudging them reasonable, righteous, and iust: we are not worthy to taxe our selues, or appoint our own rates, but vnder our free and voluntarie consents we offer to you as true and lawfull Lord, restitution of all those things which our elders haue taken from the sacred Empire, and Duchie of *Austria*: Whereunto (the condition of our fortune requirring to induce your Maiestie by all humilities) we adde all those things which we possesse in the firme land, renouncing all rights, all charters, all prerogatiues and interests, by the which we either haue got them, or do hold them: we will acknowledge a yearly payment tributary to your Maiestie and your lawfull successors in the Empire, of fiftie thousand ducets for euer: we will obey you in all your commaundementes, lawes, decrees, and impositions, and holding that to belong to our dutie, deuotion, and fidelitie, which dependes vpon your authoritie, or respectes your securitie, we will repute vs in the condition of subiectes, not conquered by armes and victorie, but voluntarily yeelded vnder your pietie and clemencie. We beseech you let our teares and true demonstrations of sorrow induce you to defend vs from the insolencie of those, who earst were our companions in armes, and now do proue them our bitter enemies, desiring nothing more then the ruine of our name. In preferuing vs by your clemencie, we are to call and honour you by the name of father and founder of our Citie, to make you a perpetuall monument in our Chronicles and registers, and to leaue perpetuall report to our children and posteritie of your high merites and vertues: esteeme it no small increale of your prayses, that you are the first Prince afore whose seete the common weale of *Venice* falles prostrate, before whose face we bow our knees, vnder whose handes we offer our selues humbled, and whom we honour, reuerence, and respect as a Prince holding iust authority ouer vs. There can be nothing required which we are not ready to performe, and those things which of your modestie you forbear to demaund, our necessitie hath vs to offer into your handes, our humilitie being the true interpreter of the faith and deuotion of our mindes: we hope the extremitie of our perils will not make vs the lesse apt to receiue your fauours, for that he giues a grieuous sentence against the state of mans mortalitie, that denieth compassion to men in miserie. And the law of honour and clemencie holdes vs so farre assured that you will not make vs reiected because we are afflicted, since it is one chiefe office in your Christian pietie, to minister succours to men in necessities. Compassion debates not causes and reasons, but proceedes to the reliefe of such as suffer and expect it, then agreeing with true magnanimitie, when it ministers comfort vpon free and liberall motions. The glory is greater to lend your hand to those that are already fallen, then by drawing your sword against your enemies, to carie the prayse of their victorie and confusion, the one being iust and necessarie, and the other a high action of charitie, which carrieth the doers into the fauour of God: if ambition and worldly inspiration had not so commaunded our auncestours, that they had forborne to aspire to the estates of others, our common weale might haue stood aduanced aboue all the Cities of *Europe* in glory, in nobilitie, in magnanimitie and riches, where now deformed altogether with infamie and reproch, it is torne and broken in a moment, and nothing remaining of so many honors and victories, but a perpetuall monument, scorn, and derision. And by how much our aduersities are great, and our petitions lamentable, by so much it concernes you in clemencie, as you are able in power, to reestablishe the estate of the *Venerians*: an action that brings with it such a reputation of name and honour, as in old age, no prescription or antiquitie, no law of time, nor course of yeares, shall be able to wipe it out.

of the mindes and memories of mortall men: but as you shall merite with all peoples and nationis the onely name of pityfull, iust, and pardoning, so for our parts, receiuing our safetie from your clemencie, we shall attribute to your vertue, to your felicitie, and to your goodnesse, that we liue, that we breath, or that we are referred to hold communie with men.

The calamities of the *Venetians* made them of nothing so carefull, as to render those peeces which so long they had occupied of others, their fortune giuing them at that time no better means either to appease or assure their aduersities: They sent according to the same deliberation into *Powilla*, to restore the portes to the king of *Aragon*, who knowing how to enjoy the fruites of other mens trauels without his owne expences or daunger, had dispatched into *Spaine*, a small Nauie at sea, which had commaunded certaine places appertaining to those Cities and hauens of the sea. They dispatched also into *Romana* a publike Secretarie, with commission, to giue vp to the Pope all that they held there, vpon condition that *Iohn Paule Manfron* and other prisoners might be restored, with libertie to draw out their artilleries, and that the people that were within the Castell of *Rauenna* should depart in safetie. Which conditions whilest the Pope made difficultie to accept, for that he would not displease the confederates, the Castell of *Rauenna* was rendred, the souldiers giuing it vp of themselves, notwithstanding the *Venetian* Secretarie that was entred, sought to hinder it, for that such as solicited for them at *Rome*, gave hope that the Pope in the end would consent to the conditions, vnder the which they had offered restitution. But the Pope complained much that they had shewed a greater contumacie against him then against *Cesar* or the king of *Aragon*: and therefore when the *Venetian* Cardinals in the name of the Senate, demaunded absolution of the Bull, as being due, for that they had offered restitution within the terme of xxiiij. dayes, he made answer, that they had not obeyed, because their offer was not simple but ioyned to conditions limited: and for that they were admonished ouer and besides the restitution of the townes, to yeeld account of the fruites they had received, together with the benefites they possessed appertaining to Churches or to persons Ecclesiasticall.

Diuerse opinions touching the fall of the *Venetians*.

In this sort was ouerwhelmed with a wonderfull furie, the estate of the common weale of *Venice*, one calamitic growing vpon another, all their hopes declining, vaine and fallible, and no signe remaining by the which, after the losse of so great a dominion, they might hope for the preservation of their proper libertie. So great a ruine touched diuersly the mindes of the *Italians*, of whom many receiued contentment, remembering that the *Venetians*, proceeding in too great ambition, without respect to iustice or obseruation of faith, aspiring to all things that occasion or oportunitie offered, had manifestly quarrelled the whole Monarchie of *Italye*, aspiring to the vniuersall subiection of all those regions: things which made their names hatefull, and their gouernement intollerable by the consideration of their naturall pride. On the other side, many looking without passion into the present estate of things, & how wretched & lowle it were for all *Italye* to be brought wholly vnder the seruitude and yoke of strangers, felt no little griefe that such a maiestie of Citie, the auncient seate of libertie, and the very glory of the *Italian* name through all the world, should fall into such extremitie, that so worthy a member should be cut off, which more then all the residue had bene the protectour of their common glory and renowne. But about all so great a fall and declination began to be grieuous to the Pope, who doubting the powers of *Cesar* and the French king, desired to alter their thoughts from oppressing him, by intangling them with affaires. In which regard he determined (but secretly) to do all he could, that the aduersities of the common weale of *Venice* should haue no further course. And in that good disposition of minde, he accepted the letters written to him in the name of the Duke of *Venice*, by the which he besought him in great submission, to receiue the Em bassadours sent to him of the principals of the Senate, to sue for pardon and absolution. These letters being read, with their petitions published in the consistorie, he consented to receive them, after he had in few wordes protested that it was the auncient custome of the Church, not to shew it selfe hard or rigorous to such as with repentance of their faults, sought for reconciliation and pardon. The Em bassadours of the Emperour and the French strived what they could against it, putting him in memorie that by the confederation of *Cambrai*, he was expressly bound to persecute them with armes spirituall and temporall, till euery one of the confederates had recovered that which appertained to him. To whom the Pope made answer, that he had consented to admit them, with intention not to giue them absolution, if first *Cesar* (who onely had not recovered all) had not obtained

the things that belonged to him. This gave some beginning to the hope and comfort of the *Venetians*, but that which assured them most in their latest feares, was the resolution of the French king, to obserue simply and in good fidelitie, the capitulation which he had made with *Cesar*; and hauing reconquered all that was his, to passe no further with his armie, nor breake his ligities. And therefore albeit it was in his power after he had taken *Pesquero*, not onely to accept *Verona*, which had sent Embassadours to yeeld to him, but also to occupie *Padoa* without any impediment, together with all the other townes abandoned by the *Venetians*: yet he would in any sort that the Embassadours of *Verona* should present the keyes of their towne to the Embassadours of *Cesar* which were in his armie, and for that cause he stayed with all his campe at *Pesquero*, which he retained for himselfe for the commoditie of the place, notwithstanding it appertained to the Marquis of *Mantua*, who durst not refuse it to the king, leauing to him the reuenues of the towne, with promise of recompence. At the same time the king had also by accord the castell of *Cremona*, vnder condition that all the souldiers should depart with goods and life saued, except such as were his subiectes, and that the Gentlemen of *Venice* should remaine his prisoners, to whom he gaue his faith for their safetye. *Vincenza* and *Padoa* followed the example of *Verona*, as also other townes, except the Citie of *Trenisa*, which being abandoned by the Magistrates and souldiers of *Venice*, had runne also that course, if *Cesar* had sent thither neuer so small a force, or at the least any personage of authoritie. But *Leon de Dressino* one of the exiles of *Vincenza*, went thither to receiue it without strength or armes, and without any maiestie of imperie, receiuing *Padoa* in the like sort: and being entred and admitted, the exiles of the same Citie newly restored by the *Venetians* (for which benefite they were become faithfull louers of their name) began to draw into tumult, by whose example the people of no lesse affection to the gouernement of *Venice*, rose and conspired with one called *Marke* shoemaker, publishing himselfe chiefe, and with great cryes and concourse of the commons, carrying into the principall places the banners of the *Venetians*, they cryed with one voyce, *S. Marke*, assuring that they would acknowledge no other Emperour nor Lord. To this action was much helping and concurrant an Embassadour of the king of *Hungaria*, who in his way to *Venice*, passing by *Trenisa*, and being throwne happily into this tumult, perswaded the inhabitants not to rebell. In so much that after they had chased out *Dressino*, and put into the Citie seven hundred footemen of the *Venetians*, the armie also entring a little after, which was now increased with bandes of footemen comming from *Slauonia*, with the remainders of the armie, returned from *Romania*, hauing an intention to encampe in some strong place betwene *Margueta* and *Mestra*: they fortified the towne in great diligence, and made their horsemen scoure the places of the countrey thereabouts, procuring from all parts great reliefe of victuals, as well for the necessitie of that Citie, as for the vse of the towne of *Venice*, wherein they gathered great quantities from all sides, ioyning an incredible diligence to the sudden fauours which their fortune seemed to recomfort them withall. The principall occasion of this accident, and to confirme in the *Venetians* a hope to retaine yet some part of their dominion, together with many other great aduentures that followed, was the negligence and disordred gouernement of *Cesar*, of whom in so great a course of victorie there was heard no other thing then his name, notwithstanding by the meane of the French armes; and for their feare, so many townes had bene rendred to him, which was very easie for him to keepe. Only, after the confederation made at *Cambrai*, he occupied certaine time in *Flaynders*, to leaue of the people a loane of money to furnish his warres, which he had no sooner got into his possession, then, according to his custome, he spent it vnprofitably. And albeit at his departing from *Mackin* with all pompes and ceremonies imperiall, and being come very neare to *Walle*, he made publication that he would begin the war at the terme appointed to him in the capitulation: yet being oppressed with his accustomed difficulties and confusions, he aduanced no further, notwithstanding the Pope egged him with great importunities, for the feare he had of the French armes: whereia to giue him a more life to the enterprise, and to make him no lesse able to the action, he sent to him by *Constantin* of *Macodina* fiftie thousand duckets, consenting withall to the hundred thousand duckets which had bene leaued certaine yeares afore in *Germanie*, and referred to make warre vpon the infidels. Besides all this, he had receiued of the French king, an hundred thousand duckets for the investiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, and was aduertised of the fortune of the battell of *Vaila*, as he drew neate to *Iffurth*: & notwithstanding he dispatched with great diligence the Duke of *Brün-*

swike to recouer Friul, yet he moued not (as in such a concurrence of occasions had bene conuenient) for want of money (the taxes which he had imposed and drawne from so many places not being able to suffice his prodigalities.) At last he arriued at *Trent*, from whence, writing letters congratulatory to the king, he gaue many thanks that by his meane he had recouered his townes: and assured him, that the better to expresse the good will he bare to the king, and with all to wipe out all memories of offences past, he had caused to be burned a booke which was kept at *Spire*, containing an authentike register of the iniuries which the French kings in times past had done to the Empire and nation of *Germanie*, confessing that since the king had accompanied his promise with such honour and fidelitie, that he could do no lesse in common office, then for his part to dissolue all remembraunces of things that might minister occasions to bee vnthankfull to so great an affection. The Cardinall of *Amboyse* came to him to *Trent* the thirteenth day of Iune, to communicate of their common affaires, who being receiued with demonstrations well testifying the amitie he bare to his king, promised him on the kings behalfe, a succour of fiftie Launces. In so much that after they had with great agreement giuen directions for other affaires, it was resolued that *Cesar* and the king should speake together in plaine field neare the towne of *Gard*, vpon the Marches of both the one and others countreys. For which cause the French king prepared to be there at the day appointed, and *Cesar*, in the same regard came to *Rina de Trent*, bringing in neither of their mindes any suspicion, the one allured by good experience of benefite and fidelitie, and the other assured by the consideration of the same. But such are the variations of Princes, and their ordinarie subiection to suspicions and ieaiousies, that the Emperour, after he had bene there onely two houres, returned immediatly to *Trent*, signifying to the French king, that by occasion of new accidents hapned at *Friul*, he was constrained to depart suddenly, desiring him to stay at *Cremona*, till he returned to giue perfection to the enteruiew determined. This varietie (if notwithstanding it be possible in a Prince so inconstant to finde out the truth) many attributed to his credulitie and lightnesse of beliefe, some men blowing into his eares something that made him enter into suspicion: Others made this the occasion, that hauing so small a Court, accompanied with a trayne ill appointed, he thought he could not present himselfe with that dignitie and reputation, as might hold comparison with the pompe & greatnesse of the French king: who for his part desiring to dissolue his armie to be deliuered of so great a burden, and no lesse to returne with speede into *Fraunce*, tooke his way to *Milan*, not tarying for the Emperours signification, notwithstanding the Bishop of *Garce*, whom the Emperour had sent for that effect, following him euen to *Cremona*, solicited him much to tarry, making promise that without all exceptions the Emperour would returne. The discamping of the armie and person of the French king from the confines of *Cesar*, diminished greatly the reputation of his affaires: and yet albeit he was accompanied with such multitudes of men, that he might easily refurbish *Padoa* and the other townes, yet he forbore to send garrison thither, either for the inconstancie of his nature, or that he thought afore hand to set vpon some other enterprise: or lastly that he interpreted it more to his honour to descend into *Italie* with a greater armie. And which more is, he pretended (as though the former actions had had their due perfection) that together with the ioynt forces of the whole confederates, they should assaile the Citie of *Venice*: a matter very plausible to the French king, but grieuous to the Pope, and no lesse impugned with open reasons by the king of *Aragon*.

The last actiō
of the Floren-
tines against
the Pisans.

About this time, the *Florentines* put their last hand to the warres against the *Pisans*: for after they had cut off all succours and entrie of graynes into *Pisa*, they leauied new bandes, to the end by aduancing all the industrie they could, to choake all their course of victuals both by sea and land: A matter that was subiect to difficultie for the neighbourhood of the countrey of the *Lucquois*, who when they could secretly doe it, obserued with a very negligent faith their accord newly made with the *Florentines*: the necessities of their neighbours preuayling aboue the bond of their promise, oath, or fidelitie. But notwithstanding the secret succours of those good neighbours, the want of victuals more and more encreased within *Pisa*: an affliction aboue all others least tollerable, and most contrarie to the kinde of man, expressing in that aduersitie a peculiar frailtie. The souldiers of the plaine countrey could not endure it, which made those principals of the Citizens, in whose handes rested all publike resolutions, being followed with the greatest part of the youth of the Citie, the better to lull the countrey souldiers with deuises accustomed, to introduce by the meane of the Lord of *Plombin*, a practise of accord with

with the *Florentines*: An action wherein were artificially consumed many dayes, and for which the *Florentines* sent to *Plombin*, *Nicholas Machiavell* their Secretarie, the *Pisans* electing for Embassadours both Citizens and countrey men. It was very hard to enclose *Pisa*, for that it stood in a fielden large, and full of ditches and marris, neither could the entrie of victuals be hindred by any easie meane, specially by night, both for the faithfull industry of the *Lucquois* to refurnish them, & the desperate mindes of the *Pisans*, refusing no perill wherein was any oportunitie of prouision. But to overcome those difficulties, the *Florentin* Captaines determined to deuide their armie into three partes, bestowing one part at *Messana* without the gate of *Plagei*, the second at *Saint Peter de bene* and *Saint Iames* ouer against the gate of *Lucquay*, and the third was appointed to the auncient Temple of *Saint Peter d'Ingrado*, standing betweene *Pisa* and the mouth of *Arna*. In euery campe being well fortified, they bestowed a thousand footemen, with conuenient numbers of horsemen. And to let that none should passe ouer the mountaines by the way of the vale of *Ojola*, which leadeth to the mount *Saint Iulian*, they builded towards the great hospitall, a Bastillion capable of two hundred and fiftie footemen. By these impediments the *Pisans* fell more and more, into want of victuals, who seeking to get by pollicie that which they dispaired to obtaine by force, deuised that *Alphonso Mutulo* a yong man of *Pisa*, but of base condition, who being aforesime taken prisoner by the *Florētīn* souldiers, & receiuing many pleasures of his keeper, should offer to be the instrumēt to make the surprise the gate that goeth to *Lucquay*. Their deuise bare this meaning, that at the same time that the campe which was at *Saint Iames* should go by night to execute the enterprise, they would not only oppresse it when one part was entred, but also would charge the other campees of the *Florentines*, which according to the resolution, were to approach more neare the Citie: but for that they made not their approach rashly nor in disorder, the *Pisans* won no other thing by this practife, but the liues of certaine particulars, who at the signe giue were come to the first gate, thinking to enter the Citie, amongst whom was slaine with a shot *Paule de Parana* Capaine of a companie of light horsemen to the *Florentines*, & *Canaio de Pratonechio*, to whom *Alphonso Mutulo* had bin prisoner, & vnder his assurance had managed the practife. This hope being thus disappointed, and very small quantities of corne entring into *Pisa*, and that to the great daunger of such as carried it, the *Florentines* withall not suffering that the vnprofitable mouthes should depart out of *Pisa* vexing them with many aduersities, things necessarie for the life of man were bought at deare rates, yea many perished by famine, for that there could not enter a proportion to suffice the generall numbers: An affliction more lamentable then any other that the course of war draweth with it. And yet those necessities were surmounted by the obstinacie of those Citizens which were magistrates and principals to the gouernement, who disposed to behold rather the extreme ruine of their countrey, then to yeeld to so horrible a necessitie, deferred from day to day to negotiate or consult, entertaining as well as they could the commons, sometimes with one hope, sometimes with another, but specially with this, that since there was expectation of the comming of *Cesar* into *Italie*, the *Florentines* would be constrained to retire from their wals. But one part of the countrey men with such as had bene at *Plombin* where they saw into their intentions, drew into conspiracie, and constrained them to introduce new consultations with the *Florentins*, which being followed with *Alaman Salusut* commaunder of that part of the armie which lay at *Saint Peter d'Ingrado*, after many disputings (the principals opposing many impediments) were at last resolved and concluded. The accord was made with conditions very fauourable for the *Pisans*, seeing that not onely all their faults both publike & priuate were pardoned, but also many exemptions accorded, being also absolued from all restitution of moueable goods which they had rauished from the *Florentins* at the time when they rebelled: So great was the desire of the *Florentins* to repofesse it, & so great their feare least the Emperour (naming the *Pisans* in the league of *Cambray*) or from some other part, there hapned no impediment vnlooked for: And albeit they were well assured that the *Pisans* would be constrained within few dayes to giue place to hunger, yet they sought rather to assure the Towne with hard conditions, then to obtaine it without conuention, to put any part of the certaintie in the power of fortune, holding it more honorable to winne peace by pardoning offences, then to publish their bloody desires by the extreme execution of warre. This accord being begun to be negotiated in the campe, was afterward translated and concluded at *Florence* by the Embassadours of the *Pisans*: An action wherein the faith of the *Florentines* is worthy of memorie, who notwithstanding their iust hatreds prouoked by so many iniuries,

*Pisa rendred
to the Florentines*

were no lesse constant to obserue things promised, then easie and tractable to the agreement.

The king of *Romains* (no doubt) receiued a great displeasure by the rendring of the *Pijans*, for that he was perswaded, that either the demaine of that Citie might serue him to many occasions, or else by according it to the *Florentines*, he should draw from them a great quantitie of money, for want whereof he lesse and lost many faire occasions that were offered to him without his paines and industrie. But whilest he stood so negligent in oportunities offered, that neither at *Vincenza* nor at *Padoa* was almost any souldiers for him, and whilest withall his delays abated the affection of the inhabitants of townes, himselfe wandering with a very small companie, sometimes to one place, sometimes to another: the *Venetians* forgot not to follow the fauour of the time, and taking the aduantage of his negligence, they embraced all oportunities that offered to recouer *Padoa*, whereunto they were induced by many reasons: for the retaining of *Treuisa* made them know, how vnprofitable it was to them, with a counsell so rash and prejudiciall, to abandon so soone the dominion of the firme land, the lingring preparations of the Emperour being the cause that they held him in lesse feare dayly. Besides, they were not a little moued, for that seeking to bring to *Venice* the reuenues of the landes which diuerse particulars of the towne of *Venice* held in the countrey of *Padoa*, those of *Padoa* made manifest resistance: in so much that the disdaines of certaine particulars being ioyned to a publike profite, concurring withall the weake prouidence and furnisments of souldiers at *Padoa*, together with the consideration of the insolencies which the Gentlemen of *Padoa* vsed towardes the populars, and many remembring the easie and moderate gouernement of the *Venetians*, beginning eftsoones to desire their auncient yoke: they determined to make an attempt to recouer it, wherein they were assisted with this ready occasion, that those of the plaine countrey of *Padoa* stood yet at their deuotion. They deuised that *Androm Gritti* one of their Commaunders, leauing behind the campe, wherein were foure hundred men at armes, more then two thousand light horsemen, and siue thousand footemen, should go to *Novato* vpon the frontiers of *Padoa*, and taking in his way a part of those footbands, which, with many troupes of paisants were sent to the village of *Mirana*, he should draw towardes *Padoa* to assault the gate of *Codalunga*: And the more to terrifie such as were within, they gaue directions at the same time, that two thousand of the popular souldiers, with three hundred footemen and certaine horsemen, should execute vpon the bulwarke of the water standing in the contrary part of the Citie. And lastly, the better to couer this enterprife, *Christo. Moro* the other Commaunder, was likewise appointed to encampe afore the towne of *Citadella*. The directions and plots of this enterprife were no lesse well layed and obserued, then the issue happy, for that the footemen arriuing at full dayes, found the gate of *Codalunga* halfe open, certaine paisants a little before being entred by chaunce with cartes loaden with hay: in so much, as commaunding the gate without any great difficultie, and expecting without any noyse the comming of their other strength which was at hand, their fortune did not onely carry them into the towne, but also almost to the market place, afore the Citie, which containes a long circuite, and is not much peopled, was touched with any aduertisement of the accident, the feare of the Citizens helping no lesse to aduance the enterprife, then the secret industrie or valour of the *Venetians*. The Knight *la Volpe* marched first with his light horsemen, together with *Zirola de Perouza* and *Laetance de Bergamo*, with one part of the footemen: And the alarme being come to the Citadell, *Dressina* gouernour of *Padoa* for *Maximilian*, prepared himselfe to fall out with three hundred *Almaine* footemen which he had there onely for his gard: the like did *Brunault de Serge* with fiftie horsemen, who sustaining the furie of the enemies, expected that the Gentlemen of *Padoa*, fauourers of the *Almaines* would take armes with them: But that hope was vaine with all the residue, for that in the Citie fallen into this surpris and sudden oppression of tumult, was found no disposition of resistance, especially many bands of the enemy being entred & gouerning those parts of the towne, wherein lay their chiefest protection: In so much as standing thus abandoned of fortune and hope, they were constrained, with the losse of many of their men, to retire with speede into the Castell and Citadell, and they but weakly manned, were by the necessitie of the present perill, yeilded to discretion within a few houres after, they being no lesse vnable to repulse a violence offered, then they were negligent to foresee it afore it hapned. By this meane, the *Venetians* being eftsoones made Lords of the whole, laboured to appease the tumult, and saue the Citie, whereof the greatest part, by the insolencies of the others, were ranged to their deuotion, nothing receiuing spoyle or harme,

The *Venetians*
determine to
recouer *Padoa*.

The *Venetians*
recouer *Padoa*.

but certaine houses and store places of the *Iewes*, which were afore declared enemies to the name of the *Venetians*. This accident hapned the day of *S. Marina*, a day solemnly celebrated at *Venice* by publike decree, as a first day of their felicitie, and beginning of the restoring of their common weale. The brute of this victorie did much to moue the whole countrey thereabouts, which had found imitation in *Vincenza*, if *Constantin de Macedonia* had not entred with a very small strength. But as there is no worldly thing more mightie then the course of fortune, so by the felicitie of this conquest, the *Venetians* became with a present diligence, maisters of the whole countrey, the commons of townes and popular multitudes ioyning fauour to the felicitie that followed them. They recovered by this meane the towne & castels of *Leguagno*, a place of great conueniencie to trouble the countreys of *Verona*, *Padoa*, & *Vincenza*. They made attempt also to take the tower *Marquisano* within eight miles of *Padoa*, a passage of singular oportunitie to distresse the countrey of *Mantua*, but by the rescues which the Cardinall of *Este* sent, their enterprise was defeated.

It was thought that the taking of *Padoa* did nothing stay the French king from returning beyond the Mounts, and as he was vpon his discamping, he made in the towne of *Biagrasse* new conuentions with the Popes Legat, by the which the Pope & the king bound each other to a mutuall protection, with libertie that either of them might contract with any other Prince, so farre forth as it was not preiudiciall to the present confederation: the king promised not to hold in his protection, nor to accept into the same hereafter, any subiect, homager, or dependant, either directly or indiretly of the Church, cancelling expressly all articles of protection vntill that day: a promise not much agreeable to the honour of so great a king, for that a little before he had taken into his protection the Duke of *Ferrara*, for a consideration of thirty thousand duckets: Besides, it was agreed that the Pope should dispose by his discretion the Bishopricks that then were voyde in all the landes of the kings obedience, but for such as should fall voyde within a certaine time, they should be at the nomination of the king, for whose better satisfaction, the Pope sent the Bulls of Cardinalship to the Bishop of *Albie*, promising to indue him with the Hat as soone as he came to *Rome*. Immediately vpon the conclusion of this contract the king halted out of *Italie*, carrying with him into *France* no small glorie for so great a victorie gotten, with so swift a course vpon the *Venetians*: and yet he caried home by this victorie, neither the more tranquillitie of minde, nor greater assurance for his affaires: a matter that often hapneth, that in things obtained, after they haue bene long desired, men finde neither that contentment, nor that pleasure which they imagined before: yea men might discerne matter prepared to greater daungers and innouations, together with a manifest incertaintie of his mind, by the deliberations he had to make by reason of those accidents newly hapned: for, if things had good successe with the king of *Romains*, his feare was farre greater of him then of the *Venetians*: & if the greatnesse of the *Venetians* begā est soones to be readressed, he must be constrained to dwell in continuall suspitions & expences, to keep the things he had taken from them: besides, he must needes contribute to *Maximilian* both in men and money, for that in abandoning him, he was to feare least he would knit with the *Venetians* against him, and withall, least the king Catholike would not be of the faction, and haply the Pope: Besides, meane aydes and succours would not suffice to intertaine him in amitie with *Cesar*, to whom he must minitter so liberally, as by them he might obtaine the victorie against the *Venetians*: and on the other side, if he sent him strong and able succours, besides that it could not but draw with it intolerable expences and harmes, yet he confirmed his owne daungers touching the greatnesse of *Cesar*. The king waighing the estate of these difficulties, stood in the beginning in doubt touching the mutation of *Padoa*, whether he should hold it agreeable or troublesome: but conferring the suretie which the depriuation of the firme land from the *Venetians* might bring to him, with the perplexities and daungers which he feared to suffer by the greatnesse of *Cesar*, and with hope to obaine of him by money in regard of his necessities, the Citie of *Verona*, which he desired much, as a place of singular oportunitie to suppress the mouings on the side of *Germanie*: he iudged it at last more to his profite and suretie, to haue things remaine in that estate, then, for that there was great apparance of a long warre betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*, both the one and other being made wearie by so continuall expences, would become more weake. In this nature of opinion he stood better confirmed, when he had contracted with the Pope, with whom he hoped to haue a confederation well assured and resoluēd: and yet he left vpon the limites of *Verona*, *Monsieur de Pallissa* with seue hundred Launces to be disposed by *Cesar*, no lesse for the preferuation of things

gotten, then to obtaine that which the *Venetians* still possessed, and because by the commandement of *Cesar*, they being conueyed into *Vincenza*, the Citie of *Verona* was assured, which was in great daunger and suspicion for the smal numbers of men of warre that were within it: and by that meane the *Venetian* armie which lay encamped before the Citadell, was retired.

After the kings departure, this good aduenture fell also to the *Venetians*: Their horsemen which were within *Leguagna*, made continuall incursions ouer the whole countrey euen to the gates of *Verona*, doing many violences and harmes of warre, against whom the garrison of *Verona* could make no great resistance, being but two hundred horsemen, and seuen hundred footemen: by reason whereof the Bishop of *Trent*, whom *Cesar* had appointed gouernour ouer it, determined to plant his campe there, & for the better execution, he called to the action the Marquis of *Mantua*, who expecting the preparations that were in hand, lay incamped with those bandes which the French king had giuen him, in the Isle of *Escalo*, a great passage vpon the countrey of *Verona*, neither enuironed with wals, nor made strong with other fortifications. But whilest he lay there without ielousie or doubt of any thing, he serued as a notable example to all Captaines, how much it importes them in all times and all places to be vigilant, and so manage their affaires with care and industrie, that they may haue confidence in their proper forces, without reposing in this vayne imagination, that either their enemies be farre off, or that by an opinion of their weaknesse they may thinke their estate to stand in more securitie: for, as the Marquis had couenanted with certaine estradiots of the *Venetian* armie to come to him in that place to take his pay and follow his ensigne, who from the beginning of the conference had manifestly communicated the deuise with their Captaines: and as the Captaines, vpon this occasion had ordained to assaile him vnprovided: So *Luke Malvezzo* with two hundred light horsemen, and *Zuolo de Peronsa* with eight hundred footemen, which were secretly come from *Padoa* to *Leguagno*, being ioyned to the bandes which were within, and fifteen hundred men of the countrey, and sending before certaine horsemen, who cried *Turko, Turko*, (that was the Marquis name) making as though they were those estradiots that were expected, they conueyed themselues in the peepe of the day without that there was any doubt made, to the Isle of *Escalo* the same morning that was appointed, where, finding no resistance they entred, and finding all the souldiers without gard, and such as followed the person of the Marquis sleeping in their owne negligence, they put them to the spoyle, and tooke prisoner amongst others, *Monsieur de Boyssi* Lieutenant to the Marquis, and nephew to the Cardinall *Amboyse*. The Marquis vnderstanding the alarme, leaped naked out at a window, and hid himself in a tuffe of corn: but he was discouered to the enemies by a paissant of the same place, who respecting more the estate of the *Venetians*, then his particular profit, made as though he would saue the Marquis for the offers he made, but did the contrarie: for that the Marquis not able to lye hidden in so ill a fortune, was presented afore the Generall, and so led to *Venice*, and there put prisoner in the little tower of the publike pallace, to the wonderfull reioycing of euery one.

The Marquis
of Mantua
prisoner.

Cesar till this day had giuen no impediment, nor medled to hinder the proceedings of the *Venetians*, for that he had not yet leauied a force sufficient to put himselfe in the field: he was hardly bestead many dayes in the mountaine of *Vincense*, where the countrey men bearing deuotion to the *Venetian* name, and reposing much in the difficulties of the place, were drawne into manifest rebellion against him: and after *Padoa* was reobtained by the *Venetians*, he descended into the plaines, where being encountred with multitudes of the mountaine men and paissants in a passage of good situation and strength, his case was in no little perill: but after his valour and pollicie had remoued the daungers that were opposed, & by their proper disorder had put the mountaine men to the chase, he came to *Escalo* vpon the frontier *Vincenza*, where the *Venetian* armie had recovered a great part of the countrey of *Vincense*, & taken *Seruallo*, a passage of importance, where they executed many cruelties vpon the *Almaines*, which was recompensed with like example of slaughter by *Maximilian* vpon the *Italian* footemen and mountaine men, winning vpon them the passage not many dayes after: A matter which ought not to find so ready imitation amongst Christians, notwithstanding the lawes of armes are full of severities, for that in actions of reuenge the vertue is greater to pardon, then to punish, and to a Prince by so much more honourable is his victorie, by how much he vseth his clemencie about his iustice. But as yet his forces being not so great as the necessitie of his affaires required, he occupied the time in small enterprises, sometimes besieging this borough, and sometime that passage, with very little honour and reputation for the name

name Imperiall: and as alwayes his conceptions were farre greater then his forces or occasions, so he solicited at the same time with the confederates the vñion of all their forces, to make an action vpon the Citie of *Venice*, making his commoditie, ouer and aboue the preparations by land, of the sea armies of the French king, the king of *Aragon* and the galleys of the Pope being at that time conioyned and assembled into one Naue. To which demaund, notwithstanding no mention was made in the confederation of *Cambray*, the French had consented, if the conditions had bene such, as the benefit of the conquest had turned to a common profit: so ready is the inclination of Princes to embrace enterprises which depend vpon benefit: But it was a thing gricuous to the Pope, with whom, both then, and at other times when it was commoned vpon more amply, the king of *Aragon* ioynted to detest it, for that it seemed to bring particular profit to the French, vsing this colour, that it was both vniust and dishonest.

The calamities of warre are hardly limited, and lesse seldome contained in one place certaine, for whilst the countreys of *Padoa*, *Vincenza*, and *Verona*, suffered these torments by the armies of the *Almaines* and *Italians*, the countrey of *Friul* and those places which were for the *Venetians* in *Istria*, were afflicted with more miserable persecutions and ruines: for that the Prince of *Hannau* being entred by *Cæsars* direction into the countrey of *Friul* with ten thousand men trayned, after he had attempted in vaine to take *Monfalcon*, caried by force the towne and Castell of *Cadore*, with a pityfull execution and butcherie of those that defended it: And on the other side, certaine light horsemen and footebands of the *Venetians* followed with many of the countrey men, tooke by force the towne of *Ualliserà*, and by accord, the towne of *Bellona*, where was no garrison for the *Almaines*. The Duke of *Brunswike*, whom the Emperour had likewise sent thither, being repulst at *Udina* the principall towne of *Friul*, was marched to *Cinital d'Austrich*, a towne situate in a high place vpon the riuier of *Natissona*, where *Federike Contarino* lay in garrison with a very small companie, reposing much in the forces of the people who had mindes well resolved to defend themselves: to his succours, as *Iohn P. Gradiuo* Magistrate of *Friul* was comming with eight hundred horsemen and fūe hundred foemen, he was put to flight by certaine bands of the *Almaines*: and yet, notwithstanding they had shaked *Cinital* with their artillerie, they could not cary it, neither with the furious assaults which they gaue, nor with the rumour they spread that they had defeated the succours that came to rescue them: so great a resolution doth the defence of libertie, aboue all other respectes, breed in the minde of men. In *Istria*, *Christopher Frangipan* defeated neare the borough of *Vermes*, the Commissaries of the *Venetians* accompanied with the bandes and souldiers of the countrey: a successe that put into his handes the new Castell and the towne of *Raspruch*, to the great terrifying of the whole countrey, with the domages, ruines, and burnings that he made. In this perill the *Venetians* sent thither *Angeo Trenisan* Captaine of their sea armie, with sixteene galleys, who taking vpon his arriual the towne of *Fiumo*, addrest himselfe to occupie the towne of *Triesio*: but the successe falling contrarie to the expectation of the aduēture, he turned his strength to *Raspruch*, and recovered it by force, and afterwarde retired with his galleys to *Venice*, *Friul* and *Istria* remaining in a pityfull estate, for that sometimes the *Venetians* commanding, & sometimes the *Almaines* preuailing, those townes which the one part had taken and sacked, being eftsóones recovered and prayed vpon by the other, there was no action which tended not to the ruine of the miserable countrey, wherein the liues & goods of men being in continuall pillage, the fruites and wealth of the countrey were horribly wasted by all those sorts of oppressions which so bloody a warre may draw with it.

During those accidents of temporall armes, there was disputation at *Rome* touching spirituall amies, sixe Embassadours of *Venice* (since the reobtaining of *Padoa*) being gone thither in habit and shew miserable: for where afore they were wont to come in with great pompe and magnificence, & receiued with a reuerence of the whole Court; now, much lesse that they were followed or accompanied, seeing they were not admitted to enter but by night: such was the pleasure of the Pope, who deaying them the presence of his face, referred them to negotiate in the house of the Cardinall of *Naples* with him and the other Cardinals and Prelates appointed, the Ambassadours of *Cæsar*, the French, and Spanish hindring as much as they could that they should not obtaine the absolution of the Church paines, and of the contrarie a Bishop of *England* whom the king of that Nation, *Henry* the eight had sent thither in their fauour, soliciting manifestly for them with all the labours and deuises he could vse: So full of quarrell is aduersitie, and so infinite is

the malice of the world, that to him that is ouerthrowne there are few that will lend their handes to helpe him vp againe, and to such as are in wealth and fauour, euery one studieth to cast stumbling blockes to make them fall.

But about this time, an expectation of farre greater things occupied the mindes of euery one, for that as *Cesar* on the one side leauing all the power he was able of himselfe, with such as he could gather of his aydes and friendes, prepared to besiege *Padoa* with a puissant armie: so the *Veneizians* on the other side, iudging their vniuersall safetie to consist in the defence of the same citie, laboured to strengthen it with all prouisions necessarie for their defence. They caused to enter, besides the bandes appointed for the garde of *Trenisfa*, their whole armie with all the forces they could gather from all parts: they conueyed thither infinite numbers of all sortes of artilleries, & all prouisions of victuals, sufficient to nourish them for many moneths, and refurnished the towne with proportions of labourers, workemen, & artificers, by whose helpe they made many mounts & sluces of wood and iron, to the end they should not be deprived of the water that was brought to *Padoa*. And albeit the prouisions and munitions were such as greater could not be desired, yet in an action of so great importance, the care, diligence, and industrie of the Senate were incredible, omitting no oportunitie wherein occasion was giuen to reconquer their losses, & defend their libertie that remained. They set before their eyes the consideration of all things that they iudged to be either necessarie or profitable, and brought into iudgement all accidents that either feare, perill, or coniecture could deuise, wherein as they were in open conference of things, in open counsell, *Leonard Loredan* their Duke, a man much respected for his age, and of no lesse reputation for the dignitie of his place whereunto he was called many yeares before, reasoned at large in this maner.

The Oration
of Leonard
Loredan.

In cases of aduersities, more doth it hurt to be doubtfull in counsell and wandring, then the multitude of illes that can happen, for that when perill & daunger be at hand, it is too late to turne confidence into feare, and lesse declaration of vertue to be desperate in chaunces, seeing there is no accident that hapneth which comes not accompanied with his proper remedie: And as follie and rashnesse haue no societie with wisdom, nor fortune any comunitie with good counsell, so when the last necessitie hastneth, to liue in coniectures, is to draw on the ill that threatneth; and to be ireresolute, is not to temper fortune, but to tempt her. I feare nothing lesse in you the want of wisdom and valour, for that in mindes so well instructed, the respectes to common honour and libertie can not but be farre aboue the considerations of our present miseries & fortune. But I wish by the way of warning, that we be not too much amased in the contemplation of our calamities, nor more fearefull of harmes that are yet but in shewes & shadowes, then mindfull to foresee that they resolue not to bodies, and happen through our proper negligence & weaknesse. If it be true (right worthy Senatours) that not onely the hope we haue to recouer our dominion, consistes in the well defending of *Padoa*, but also all the expectation that remaines to maintaine our vniuersall libertie: and if on the contrarie, it be most certaine, that of the losse of *Padoa* will descend the last desolation of our countrey, we must necessarily graunt, that the prouisions and preparations which hitherunto we haue made, notwithstanding they were great, haue not yet bene sufficient, either for that that appertaineth to the surtue of that Citie, nor for that which respecteth the dignitie of our comon weale: for in an action of such daunger & importance, it sufficeth not so to order things, as there may be a bare hope of the defending of *Padoa*, but we must so prouide, that with all our forces there may be such concurrance of all diligence and industrie possible to the wit of men, that it may stand assured against all the accidents of fortune, who being mighty ouer all the things of the world, hath yet her greatest power ouer the actions of warre. It is not a resolution worthy the auncient glory of the *Veneizians* name, to commit wholly the publike safetie, our vniuersall honour, & the proper liues of our wiues and children, to the vertue of forreiners, & fidelitie of mercenarie souldiers: it better agreeth with the extremitie we are in, & with the auncient reputation and valour of this Citie, to runne either with our bodies, and stretch out our armes for the defence of that wherein is inclosed the lifetie of the comunitie of this populous dominio: for if we now looke not to the preseruatiō of that Citie, there remaines no time hereafter to make vs assured, no fortune to hope in, no place to giue vs comfort, nor no action wherein to shew our vertue, or to expend our treasure for our libertie and safetie. Time is thankfull to such as follow it, & fauoreth occasions with oportunitie conuenient, which if we will apply to our selues afore the season of our remedie and rescue be past, we must not leaue vnproued any policie, any example, nor any

any action that may respect our succour and safetie, and much lesse expect, till we remaine a pray to those that seeke to sacke our goods, and wash their couetousnesse in our blood. The conseruation of our country comprehendes not onely a publike good, but together with the safetie of the common weale, is respected the securitie of euery particular, suffering such affinitie and coniunction together, that the one can not consist without the other: for the common weale falling into seruitude, it can not be auoyded, that the substance, the honours, and liues of priuate men, become not also a pray to the couetousnesse, to the voluptuousnesse, to the cruelties, and to the vile affections of the enemies. Though there were no other respect or interest in the defending of a common weale, then the preservation of a country, is it not a thing worthy of noble Citizens full of glory and reputation in this world, & meritorious also afore God? the same so working with the people Gentils and Heathen, that they held it as a religion, that in heauen is determined a place particular for the perpetuall fruition and comfort of such, as either succoured, preserved, or augmented their country. And what country did euer deserue to be better rescued and supported by her children then this, who in all ages hath retained a soueraigne principallitie ouer all the Cities of the world, and by whom the Citizens receiue infinite commodities, profites, and honours? It is wonderfull, whether you consider it in the giftes which it hath receiued of nature, or in the things which declare her perpetuall greatnesse and happy fortune: or lastly, in those effectes which expresse her vertue, together with the nobilitie of the wits of her inhabitants: her situation makes men amazed, being the onely Citie in the world seated amongst the salt waters, and hath all her partes so conioyned, that at one time men may enioy the commodities of the water, and pleasures of the land. It is assured against the inuasions of the land, for that it standeth not on the firme land, and it is free from inundations of water, for that it is not seated in the plaine and deepe sea. I may alleage to the dignitie and reputation of this Citie, the wonderfull maiestie of publike pallaces and priuate mansions builded at incredible charges, and repolished with straunge Marbles and stones of singulartie, brought hither from all partes of the world, together with a stately aspect of excellent portraites, imageries, sculptures, pillers, and other workemanships of worthy regard. No Citie of the world comparatiue with this for the concourse of all straunge nations comming hither, partly for the surety & freedome of habitatiō in this climat so well tempered, & partly for the exercise of their traffike and negociations, whereby our cōmon weale doth draw more plentie of reuenues & riches of things contained onely within the circuit of this Citie, then many absolute kings receiue of their large and whole kingdomes. Great is the affluence of men of facultie and science, reuerent for their grauitie, doctrine, and learning, and no lesse wonderfull for their singularitie and qualitie of wit, and other vertues of men, from the which, ioyned to other conditions, is discended the glory of actions which by this common weale and her discendants, haue bene made more great, then (since the imperie of the *Romains*) by any other principallitie or state in the world. It may be holden not one of the least wonders, to see so great abundance of things, in a Citie wherein nothing groweth, & yet subiect to such multitudes of inhabitants. At the beginning our towne was straited and inclosed, and we constrained to retire our selues into little rockes and caues, barraine and naked of all things, and yet the vertue of our elders, stretching out first into the next seas & towines adioyning, and afterwards rising, encreasing by degrees of successe vpon the shoares and prouinces further off, yea euē to the vttermost limites of the Leuant, they got both by sea & land so great an Empire, and power, that being redoubted to all the other towines in *Italie*, it was necessarie to call in the vnitie, pollicies, and forces of other Christian Princes to helpe to abate and depresse it: Matters assuredly hapned by the ayde and fauour of the omnipotent God, who with such graces hath blessed and sanctified the lawes and obseruations of iustice indifferently administred in this Citie: those respects also making many peoples and nations to offer willing subiection to our gouernement. What Citie, what Empire, or what principallitie giues place to our countrey, for matter of religion, pietie, and workes of good example? Where may be scene so many Monasteries, so many Temples full of so many precious ornaments and thangs of admiration dedicated to the seruice of God? Where may be found so many Hospitals and places of pitie, prepared for the perpetuall comfort of the afflicted, and continuall exercise of charitie? Great (sure) is the recommendation of our Citie for these fauours and blessings, but farre more worthy are her prayes for the glory of this onely, that our countrey being from the beginning begot and brought forth in liberty, there was neuer scene any man borne or dye in *Venice*, which dyed not a freeman, and was

" neuer troubled in his libertie: A felicitie mouing principally by the exercise of ciuill cōcord, which
 " hath stood alwayes so rooted and confirmed in the harts of men, that at the instant when they en-
 " ter into our Senate and our counsels, they shake off all discords and priuate quarrels. Of this is the
 " cause the forme of gouernement, which hath such temperature and communitie with all the best
 " sorts of publike administration, and conipounded of such a well consenting harmonie agreeing in
 " it selfe, that it hath remained for many ages vndefiled without partialities, without ciuill sediti-
 " without armes, and without effusion of bloud amongst Citizens: the same being the onely prayse
 " of our common weale, excelling in this propertie of vertue both *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Athens*, and all
 " other names of common weale of auncient commendation: yea, we proue in our selues such an
 " effect of this kinde of gouernment and pollicie, that all those auncients, who in ages past haue made
 " profession of Ciuill wisdom, could not describe or institute a better. Let not then the chil-
 " dren, the offspring, and present people of so glorious a countrey, in whom for so many worlds
 " and ages, hath bene so worthily expressed the very strength and defence of the faith, and the
 " beautie of the whole Christian common weale, be slow in the execution of their duetie, the neces-
 " sitye of their owne safetie so requiring. Let no man refuse to commit to daunger the life of him
 " selfe and children, for the protection of that wherein consistes our vniuersall safetie, which being
 " comprehended in the onely defence of *Padoa*, let no man refuse to put his person to aduenture.
 " And albeit we haue certaintie that the forces that be there already are sufficient for the defence of
 " it, yet it appertaines to our honour, it is a iust office of our common vertue, & it concernes the glo-
 " ry of the name of *Venice*, to make the world satisfied, that we are runne thither in person, both to
 " defend and preserue. The destinie of that Citie hath permitted, that in few dayes so great an estate
 " of imperie should fall out of our handes, wherein we haue not to complaine so much of the ma-
 " lice of fortune, for that such nature of aduentures are commō to other countreys & kingdomes, as,
 " for that sayling of that constancie which till this day hath bin inuincible, and without all memorie
 " of the glorious exāples of our elders, we haue with too sodaine dispaire, giuen place to the mightie
 " blowes of aduersitie, and are not able to represent to our children that valour and vertue, which
 " our fathers haue left well testified to vs. In matters of enterprise occasion is of great force, & time
 " doth now returne vpon vs the occasion to recouer that notable ornament and member which is
 " not yet lost, if we shew the mindes of men, but onely altered without any perill of absolute ruine.
 " Let vs go against the fortune that enuie vs, and make willing prostitution of our bodies to the
 " daungers that are offered, so shall we not onely redeeme the infamies that we haue receiued, but
 " also the world beholding yet that our auncient magnanimitie and vertue is not lost, men will ra-
 " ther attribute the disorders past to a certaine fatall repest, which neither the counsels nor constan-
 " cie of men could resist, then to impose vpon vs either blame or dishonour, fulfilling all things that
 " our condition can afford for our succour. In this respect, if it were reasonable that we went alto-
 " gether to the rescue of *Padoa*, and if for certaine dayes we might leaue this abandoned citie with-
 " out preiudice of her defence and other publike affaires of importance, my selfe, without expecting
 " your resolution, would be the first that should open the way, not seeing wherin I might better
 " close vp the latest dayes of my old age, then in my presence to participate with so glorious a victo-
 " rie which is required of my office and birth, or else not to remaine on liue after the ruine of my
 " countrey: a calamitie which my minde hath horrore to expresse. But for that *Venice*, neither can,
 " nor ought to be deprived of her publike counsels, wherein consisteth no lesse the defence of *Pa-
 " doa*, then in the force and armes of such as be there already: and seeing that the vnprofitable
 " troupes of old persons will stand in that Citie rather as a charge and burden, then as a succour and
 " ayde necessarie: and seeing withall it is not conuenient, for things that may happen, to disfurnish
 " *Venice* of all her youth: my aduise is, respecting these reasons with the regard to accidents that may
 " occurre, that there be made a choise of two hundred Gentlemen of the flower and principals of
 " our youth, and euery of them to go to *Padoa*, with such proportion of his friends, followers, and
 " seruants, as his riches and abilitie will beare, and to continue there so long as shall be necessarie
 " for that defence. My two sonnes with their retinues shall be the first in this example, of whose liues
 " and persons in so great a daunger, I make a willing offer to the succour of their countrey: by their
 " presence in the action the Citie of *Padoa* shall be more assured: by their example the mercenarie
 " souldiers that be there will be more resolute; seeing a ready courage in our honourable youth af-
 " fisting all actions that concerne that seruice. And seeing our sonnes and kinsmen ioyned with them,

their suretie will be the greater to haue no want of victuals, munitions, nor any other thing conuenient to their comfort. The residue of our youth not put to this execution, shall be so much the more encouraged by this example, to commit themselves in all times of necessitie, to all trauels and daungers importing the seruice of their countrey. It is an honest emulation to strue in vertue, but it is more honourable to contend to excell one another in the defence of our countrey. By this I exhort you, noble Senators, (whose wordes and doings serue as an example and doctrine to the whole Citie) to muster your sonnes, and make them of the number of those that shall communicate in so great a glory: for from them will not onely proceede the assured and certaine defence of *Padoa*, but in this action is also brought to vs with all nations, a peculiar reputation, that we our selues are they, who with the daunger of our owne liues do defend the libertie and safetie of the most worthy and flourishing countrey that is in the whole world.

This counsell of the Prince was heard with great affection of the residue, to whom nothing appeared more conuenient for their common safetie, then to ioyne it to practise and execution. And as the nature and operation of the time, and the necessitie of their affaires, could not without preiudice endure delayes, so the flower and choise bodies of their youth of *Venice*, mustered and drew to them so many of their friendes and followers as were apt to armes, and with them went with speede to the seruice of *Padoa*, being accompanied to their imbarquing with all the other Gentlemen and communitie of people, euery one celebrating with many prayes, and with vowes and desires full of deuotion and affection, so great a readinesse to succour the countrey: an example of right worthy and honourable imitation, seruing to instruct all posterities and ages, that when perill and daunger be at hand, euery one to be touched with the interest of his countrey. They were welcomed at *Padoa* with an vniuersall gladnesse of the Captaines and souldiers, much recommending the valour of those noble personages, who not trayned in the trauels, experiences, and daungers of warre, stucke not to preferre the loue of their countrey, afore the respect of their proper life: In so much as ministring comfort one to another, not as men trauelled in calamities, but with mindes resolute, they expected in great fidelitie the comming of *Cesar*: who for his part labouring to reassemble and receiue the bands of souldiers that came to him from all partes, was by this time come to the bridge of *Brento* three myles from *Padoa*, and hauing taken *Limini* by force, and cut off the course of the water, he taried the comming of the artillerie which was sent out of *Germanie*, which was no lesse terrible for the quantitie then for the qualitie: of this proportion of artilleries one part being arriued at *Vincenza*, and *Philip Rosse & Federike Gonsaguo de Bossole* being gone with two hundred light horsemen to be his gard; they were charged with a strength of fise hundred light horsemen, who, led by certaine paylants that during the warre did much seruice to the *Venetians*, and being then issued out of *Padoa*, they ouerthrew them fise myles from *Vincenza*, where *Philip* remained prisoner, and *Federike* by the fauour of the night escaped in his shirt. From the bridge *Brenta*, *Maximilian* enlarged and stretched out his bands about twelue myles, drawing towardes *Polesina de Romigua*, the better to open to himselfe the commoditie of victuals, and taking the borough of *Este* by assault, and putting it to sacke, he went to encampe at *Montefelice*, where the towne standing in the playne, being abandoned, the second day he caried the Castell standing on the top of a high rocke. Afterwardes he tooke by composition *Montagnana*, and so returning towardes *Padoa*, he incamped at the bridge of *Bassanello* neare *Padoa*, where he proued in vayne to turne the riuer of *Brenta* which from thence hath his course to *Padoa*. At this place did arriue all the artilleries & munitions which he expected, and hither did resort all the regiments of men of warre which lay dispersed in diuerse places, with whom in forme and title of a mayne armie, he approched neare the towne: and hauing bestowed foure thousand footemen in the suburbs which are called *S. Croff*. his opinion was to assaile it on that side, but being afterwards aduertised that it was part of the towne most strong by situation and by wals, and also that there he stood most subiect to the harmes of the artilleries, he determined to discampe and remoue his armie to the gate which is called the Waterfort, bearing his aspect to *Venice*. The cause why he remoued to this place, was an opinion that there the towne was most weake, and withall to giue impediment to the succours which were to come from *Venice* to *Padoa* both by land and by water: but for that he could not go thither for the discommoditie of certaine marishes and warrie channelles ouerflowing the countrey, but by fetching a great circuite, he came to the bridge of *Bonolento* within seuen myles of *Padoa*, where be

The Gentlemen
of Venice go to
the succours of
Padoa.

Description of
Padua.

pastures and feeding groundes vpon the Banke of *Bagnillon* towards the sea, betweene *Padua* and *Venice*. To this place, enuironed with waters, and in the most sure part of the countrey of *Padua*, were withdrawne three thousand paylants with great hearde of cattell, who being forced by the footebands of the *Spanish* and *Italians* that were in the vauward, were almost all taken or slaine, the victours employing the two dayes following in praying the whole countrey, euen to the sea, driuing away infinite hearde of cattell feeding in that quarter. There were also taken vpon *Brenna* diuerse barkes, which laden with victuals were running vp to *Padua*. At last, the fifteenth day of September, after he had consumed much time vnprofitably, and giuen good leasure to the enemy both to fortifie and refurnish the towne with victuals, he approached the wals of *Padua* on that side towards the gate of the waterfort. There hath not bene scene in *Italie* neither in the age present, nor haply long time before, a besieging of more great expectation, nor wherein the mindes of men were more busily occupied, then this, not so much for the nobilitie and maiestie of the Citie, as for the importance that was in the loosing and keeping of the same: for *Padua*, a Citie so aunciently recommended for the vniuersitie of studies and sciences, is seated in a country very fertill, and vnder a climate temperat & wholesome: it is incompassed with three orders of wals, and bearing a circuit and circumference as large as any Citie in *Italie*, it hath passing by it the riuers of *Brenta* and *Bagnillon*: And albeit the *Venetians* won it out of the possession of the familie of *Carraro* more then two hundred yeares since, yet it retaines many proud aspectes and shewes of stately buildings, with many monuments and signes of antiquitie, well expressing her auncient greatnesse and beautie. And of the conquering & defending of so great a Citie, depended, not only the confirmation or diminution of the *Almain* imperie in *Italie*, but also the very estate and felicitie of the Citie of *Venice*: for *Padua* being defended, it was easie for the common weale of *Venice* abounding in great wealth, and of one vnitie of minde and readinesse of wit, subiect to no such variations as the affaires of Princes are, to hope to recouer in small time so great a part of her iurisdiction: wherein they were so much the more assured, by how much the most part of those subiects which had thirsted after mutations, neither finding effectes agreeable to their conceptions, and knowing by comparison what difference was betweene the moderate gouernement of the *Venetians*, and the tyranny of the *Almaines*, farre estraunged from the maners and customes of the *Italians*, and lastly being greatly disordred by the confusions and domages of the warre, they began to call into respect and affection their auncient yoke. And of the contrarie, if *Padua* were committed to violence and sacke, much lesse that the *Venetians* could hope to restore the glorie and magnificence of their common weale, seeing there were daunger that the very Citie of *Venice* made naked of so large a member, and dispoyled of so many treasures both by diminution of publike reuenues, and losse of so many natures of goods moueable, possessed by persons priuate in the firme land, would not be able to maintaine defence against the armies of the Princes confederate, or at least would not in time become a pray to the *Turkes*, to whom they are neighbours in many places, and with whom they haue had alwayes either warre or peace vnfaithfull and ill assured. But wise men were occupied with no lesse doubt and perplexitie, the mighty preparations that were made on all sides keeping wonderfully in suspence the common iudgements, which were very vncertaine on whether part the better fortune would fall, either to the assailants, or to the defendants: for in the army of *Caesar*, besides the seuen hundred French Launces, which *Monsieur la Palice* comaunded, there were two hundred men at armes which the Pope had sent for his strength: two hundred men at armes appointed by the Duke of *Ferrara* vnder the charge of the Cardinall of *Este*, notwithstanding the quarrels that were betweene them were not yet reconciled, and six hundred *Italian* Launces vnder sundry Captaines leauied by him: he had xvij. thousand *Almain* footemen, six thousand *Spanish*, six thousand aduentures of diuers nations and languages, and two thousand *Italians*, leauied and payed by the Cardinall of *Este* vnder the same title. There followed him a wonderfull proportion of all sortes of artilleries, with great quantities of munitions, whereof the French king had sent him one part. And albeit for the most part his owne ordinarie bands were not payed, yet, what with the consideration of the greatnesse & authoritie of such a leader, and the hope to pray & sacke *Padua*, and to haue at their deuotion all those peeces which the *Venetians* possessed, much lesse that they abandoned his seruice, seeing they flockt to him dayly in greater numbers, being caried chiefly by this inducement, that he that of his owne nature was most libell and full of humanitie to his souldiers, would not sayle of their payment by couetousnesse or will,

but

but by disability, or want. This was the strength of *Cæsars* armie, compounded wholly of his owne forces, but made mightie by the ayde of straungers & mercenaries. But for that which concerned the defence of *Padoa*, the armie which the *Venetians* had in that Citie, was no lesse mightie: for there were sixe hundred men at armes, a thousand five hundred light horsemen, a thousand five hundred stradiots, all commaunded by these notable Captaines, the Count *Petillano* Generall of the whole, *B. de Montona*, *Anth. de Pic. Luke Maluazzo*, *Iohn Greeke*, with other inferiour leaders. There were twelue thousand footemen of the best experienced and trayned in *Italie*, vnder the charge of *Denis Naldo*, *Zitole de Peroufa*, *Lactan. de Bergamo*, *Sacco de Spoletto*, with many other officers: ten thousand footemen aswell *Slauonians*, *Greekes*, and *Albanois*, whom they had drawne from their galleys, of whom albeit many were not much profitable to the seruice, yet some of them were well trayned and able to execute necessarie office. Besides, they had the youth of *Venice* in whom was no little importance touching the felicitie of the seruice, and albeit they were much respected in cases of daungers, yet their example serued no lesse to the aduancement of the seruice, then themselves wonne great merite for their dispositions and pietie to their countrey. There was also a wonderfull abundance and store of all prouisions necessarie, great quantities of artilleries, and a plentiful proportion of all sortes of victuals, the people of the plat countreys being no lesse carefull to bring in prouisions for their common suretie, then the Magistrates and officers of *Venice* to giue order for their continuall refurnishing. There were also many multitudes of paynants, who being leauied at a certaine price, were employed in the labours of their fortifications: in so much as to the valour and numbers of those that were appointed to defend it, they ioyned wonderfull rampiers and fortifications in that circuite of walles that enuironeth the whole Citie: for they had almost filled vp all the water-ditch which runneth along the wals, and at every gate of the towne and other places conuenient, builded many fortes and close bastillions without, but so as they were annexed to the walles, and had entries and conueyances into the towne, and being well replenished with artilleries, they beat such as entred into the trench. And because the taking of those bastillions should bring no daunger to the towne, they had sunke in them all vnderneath, hollow vaultes, or caues filled vp with barrells of gunpowder, to blow vp into the ayre, when they were no longer able to defend them. And reposing not altogether in the greatness and goodnesse of the old wall, notwithstanding they had searched it diligently, and reenforced it where neede were, filling vp all the cranelles and ruines: yet they made round about the Citie within, a couer, or pausse, or fortification of pales, trees, and other peeces of wood, so farre distant from the wall as it was in thicknesse, and with a wonderfull diligence, had filled vp to the top of the wall with good earth, and well rammed all the voyde place that was betwene them. This fortification no lesse wonderfull in the effect, then of a labour and trauell inestimable, the infinite diligence of men being continually employed, seemed not so to satisfie the expectation of the defence of that Citie, but that they cast a deepe ditch of sixteene fadome breadth, which drawing lesse and narrower in the bottome, and standing thicke with murdering houses and little towers full of shot, seemed impossible to be forced. These natures of fortifications were made with hollow vaultes and caues, according to the example of the bastillions, hauing conueyances to be ouerthrowne by fire when they would. And because they would be thoroughly prepared to all things, they rayled behind the ditch a rampier of the same or greater largenesse, which stretched out as farre as the circuite of the towne, except in certaine corners and places, wherein they knew it was impossible to plant artillerie: and before the rampier they cast a parapet of seuen fadome, which was a defence to those that fought vpon the rampier, that they could not be stricken with the bullet of the enemy. And to the end that the courage of the souldiers and men of the towne, might equally answer those rates of prouisions and fortifications, the Count *Petillano* assembling the whole armie in the place of *S. Anthonie*, encouraged them with speeches of great grauitie & perswasion, to consider vpon what termes stood their common safetie and honor, wherein for the better fidelitie and surety of the seruice, he protested his owne oath, and bound likewise in the same solemnitie all the Captaines, all the armie, and the particulars of the towne, to follow the defence of the Citie vntill death. In a perill so generall, there was none refused to giue his oath to the defence of that whereunto he so frankly offered his life, & where the life is offered vp to daunger, it is nothing to giue an oath to

assure the fidelitie. Thus the armie of *Caesar* being drawne neare the wals of *Padoa* with so great a strength, and against so mightie preparation, he stretched out his campe from the gate of the waterfort, vntill the gate of *All Saints* which leads to *Trensfa*, and from thence enlarged it to the gate of *Codalonga* which goeth to the *Cudell*, so as it contained in largenesse thre myles: *Maximilian* himselfe was lodged in the Monasterie of *S. Helen*, within a quarter of a myle of the Citie wals, encamping as it were in the middelt of the *Almain* footemen: and after he had imparted to euery one his charge according to the diuersitie of nations and places of their encampin, he began to plant his artilleries, wherein albeit in his person being inuincible in minde, and of a body hardned with paine and trauels, he performed a wonderfull diligence to accomplish that action, yet it could not be atchieued but with longnesse of time and great difficultie, as well for the quantitie and intollerable greatnesse of some natures of it, as also for that the whole campe, and specially those places where they sought to plant them, were continually tormented and distressed with the artilleries of the towne. At last, the perpetuall industrie of *Maximilian* ioyned to the valour of his souldiers, made way to plant his artilleries, and the same day the French with the footemen of the *Almains*, gaue an assault to the tower of the gate on that side where *Monf. la Palice* had charged, but more to sound & proue their countenance, then with intention to fight in good appointment: and therefore finding the resistance valiant & well furnished, they retired eftsloones to their tents. The day after the charge recontinued, the artillerie not ceassing to thunder with terrible furie: some of them by their incredible hugenesse and vnmeasurable quantitie of powder that was vsed, pierced through the rampiers, and reuerfed the houses that ioyned nearest the wals: A furie which in short time shaked downe to the ground many places of the wall, the bastillion also builded vpon the gate of *All saints* being dismantelled and razed, without that the defendants afflicting the campe with continuall volleys of shot, shewed any signe of feare: so resolute is the vertue that fights for honour and libertie. The stradiots that in great valour encamped in the suburbs refusing alwayes to retire into the towne, and the light horsemen making continuall incursions in all places, skirmished with their enemies sometimes before, and sometimes behind, driving them euen to their tents, sometimes they distressed such as were gardes to the forragers and victuallers, and sometimes ouerrunning the whole countrey with pray and pillage, they spoyled all the wayes, except that which goeth from *Padoa* to the mount of *Aban*: and yet there was in the campe a wonderfull abundance of victuals, euery house and place being plentifully furnished, for that neither the feare of the payfants, nor the carefull diligence of the *Venetians*, nor the infinite harmes of the souldiers on both sides, could not draine or dry vp the incredible plentie of that most fruitfull and fertill countrey. At the same time also *Luke Malvezzo* issued out of *Padoa* with certaine troupes of horsemen, for the conuoy of fortie thousand duc-kets which were sent thither from *Venice*: and albeit in his returne the enemy charged him vpon the tayle, yet his vertue brought in the treasure in safetie, without any other losse then one of his men at armes. By the ninth day the artillerie had executed so well, that it seemed there was no further necessitie to shoot, and therefore vsing all benefites that the time offered, the day following the whole army appeared in order of battell to approch the walles: but finding that the same night they within the towne had made swell and rise the water of the ditch, which afore was abated and fallen, *Caesar* gaue order that euery band should returne to his place, holding it neither honourable nor necessarie to commit his souldiers to a daunger so manifest. The next day, the water eftsloones abated and retired, when embracing the oportunitie, they gaue an assault (but with slender successe) to the bastillion which was made vpon the point of the gate of *Codalonga*, wherein the Emperour disposed to do what he could to force it, caused to be turned thither the artilleries that were planted in the quarter of the French, encamping betweene the gates of *All Saints* and *Codalonga*: and with those artilleries, hauing done great execution of that place, he followed it with an assault two dayes after with the footemen of the *Almains* and *Spanish*, accompanied with certaine men at armes on foote, who in the furie of the fight ascended the bastillion, & set vp there two ensignes. But the fortresse of the ditch was such, and the vertue of the defendants nothing inferior, and so plentifull the instruments of defence not only concerning artilleries, but also of stones & wildfires, that they were constrained to descend by heapes, many remaining dead on the place, and some falling into the fortune of imprisonment. In so much as the armie that stood in readinesse to giue the assault, immediatly vpon the action of the bastillion, retired, & disarmed, without making any

any other attempt, judging it no stain to their honour to abandon the enterprize wherein was no hope of their safetie. By this experience *Maximilian* lost wholly all hope of the victorie, in which consideration he determined his labour with his fortification, and breaking vp his campe, after he had bestowed his artilleries in places sure, he retired with his armie to the towne of *Limin* towards *Trenisa*. This was the seuenteenth day after he was encamped before *Padoa*, and so with many baies and resting places, he came at last to *Vincenza*, from whence after he had taken of that people the oath of fidelitie, and almost dismissed his whole armie, he drew toward *Verona*, being not a little discontented that his deliberations had taken no better successe, but more touched with perturbation, for that they bare blame and slander both in his armie and throughout all *Italie*, for that the execution of things were indeede no lesse infamous then the counsels: for both for that he had missed of the taking of *Trenisa*, and also that he had lost *Padoa*, no man doubted that it was not his fault, & also that his too late arriuing afore *Padoa* made the actiō more hard, for that in that negligence the *Venetians* tooke oportunitie and good aduantage of time to make prouision of souldiers, to refurbish *Padoa* with victuals, and to raise wonderfull fortifications to resist the execution that was determined. And albeit himselfe could not denie, that in that propertie of error consisted not the defence of the Citie, yet cloaking the vice of his owne varietie and proper disorders, he layd the fault from himselfe, and complained of the Pope and French king, for that the one had suffered the Embassadours of *Venice* to go to *Rome*, and the other had bene too slow to send succours, the same giuing occasion to the world to belecue that they were estranged from him, and had likewise encouraged the countrey men of the mountaines of *Vincenza* to draw to rebellion: for the subduing of whom after he had consumed many dayes, he found afterwards in regard of the same occasion, the selfe same difficulties in the plaine countreys. Also the better to open to himselfe a way to reuietall his army, & to assure his prouisiōs, & withall to deliuer his companies from many incōmodities, he was constrained to take all the townes of the countrey. Herein the slow marching of the French had not onely much hurt him, but also if they had come in due season & time, the reuolt of *Padoa* had not hapned. He complained also that aswell for these hinderances, as for that the French and king of *Aragon* had dismissed their armie at sea, the *Venetians* had the better oportunitie and meane to refurbish and refortifie *Padoa* standing deliuered from all other feares. Lastly, he complained that those difficulties were acceptable to the king of *Aragon*, as meanes to induce him to consent more easily that the administration and gouernment of the kingdome of *Castile* should be to him. But these cōplaints did nothing better his fortunes, and much lesse recouered his authoritie lost, for that he was negligent to vse so rare occasions: for it did nothing discontent the French king that the world was possessed with such an opinion of him, and in the Pope was lesse care or affection, for that being of his proper inclination suspicious and distrustfull, and weighing withall the Emperours continuall necessities and wants of money, with his importunities to demaund it, he was vnwilling that his name should encrease in *Italie*. At *Verona* he receiued the oath of fidelitie, and in that Citie *Pe. Guicciardin* father to the authour of this booke, with the other *Florentin* Embassadours, couenanted with him in the name of the common weale, (induced, besides their owne respects, by the perswasions of the French king) to pay him in a short time xl. thousand duckets: for which promise, they obtained of him in most ample manner, many priuiledges, for the confirmation aswell of the libertie of *Florence*, as of the dominion and iurisdiction of the townes and estates which they held, together with remission and acquittance of all duties and demaundes for times past. Thus *Cesar*, resting determined to returne into *Germanie*, to giue order (as he sayd) for the warres which he intended in the spring time, sent for *Monsieur Chaumont* to come and communicate with him of the present affaires: He layd afore him by demonstration the perils of the time, and what daunger there were that the *Venetians* would recouer *Citadella* and *Bassana*, places of great importance, which they prepared to assaile, being made proud by the defence and successe of *Padoa*: He feared the same opinion of their fortune would encourage them also to the like action against *Monfelicca*, *Montagnana*, and *Este*, the felicitie of victorie making men insolent, & carying their mindes into enterprises aboue the proportion of their proper power and abilitie: He alleaged how necessarie it were to consider, not onely of the protection of these places, but also to enter into practise how to recouer *Legnague*, wherein being of himselfe not sufficient enough to leaue prouisiōs necessarie for such effectes, it touched the king in good pollicie to minister ayde to him, whose places were to fall into manifest perill, if the pecea

which he held were not supported. To these demaundes, *Monsieur Chaumont*, in whom was no power to make any certaine resolution, gave answer, that he would see the king aduertised, on whose behalfe he auouched a minde conformable to his desires, being all that appertained to his place to promise well, hauing no authoritie to assure. After this conference, *Cesar* went to *Chiusa*, leauing the Marquis of *Brandebourg* for the gard of *Kerona*: and a little after *Monsieur de Palissa* remaining with five hundred Launces vpon the countrey of *Verona*, alleaging the difficulties and incommodities of the place where he lay, gave leaue with great importunities to retire to the frontiers of the Duchie of *Millan*: for that the kings intention was, that if his men of warre should remaine in garrison and do nothing, they should not abide vpon his estate, but should returne to the seruice of *Maximilian* to expect such enterprize as he would imbrace, but chiefly the action of *Leguagna*, which notwithstanding it was much desired and solicited by him, yet it was so long deferred by his accustomed difficulties, that the raines fell so fast by the propertie of the season, that it was impossible to iscampe in that countrey, being for his lownesse much subiect to waters: for these impediments, *Cesar* was driuen to desire truce for certaine moneths with the *Venetians*, but they rising into courage by his disorders, and seeing how slowly the confederates ministred to his ayde, had more regard to the fortune that followed them, then to the motions he made, iudging it not for their profit to consent to any ceassing of armes.

*Maximilian
returneth into
Germanie.*

Amid these suspitions and iealousies of things, the Emperour at last returned to *Trent*, leauing those places that he held in great daunger, and all the gouernments in *Italie* in generall doubt: for, there began to appeare betweene the Pope and the French king a new contention, the foundation whereof, albeit seemed to be layd vpon light occasions, yet, there was feare lest it was intangled with more secret practise & causes of greater importance then such as were expressed. The outward cause appearing, was that a Bishoprick being voyd in *Prouence* by the death of the incumbent dying in the Court of *Rome*, the Pope had disposed it against the will of the French king, who pretended such action to be contrary to the capitulation which the Cardinal of *Pavia* had made betweene them, wherein albeit the wordes bare not expressely that there should be equall respect and obseruation touching the Bishoprikes falling in the Court of *Rome*, as of such as fell vacant in other places, yet he was assured no lesse by the mouth and promise of the Cardinal, which the Cardinal confessed not to be true, more perhaps for feare, then for other occasion: the Pope affirmed the contrary, alleaging that he tooke no knowledge of any thing promised in priuie and secret, onely in the ratification he had regard to that that appeared in the writing and particular articles: wherein he had set downe distinctly all the contents of the capitulation, chapter by chapter, and the article concerning the dying of the Bishops in the Court of *Rome* being not comprehended, he was not bound to the obseruation of that that was not expressed. This did so much aggrauate the discontentment of them both, that as the king, reiecting contrary to his custome the counsels of the Cardinal *Amboise*, who had alwayes aduised him to entertaine agreement with the Pope, made sequestration of the fruites of all those benefices which the Churchmen resident in the Court of *Rome* held in the Duchie of *Millan*: So the Pope refused to indue the Bishop of *Albie* with the hat, who, according to the promise made to the king, was gone to *Rome* to receiue it. And albeit the Pope, ouerruled by the importunities of many friends, was brought in the end, to dispose of the Bishoprike of *Prouence* according to the kings minde, and albeit there was eftsloones agreed betweene them a new forme of proceeding in benefices that hereafter should fall in the Court of *Rome*, and in that regard the sequestrations to cease on the one side, and on the other part the hat to be transferred to the Bishop of *Albie*: yet these agreements sufficed not to moderate the mind of the Pope, who was not a little kindled for many reasons, but specially for that, hauing from the beginning of his Popedom, transferred very vnwillingly the legation of the Realme of *Fraunce* to the Cardinal of *Amboise*, a matter hurtfull to the Court of *Rome*, and bearing preiudice to his authoritie, it was now most grieuous to him to be constrained (to auoid displeasure with the French king) to continue it to him: he was iealous also that the same Cardinal aspired with all his thoughts and meanes to the soueraigne seate, and therefore he stood in feare and doubt of euery aduancement and rising of the French. These were the apparant causes of his discontentment, but as farre as could be afterwarde coniectured by his thoughts and dispositions, he layd greater plots, and aspired to farre greater endes, desiring vehemently, either for greedinesse of glory, or for some secret hatred against the French king, or at least for the libertie of the *Genowayes*, that the king might lose

lose all that he possessed in *Italie*, iudging his greatnesse a bridle to his ambition, and his power in *Italie* an impediment to his authoritie: he ceased not also to complaine against him and the Cardinall of *Amboise* indifferently, but with such temperance and cunning, that it seemed his discontentment proceeded chiefly of feare: and yet, as he was of a nature obstinate and invincible, and for the most part accompanied the disposition of his minde with outward demonstrations: so, albeit he aspired in his secret thoughts to an end of so great consequence and hard to obtaine, reposing onely in himself and the reuerence and authoritie which he knew Christian Princes bare to the sea Apostolike, yet he would not enter into alliance nor depend of any: but expressing both in speech and working how little account he made of all, he forbore to ioyne with *Maximilian*, and refused to enter secret intelligence with the king Catholike; but estranging himselfe from euery one, he inclined onely to the part of the *Venetians*, expressing daily more and more a confirmation of will to absolue them, iudging it a thing very conuenient for the common safetie of *Italie*, and for his particular suretie and greatnesse, not to suffer them to perish. Against this, did make great resistance the Embassadours of *Maximilian* and the French, concurring also with them in publike practise the Embassadour of the king of *Aragon*, notwithstanding he solicited the Pope secretly, to the contrary, fearing no lesse the greatnesse of the French in regard of the kingdome of *Naples*, and reposing little in the disposition of *Cesar* for the slender stabilitie that was in him. These Embassadours alleged that it was not reasonable that the Pope should doe so great a benefite for those, whom he was bound by equitie and promise to pursue by armes, seeing by the confederation of *Cambray*, euery cōfederat was bound reciprocally to aide one another till there was absolute recouerie of all those places which were named for euery particular partie: So that seeing *Cesar* had not yet conquered *Trenis*, neither one of them stood acquitted of such bond & promise besides, they vrged that he might iustly refuse the absolution, both for that they had not restored to the Church the townes of *Romania*, neither frankly nor willingly, nor within the terme set downe in the monition: and also for that euen then their obedience was not perfect and absolute, for that albeit, besides the rending of the townes, they had bene admonished to reckon for the fruites, which they had not accomplished. To these obiections the Pope made answer, that since they were returned to penance, and had sued for absolution in due humilitie, it could not stand with the office of the Vicar of Christ, to persecute them any further with spirituall weapons to the preiudice of so many soules, specially hauing obtained of them, the townes, and by that meane the occasion ceassing, for the which they had bene subiect to the censures of the Church: That concerning the reckning or restitution of the fruites, it was but a matter accidentall, and vrged more to aggravate their disobedience, then for any necessary reason, and therefore not iust that it should stand against them as a matter of importance: That it was an action of another nature to pursue them with temporall armes, wherein (determining to perseuer in the league of *Cambray*) he offered himselfe to be ready and concurrant with the others, notwithstanding that euery one of the confederates might iustly leaue off, for that if *Cesar* had not *Trenis*, it hapned by his proper error, refusing the first offers which the *Venetians* made to him by their Embassadour, both to leaue him all that they possessed in the firme land, and also to set him downe a sufficient allowance and recompence in exchange of *Trenis*. And thus not being retained by any contradiction or impediment of the Embassadours, he onely was slow to this action by the disposition of his minde, wherein albeit he esteemed the absolution of the *Venetians* to be profitable to him, and to the plots he had layd, yet he determined not to giue it to them but with great regard to the dignitie of the sea Apostolike, & so, as all those things which were dependant vpon the Church were wholly deliuered from their oppressions: the same being one cause that he deferred to absolue them, together with their vnwillingnesse to consent to these two conditions: the one that they should set at libertie to the subiects of the Church, the traffike & nauigation of the sea Adriatique, which they restrained against all such as would not answer a kind of tribute for the marchandise they brought: the other, that they should continue no longer at *Ferrara* (a Citie depending vpon the Church) the office of *Vecedomino*. The *Venetians* alleged, that they of *Ferrara* had cōsented to it, *Clement* the sixt giuing no impedimēt, who at that time remained with his Court in the citie of *Auignon*: They proued besides, that *Alexander* the fourth had giuen the iurisdiction & gard of the gulse vnder very large priuiledges, whercunto they were induced, for that with their armies, with their vertue, and with their expēces they had defended it against the *Sarazins* & pirats Turkish, & made that nauigation

assured to the Christians. To these reasons it was answered on the Popes behalfe, that they of *Ferrara* could not in preiudice of the Ecclesiastike iurisdiction, consent, that any other should hold office or exercise dominion in *Ferrara*, as that the people of *Ferrara* had neuer willingly consented, but were forced by a long and heauie warre, and after they had in vaine called the ayde of the Pope, whose censures the *Venetians* contemned, were constrained to accept peace with conditions at the discretion of those that could do more with them by armes then by reason. Touching their authoritie alleaged of Pope *Alexander* that he had graunted it to them, it neither appeared by historie, nor other authentike tradition, neither was there any faith to be giuen to it but by the testimonie of the *Venetians*, a thing of iust suspicion in their owne cause, especially carying so great importance: and be it, there were some apparance of matter, yet it was more likely, that he, who they sayd had accorded to such things in *Venice*, had done it by threatnings or by feare, then that a Pope of *Rome* to whom afore all others appertaineth the defence of iustice, and the redresse of the oppressed, would haue consented to an action so cruell and impudent, and bearing damage to the whole world.

*The Venetian
armie at Vincenza.*

In this estate of affaires, in this diuersitie of intentions of Princes, in this slender power and reputation of *Cesar*, the *Venetians*, vnder the leading of *Anarea Grutti*, sent their armie to *Vincenza*, where they knew the people, in a generall disposition desired to returne vnder their iurisdiction: and making their approaches in the entry of the euening, they won the suburbs of *P.* after they had made great batteries with their artilleries. Touching the Citie, albeit there were as yet within it very few souldiers, yet the *Venetians* had no great suretie to carie it: onely the townesmen, by the incensing of *Fracasse* as the brute ranne, after they had sent their Embassadors to them about midnight, put them into the Citie, the Prince of *Hanaw* & *Fracasse* retiring into the Castell. And, (such is the proprietie of victory) it was assuredly beleueed, that if the *Venetian* army obtaining *Vincenza*, had without delay approached *Verona*, that towne had done the like, examples being of great effect in the alteration of fortune: but the Captaines were of aduise not to issue out of the towne till the Castell were commaunded, which they had at their deuotion the fourth day, the *P.* of *Hanaw* and *Fracasse* distrusting their owne weaknesse, leauing it abandoned: In matters of enterprise nothing is more hurtfull then delayes, and nothing more hindreth the felicitie of victory, then not to ioyne oportunitie to occasion and fortune: for, in this meane while and respite, new regiments of *Cesar* entred *Verona*, together with three hundred Launces of the French king, vnder the ensigne of *Monsieur d'Aubigny*: in so much as containing a strength of fise hundred Launces and fise thousand footemen *Spanish* and *Almaines*, it was now no more easie to take it. Not long after, the *Venetian* armie approached *Verona*, and was deuided into two parts, in either of which were three hundred men at armes, fise hundred light horsemen, and three thousand footemen: they hoped that vpon their approaching, there would be some commotion in the Citie, but because they appeared not afore the wals all in one time, the inhabitants within the towne, going to meete with the former part which came beyond the riuer of *Adice* and was already entred the suburbs, constrained them to retire, *Luke Maluette* comming a little after on the other side of the riuer with the other part, retiring also: and both they ioyning together, incamped in the village of *S. Martin* within fise myles of *Verona*: where vnderstanding that two thousand *Almain* footemen issued out of *Basciana*, were gone to make pillage of the places about *Citadella*, turning that way, they inclosed them in a valley called *Fidato*: but the *Almaines*, succoured by those of *Basciana*, made their way by force, though with some hurt for the strait passages, & leauing *Basciana* abandoned, the *Venetians* tooke it: from *Basciana*, one part of the armie went to *Feliro* and *Cinitall*, which places after they had recouered and commaunded, they presented themselves before the rocke of *Escalo*, which they commaunded after the artillerie had somewhat executed. At the same time *Anthony* and *Hierome Sanorgiana*, Gentlemen that followed the *Venetian* faction in the countrey of *Friul*, tooke new Castell standing on a rough mountaine in the midst of the patrimonie, (so is called that part of *Friul* which is beyond the riuer of *Taillemont*;) and all this while there was heard no other thing of *Cesar* then vaine rumours, & how being moued with the action of *Vincenza*, was immediatly come to *Pietra*, he trauelled from one place to another vsing great diligence with very small effect.

*The Venetian
army vpon the
countrey of
Ferrara.*

After this, the *Venetian* armie drew towards *Monfelize* and *Montagnana*, both to recouer *Polisena*, and to charge the places of *Ferrara* together with their naue, which the Senate, reiecting the

counsell of the most wise Senatours, who iudged it to rashnesse to be intangled with new en-
 terprises, had determined to send against the Duke of *Ferrara*, well furnished with strength and
 munition along the river of *Paw*. To this manner of action they were induced, not so much for the
 profite of the affaires present, as for the incredible haire they bare to him: it seemed to them that
 they could not iustly compaine, of that he had done to shake off the yoke of *Pseudommo*, and to re-
 couer *Polisena*, but they supposed it neither to their honour nor profite to suffer, that being not
 content to challenge that which he pretended to appertaine to him by right, he aspired to retaine
 that whereunto he had no way any colour of interest, for that at such time as *Cesar* leauied his
 siege from before *Padoa*, he receiued of him in fee, both the borough of *Este* (fro whence is sprong
 the name and familie of *Este*) and also the borough *Montagnana* for pawne and assurance of the
 money that had bene lent him: to which places he pretended no right at all, vnesse he reposed
 equitie in his ambition and tyrannie. There were added to this the remembrance of many actions
 of insolencie and violence, and other executions done by his people in the recouerie of *Polesina*,
 who pushed on with an incredible hatred against the name of the *Venetians*, had executed great
 harmes and cruelties vpon the Gentlemen, yea euen to reuerse their houses and put fire in them.
 In these respectes it was agreed, that their nauie and sea armie, commaunded by *Ange Trenisan*,
 compounded vpon seuenteen light gallies with a large furnishment of meane vessels and able bo-
 dies for seruice, should sayle toward *Ferrara*. This flecte entring into *Paw* by the mouth of the
 fornaces, and burning *Cornola* with certaine other villages neare to *Paw*, went pilling and spoi-
 ling the counrey vp to the lake of *Scuro*, from which place the light horsemen who followed the
 as a strength by land, made incursions as farre as *Ficherolo*: which albeit is rather a house of plea-
 sance then a Castell, yet it is not without his reputation and name, for that *Ros. Senerin* lay long
 time before it, being Captaine to the *Venetians* in a warre which they had against *Hercules* father
 to *Alphonso*. The comming of this nauie together with the rumour of the armie by land that was
 to follow, brought no little amaze to the Duke, who, hauing but a slender strength of souldiers, and
 the inhabitants of *Ferrara* either for their small numbers, or for their ignorance in warre, not suffi-
 cient enough to oppose against such a daunger, had no other meane to defend himselfe, vntill he
 were comforted with the succours which he expected from the Pope and French king, then to lee
 with force of shot bestowed vpon the brinke of *Paw*, that the enemies should passe no further: for
 these impediments *Trenisan*, after he had in vaine assayed to passe, seeing he could aduance
 nothing without he were succoured by land, came to an anker in the midst of the river of
Paw behind a little isle right quer against *Pulselle*: a place within xi. myles of *Ferrara*, and ve-
 ry apt to torment the towne and make many hurtfull executions vpon the counrey: his inten-
 tion was to expect therethe armie, who had gotten without great difficultie all *Polisena*, ha-
 uing first recouered *Montagnana* by composition, by the which the Magistrates of *Ferrara* were
 deliuered to them as prisoners, together with the Captaines of the footemen that were within. In
 this time of expectation of the armie, for the more safe siding of the nauie in the place where it lay,
Trenisan began to raise two bastillions vpon the bankes of *Paw*, the one on that side to *Ferrara*,
 the other vpon the shore right against it, casting withall a bridge vpon the vessels to haue the more
 oportunitie to succour that bastillion that was on *Ferrara* side. Afore this worke was accom-
 plished, the Duke deuised either to reuerse it or at least to hinder it, and with a counsell haply more
 couragious then discrete, he called together all the youth of the towne with such companies of
 souldiers as were come to his pay, and sent them out to assaile the bastillion: but it was an enter-
 prise in vaine, for that the defendants receiuing succours of their peoples which issued out of the
 vessels, began to disorder the enemie and put them to flight, wherein albeit the Duke himself came
 to the medley with a fresh succour of horsemen, and with his presence brought a new hart to most
 of his people not trained in warre, yet such was the furie of the enemie, for whom the surtie of the
 place fought, being martned with many peeces of small shot, that in the end he was constrained to
 retire, leauing many of his people either dead or taken, and that not so many of the inexperienced
 and base multitudes, as of the most braue souldiers and nobilitie of *Ferrara*: amongst them was
Herl. Cantelmoza young man of great hope, and whose auncestors afore time were Dukes of *Sore*
 in the kingdome of *Naples*: the fortune of this man was more tragicall then of any of the residue,
 for that as certaine *Slanonian* souldiers led him prisoner into a gallie, and contending amongst
 themselves for the interest of his body, there was one of them, who, with a new example of barba-

rous crueltie, miserably strooke his head. For these perills ioyned to the manifest apparance of extremitie to the towne of *Ferrara*, *Monsieur Chaumont* sent to the succours of it the Lord of *Chabillon* with an hundred and fiftie French Leagues: and the Pope being kindled against the *Venetians* for entring into that action without regard to the superiority which the Church hath there, appointed the two hundred men at armes which he had lent to *Cesar*, to be converted to the defence of *Ferrara*. But it might haue hapned that these succours had bin too slow, if the *Venetians* had not bene compelled to looke to the defence of their owne estate. It hath bene declared before how the French king was not discontented with the difficulties of *Maximilian*, partly for the continuall feare he had of his prosperitie, and partly for that burning in desire to make him selfe Lord of *Verona*, he hoped by his necessities to haue it on him at last either by purchase or by ingaging: on ther side he was not a little iealous ouer the *Venetians*, and no lesse was his discontentment that their greatnesse was easiesly reestablished, which would nourish continuall perill and perplexitie for his Duchie of *Millan*. And therefore *Cesar* not having sufficiently refurnished *Verona* for want of money, the French king was constrained to enter into care of things, and, in sending new companies besides those men at armes which were entred there already, to foresee that that Citie returned not to their obedience. To this *Monsieur Chaumont* gaue beginning, who, after the losse of *Vincenza*, being drawne vpon the marches of *Verona*, retained in the French kings pay two thousand *Spanish* footemen, which were within *Verona*, who began to draw into tumult for want of payment: he sent thither for a greater suretie, other bantles of footemen according to the aduise of *Trinulce*, who, for that *Monsieur Chaumont* feared least the king would be discontented with so great expences, made answer, that it was a lesse euill that the king charged him with the expences of his money, then by sparing his treasure, to lose or put in daunger his estate; the one bringing safetie to the kings things, and in the other no honour nor reputation to the place he held vnder the king. Besides this, he lent to *Cesar* eight thousand duckets to pay the souldiers that were within *Verona*, receiuing in pawne both for the repayment of that summe & others which hereafter he should aduance for his affaires, the towne of *Vallegge*, a place which the king esteemed much for the suretie of *Bresse*, both for the nearenesse being within fixe myles of *Bresse*, and for the oportunitie of the passage ouer the riuer of *Mynia* which is alwayes commaunded by such as are maisters of *Vallegge* and *Pesquero*. The marching of *Monsieur Chaumont* being followed with the most part of the Launces in the Duchie of *Millan*, together with the companies which he had put into *Verona*, and the rumour that ranne of his preparation to besiege *Vincenza*, were the causes that the *Venetian* armie, leauing for the defence of *Polisena* and to succour their nauie, foure hundred light horsemen and foure hundred footemen, retired from the countrey *Ferrara*, diuiding themselves into *Legnago*, *Soane*, and *Vincenza*: And being carefull to assure *Vincenza*, and to provide that the countrey thereabout were not distressed by the garrison of *Verona*, they fortified it with a wonderfull trench full of water environed with a rampier whereon were dispersed many bastillions: it began from the foote of the mountaine which lyeth about *Soane*, and reaching about fiue myles along the plaine that leades from *Rouigne* to *Montfort*, it ended at a corner of certaine marshes which ioynie to the riuer of *Adice*. They also fortified *Soane* and *Legnago*, by which meane standing vpon their gard all the winter, they assured the whole countrey. And albeit, by the retiring of the *Venetian* regiments, the daunger of *Ferrara* was somewhat diminished, yet, it was not altogether taken away, for that though they were acquitted of all feare to be forced, yet they were troubled with a suspicion lest the people for the great harmes they receiued would decline to an ytter weaknesse, or else fall into the last despaire: for, the souldiers of the nauie and their followers, ran vp every day euen to the gates of the towne, & other vessels of the *Venetians* which had on another side distressed the state of the Duke of *Ferrara*, had taken *Comache*, and putting diligence to their fortune, they were troublers of those places in many sortes of afflictions. About this time arriued the companies of the Pope & the French king, by whose comfort the Duke who being warned afore by the harmes receiued in the assault of the bastillion, was incamped in a strong place neare to *Ferrara*, began to make many incursions & proffers, to draw the enemies to battell, who hoping that their army would returne, refused to fight before. And as there can be no action of war without his proper fortune & calamitie: so, in these entercourses of sallies and skirmishes, it hapned one day the Cardinall of *Este* hauing runne vp neare to the bastillion, as he returned backe, a shot came out of one of the vessels of the enemies, which caried away the head of the Count *Lo-*
domike

domike de la Mirandola, one of the Captaines of the Church, none other in so great a multitude being hurt either with that or any other shot. At last the knowledge and experience of the country, ioyned to the nature and oportunitie of the riuer, made easie that which in the beginning had seemed so hard and dangerous: for, the Duke and Cardinall, hoping to be able to defeat the nauie with the artillerie, if they had meane to make it descend in suretie vpon the banke of the riuer, the Cardinall returned to charge the bastillion with one part of the bandes, wherein his fortune was so equall with his valour, that giuing the repulse to the enemy which were issued out to the skirmish, and making slaughter of some of them, he occupied and fortified that part that was next to the rising, and so without all priuitie and knowledge of the enemy, vpon the beginning of the night, he drew the artillerie to the banke side right ouer against them, and breaking it & planting it with a wonderfull silence, he began to execute vpon the enemies with a wonderfull furie: making terrible to them that aduantage which he had won of them by his industrie and valour. The vessels would haue sought safetie by flying, but because there was a long trayne and ranke of great artilleries, which managed by men experienced, beat a farre off, they chaunged rather the place of perill, then auoyded the daunger, hauing withall the presence and labour of the Dukes person, who knew both how to force artilleries, and how to manage them: by the affliction of so many shots of artillerie, notwithstanding the enemies for their partes ceased not to shoot, but in wayne, for that they that played vpon the brinke were couered with the rising of the hill, their vessels fell into diuerse fortunes, and were consumed with sundry miserable aduentures: some of them that had no more abilitie to gouerne their ships & defend their bodies against the furie of the shot, yeelded themselues without respect of condition: some, whose destiny was driuen with a more violence, were miserably burnt with the men that were in them: and others, gouerned by desperate resolution, gaue themselues a pray to the bottom of the waters, for that they would not fall into the mercy of the enemy: and the Captaine, leaping into a little skiff almost in the beginning of the skirmish, found safetie by the swiftnesse of his oares, his gallye being galled through both sides, was sonke after he had fled about three myles vsing continuall defence against the aduersitie of his fortune. In this discomfiture, all things being full of bloud, full of fire, & dead bodies, the calamitie of the enemy brought to the power of the Duke, fiftene gallyes, certaine great ships, many foystes, with infinite small vessels. There dyed about two thousand bodies, some by shot, some by fire, & some by water: threescore ensignes were taken, but not the principall standard, which was saued with the General. And as in a general calamitie every one hath his fortune, so, many winning shoare & land, were gathered vp by the *Venetian* light horsemen, in whose valour they found safetie for their liues: others that could not auoyd the persecution of the enemy, fell into the aduerture of imprisonment, & others in flying, hapned into many harmes by the payfants, & escaping from the daunger they feared most, they were driuen into perils which they doubted least. The prise of the vessels was caried to *Ferrara*, where, in memory of so great a victory, they were kept many yeares, vntil Duke *Alphonso* made restitution, hauing desire to gratifie the *Venetians*, immediatly after the ouerthrow of this nauie. Duke *Alphonso* dispatched with expedition three hundred horsemen and five hundred footemen to defeat the other army that had taken *Comachio*, who recouering *Loretto* which the *Venetians* had fortified, it was thought they had broken the whole army, if, seeing into their daunger, it had not retired to *Beb.* finding more suretie to auoyd the perill, then to hope in fortune. This was the end of the siege of *Ferrara*, which continued about a moneth, the euent and issue whereof (which ordinarily is the true touchstone by the which men may iudge of worldly things) did well declare how much wiser were the counsels of a few, who perswaded that leauing all other enterprises, and reseruing their treasures to be employed in actions more conuenient and profitable, they should onely looke to the preservation of *Padoa*, *Trenisa*, with other places recouered, then of such, who though more in numbers yet inferiour in discretion, replenished with passions of hate and disdain, were easie to be intangled with those enterprises, who as their beginning was bred in rashnesse, so their conclusion brought forth at last incredible expences, with no lesse infamies and harmes to the common weale: such commonly are the fruites that follow enterprises begun with light counsels, being gouerned by a fortune equall to the condition and nature of the action.

But on *Padoa* side, matters succeeded rather to the furtherance of the *Venetians* then others: for, notwithstanding *Caesar* kept vpon the countrey of *Vincenza* with foure thousand footmen, yet one

part of the regiment of the *Venetians*, (& that neither strong nor great) bying with the ayde of the paynants of that quarter,ooke almost before his eyes, the passage of *Escale*, *Cogelo* and *Basciana*, a place of so much more importance, by how much it is conuenient to hinder the descending of the *Almaines* into *Italie*. And as himselfe, complaining much that for the departure of *Monsieur la Palisse* many disorders were hapned, went at last to *Bolsane* to assist the dyet which by his ordinance was to be kept at *Yspruch*: So according to his example, *Monsieur Chaumont* left there all his thoughts and great desires to performe the enterprise of *Vincenza* and *Legnagne*: and ioyning to this disposition to depart, these reasons and considerations that both those places were well manned and fortified, & also the season of the time very contrary, he retired to *Millan*, leauing good garrison within *Bresse*, *Pesquero*, and *Valegge*: and within *Verona*, for that *Caesar* of his singular forces was not able to defend it, he bestowed fixe hundred Launces and foure thousand footmen, who being separate from the souldiers of *Caesar*, were lodged in the suburbs of *S. Zena*, hauing yet in their power the Citadell for their greater suretie.

Description of
Verona.

The Citie of *Verona* of great name and antiquitie is deuided by the riuer of *Adice*, a riuer both large and deepe comming from the mountaines of *Almanie*, and as it falls into the plaine, it goeth crooking on the left hand touching vpon the foote of the mountaines, and so entrench into *Verona*, and when it issueth out, he runneth from the mountaines and spreadeth into a goodly playne and very fertill. That part of *Verona* which hath his situation vpon the coast and somewhat into the plaine, is beyond *Adice* towards *Almanie*: the other part which is on this side *Adice*, and all in a goodly plaine, hath *Mantua* for his prospect: vpon the mountaine neare *S. Georges* gate, standeth the Castell of *S. Peter*, and within two bowes shooting from thence drawing against the hill, is the Castell of *S. Felix*, the one standing vpon the very top of the hill, and they both no lesse strong by situation then by wals: and yet to loose them for that by the aduantage of their situation, they commaund the Citie, were to put *Verona* in manifest daunger: these Castels were kept by the Launceknights: But in the other part which is separate from this by the riuer, is the old Castell looking towards *Pesgara*, and hath his situation almost in the midst of the Citie, going through the riuer with a bridge: not three bow shootings off, drawing towards *Vincenza*, standes the Citadell, and betweene them both, the wals of the Citie ioyne without, in forme of halfe a circle: but within, is a wall going from the one to the other, which is in the midst of two great ditches, the space betweene both the wals being called the suburbs of *S. Zene*, which, with the gard of the Citadell was appointed for the lodging of the French. Whilest armes were there as it were in rest, *Maximilia* solicited continually to make truce with the *Venetians*, the Pope also interposing very diligently by the working of *Achilles de Grassi* Bishop of *Pesero*, & his *Nuncio*: and to this end his Embassadours went to the hospitall which is about *Escale*, to negotiate with *Iohn Cornuaro* and *Louis Monseigno* Deputies for the *Venetians*. But as all matters of state haue their proper difficulties and impediments, so, in this action the demaundes of *Caesar* were so excessive, that this conference tooke no effect, to the great discontentment of the Pope, who wished that the *Venetians* were deliuered of all trouble, and with whom he had wrought so much, to the end there should be no matter of question to render to the Duke of *Ferrara* the towne of *Comacho* which they had burned before: withall they had promised him to vexe no more the estate of the Duke of *Ferrara*, to whom he gaue great fauour and support, both to make him beholding to him, for that he had obtained and was to obtaine by his meane; and also he had hope that for these respectes he would depend more vpon him then of the French king: against whom, being in continuall study to lay foundations of right great importance, he had secretly dispatched a messenger to the king of *England*, and begun to worke the *Swissers* at that time inclining to some quarell with the French king. To this action and for this reason came to him the Bishop of *Sion* (whom the *Latins* call *Sedunensis*) enemy to the French king, and vnder that colour pretending to be Cardinall, and for that respect was receiued of him with great ioy.

The Emperour
and the king
Catholike fall
to accord touch-
ing the go-
uernement of
Castill.

About the end of this yeare, were accorded the king of the *Romains* and king Catholike, betweene who was some difference touching the gouernment of the Realmes of *Castill*: This contro- uersie was long debated in the Court of *France*, & albeit it suffered many great perplexities, & difficulties yet in the end it was guided to perfection by the meane & vndiscreete counsell of the Cardinall of *Amboise*, who not considering how much this vnion was hurtfull to the affaires of his king, was caried perhaps by this ambition, that if by his working there might be stabilitie & agreement betweene

betweene them, it would be a degree to lift him to the Popedom, being in this, a dangerous counsellour to respect more his proper interests then the safetie of his countrey: Such then was the power of his diligence and authoritie, that he induced *Maximilian* to consent that the king Catholike, in case he had no issue males, should be gouernour ouer those Realmes vntill their little sonne *Charles* were come to the age of maioritie, to whom should be no power to take vpon him the title of king during the life of his mother, bearing the prerogatiue and iurisdiction of Queene, for that in *Castillo* the issue males exclude not the generall issue: That the king Catholike should pay to *Cesar* fiftie thousand duckets: That he should ayde him according to the treatie of *Cambray*, vntill he had recouered all that appertained to him: And lastly to pay to *Charles* euery yeare fortie thousand duckets. By this conuention, the king of *Aragon* was confirmed gouernour ouer the Realme of *Castillo*, and standing now in state to haue faith and credit with *Cesar*, since both the controuerfies were determined, and they both had equall interests touching their nephew: he might now more boldly looke into the meanes by the which he might hinder the greatnesse of the French king, which he held alwayes suspected for the regard of the kingdome of *Naples*. About this time also, the Pope entred into suspicion, that the Pronotarie *Benuolo* remaining at *Cremona*, laboured secretly to returne into *Bologna*, against which accident, he caused to be retained in the pallace of *Bologna* for certaine dayes, *Iulian de Medicis*: and attributing all things to the ill disposition of the French king, he made knowne the feare he had that he would passe into *Italie* to subdue it, and make Pope by violence the Cardinall of *Amboise*: and yet at the same time, he spake without any regard in derogation of the honour of *Cesar*, as of a person incapable of such a dignity, and by his incapacitie had brought the name of the Empire into great contempt. About the end of this yeare, dyed the Count *Pessilano*, Generall ouer the *Venetian* armies, a man for his age and graue experience in actions of war, of great name and worthinesse, and with the *Venetians*, of that credit and trust, that they neuer feared he would put their state in daunger, by rashnesse or want of counsell.

Death of the
Count Petil-
lano.

The yeare after which was 1510. the same doubts and suspicions continuing, warres began to stirre on all partes but coldly and according to the season: for the *Venetian* armie lying encamped at *S. Bonifacio* vpon the countrey of *Verona*, held *Verona* as it were besieged: from whence *Charles Baillon*, *Federike de Bossola* and *Sacromoro Viscount*, comming to their succours, were charged by the stradiots, who ouerthrew them, and taking prisoners *Charles* and *Sacromoro*. *Federike* found safetie in the rescue of the French, which issued out of *Verona* for their succours. Another time they brake another band of French horsemen, amongst whom *Monsieur de Glessy* was taken prisoner: on the other side (fortune can both smile and laugh) two hundred French Launces issuing out of *Verona* with three thousand footemen, forced by assault a bastillion towards *Soano*, which was garded by a band of sixe hundred footemen, & in their returne, they querthrew a great multitude of paylants. But whilest the warre was occupied with these cold proceedings the minds of Princes were in great paine and care, but specially *Cesar* had his perplexities, who doubting how he might cary the victorie of the warre against the *Venetians*, and posting ouer (according to his custome) his affaires from one dyotte to another, had caused to be published the dyot at *Auspurge*, and being kindled against the Pope, for that the Electours of the Empire pushed on by his authoritie, made instance to negotiate in the dyot rather for peace with the *Venetians*, then for prouisions for the warre, he had caused to depart from *Auspurge* the Bishop of *Pefero* his Nuncio: he considered also that the deliberations of dyots were vncertaine, tedious, and full of difficulties, the end of one breeding the beginning of another: he saw withall, that the French king excused himselfe daily of the demaundes and enterprises that were tendred to him, sometimes alleaging the sharpnesse of the season, sometimes requiring assignation certaine of the expences which were to be made, & eftsoones protesting that by the treatie of *Cambray*, he was not bound to ayde him alone but ioyntly with the Pope and king of *Aragon*, with whom it was reasonable that the proceedings were mutuall and common, as the confederation and bond were ioynt and generall: for these reasons, he entred into resolution, that there was no remedie more ready for his affaires, then to induce the French king to embrace the enterprise to take *Padoa*, *Vincenza*, and *Treuisa*, employing his forces, & taking sufficient recompence. This demaund was well liked by many of the kings Counsell, who considering that till the *Venetians* were wholly chased out of the firme land, the king should dwell in continuall expences and daungers, perswaded his Maiestie vpon those reasons, to

1510.

deliuer himselfe of them at one blow, and in one action making but one expence. The Kings minde was not altogether estraunged from his counsell, being caried haply with the same reasons, and therefore albeit he inclined to goe in person into *Italie* with a mighty armie, which he called mightie and puissant as often as he had in the same more then a thousand fixe hundred Launces, with his Gentlemen and Pensioners: yet, harkening to other counsels by the consideration of other reasons, he stood suspended in minde, expressing a confusion more then he was wont, for that the Cardinall *Amboise*, a man of great authoritie and stomacke, afflicted with a long and grieuous maladie, forbore to manage his affaires which were wont to be dispatched wholly by his direction. The king besides that of his naturall disposition, he loued not much matters of expences, was retained also by a desire he had to *Verona*, for the accomplishing whereof it seemed to him a good meane to haue the king of *Romains* intangled with continuall warres, for which regard he had newly lent to him eightene thousand duckets to pay the Launceknights that lay in garrison in the Citie, and was bound to make it vp a further summe of fiftie thousand, with condition that he should not onely hold the Citadell for his securitie and pawne, but also the old Castell should be set ouer to him, together with the next gate of the towne, the better to haue free entry and issue. And lastly, for want of restoring the money within one yeare, the towne of *Vallego* should remaine to him in perpetuall gouernement, with power to fortifie as well the towne as the Citadell at the charges of *Cesar*. These considerations drew the Kings mind into no small perplexities, but much more was he troubled with feare, least the Popes intentions would wholly varie and alter, if he should either leade or send into *Italie* a new armie: for, the Pope, no lesse full of suspicion, then also ill contented that he should impatronise vpon *Verona*, besides that he still kept a will entertained to absolue the *Venetians*, did also all that he could to ioyné himselfe with the *Swissers*: for confirmation of which disposition, he had sent backe againe into that countrey, the Bishop of *Sion*, with money to distribute amongst them, and promise to indue himselfe with the holy cap: he sought also with all his diligence, by what meanes he might estraunge the King of England from the amitie of the French King, whom albeit his father at the instant of death had aduised, for his securitie and benefite; to continue in assured league with him, and for that respect was yearely payed to him fiftie thousand duckets: yet, being caried ouer with hot humours of youth, and the great abilitie of treasure that his father had left him, it seemed he had no lesse in consideration the counsels of those, who for the desire of new things ioyried to an auncient hatred which the English do ordinarily beare to the French nation, made perswasions to him for the warre, then the wisdome and discreet example of his father, who refusing all contentions with the French, had gouerned his kingdome in great obedience and tranquillitie, notwithstanding he had aspired to a state new and full of troubles. All these considerations vexing not a little the minde of the French King, who, the better to deuise for the affaires of *Italie*, was now gone to *Lyon*: he feared least his marching into *Italie*, which the Pope detested openly, would stirre vp some new innouations by his meanes: besides, he saw that the King of *Aragon* dissuaded him from it, but vnder demonstrations of a friend and an indifferent louer of the common tranquillitie: in so much as amid those multitudes of doubtles which trauelled him on all partes, he saw no more certaine nor present counsell, then with great labour & diligence, to studie so to appease the mind of the Pope, that at the least he might stand assured that he were not his enemy & against him. Wherein it seemed that occasiō fauoured him greatly, for that it was beleued, that by the death of the Cardinall *Amboise*, who was extreamely sicke, he should be eased of those suspicions, from whence it was supposed his ill contentments did principally proceede. And for that the king was aduertised by good intelligence, that the Cardinall of *Auchx*, Nephew to the Cardinall *Amboise*, with others that managed his affaires in the Court of *Rome*, had with great rashnesse both in deede and wordes laboured more to quicken and kindle, then to appease and mollifie the Popes minde: he would no more vse their seruice in those actions, but sent to *Rome* in post the Lord *Albert Pie Count de Carpie*, a personage in whom was indifferent the greatnesse of his minde and expedition of his wit: he caried verie large commissions not onely to offer to the Pope the kings forces and authority to serue his turne in all accidents, and vpon all occasions, but also in inclining as much as he could to his will and nature, he was to communicate with him frankly and simply the state of all things that were practised, together with the requestes that *Cesar* made to him, & finally to referre to his arbitration and will whether he should passe

passe into *Italie* or not, and whether he should minister to the Emperour speedily or slowly: he had also in charge to dissuade the absolution of the *Venetians*, but before he arrived, it was resolved and promised by the Pope: the *Venetians* after long dispute and abode of their Embassadors there, consenting at last to the conditions whereupon the difficulties stood, not finding any other remedie for their safetie, then to be ioyned with him. The conditions for the which the absolution was to be giuen, were openly published in the consistorie the xxiii. of February, in presence of the *Venetian* Embassadors, who confirmed them by writing according to the authentike direction from their common weale: These were the particulars: That they should not in any sort dispose the benefices or dignities of the Church: and that they should make no resistance or difficultie touching the fruites and prouisions deriuing of them to the Court of *Rome*: That they should not gainesay that in that Court should not be prosecuted the causes for benefices with others appertaining to the Ecclesiastike iurisdiction: That they should not charge the goods of the Church, & exempt places of their temporall dominion, with tenthes or any other sortes of imposition: That they should renounce from the appellation against the admonition, and from all interestes and rights gotten vpon the Church lands in what sort soeuer, but specially from all those prerogatiues and rights by the which they pretended to hold the office of *Vicedomino* in *Ferrara*: That the subiectes of the Church and their vessels may freely traffike through their gulse, and that with such ample facultie, that the marchandise of other nations brought in their bottoms, should not be troubled nor subiect to pay tolls: That it should not be lawfull for them in any sort to medle with *Ferrara*, or any townes of that state which were dependant on the Church: That all couenants and contractes which they had made to the preiudice of the Church, with any the subiectes or vassals of the same, should be cancelled and made voyde: That they should not receiue any Duke, Baron, or other subiect or vassall of the Church, that should be an enemy or rebell to the sea Apostolike: That they should be bound to make restitution of all the moneys which they had exacted vpon the reuenues of the Church, together with reparation of all the harmes which the Church had suffered.

These obligations with the promises and sufficient renuncements, being receiued in the consistorie, the *Venetian* Embassadors at a day appointed according to the auncient examples of times, were brought vnder the portall of the great Church of *S. Peter*, where falling at the Popes feet, being set in his pontificall seate neare the brazen gates, and honoured with the assistants of all the Cardinals & Colledge of Prelats, they asked him pardon in great humilitie, confessing their contumacie and faults past: After this, according to the custome of the Church, were pronounced certaine prayers, & so proceeding to all the other degrees of ceremonies, the Pope receiuing them into grace, gaue them absolution, & enioyned them for penance to go visite the seuen Churches. *The Venetians absolved.* After the action of absolution was done, they entred into *S. Peters* Church, being guided by the great Penitencier: and after they had heard Masse which was denied to them before, they were very honorably accompanied to their houses by many Prelates and Courtiers, not as persons excommunicated and interdicted, but as reconciled Christians and deuout children to the sea Apostolike. Soone after they returned to *Venice*, more loaden with the ceremonies, then made blessed with the vertue of their absolution, leauing behind them at *Rome*, *Hieronimo Donato* one of their number, and who by his vertues and singular facilitie of wit and learning, becoming very agreeable to the Pope, did afterwards great seruice to his countrey in things which he negotiated with him.

The end of the eight booke.

Hh 2



THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

Pope Iulio the second turneth against the French men. The French king and king of Romaines enter league against the Venetians, who besiege Verona. The Pope taketh Mirandola, and makes warre vpon the Duke of Ferrara. The families of Bentiuole returne to Bologna. A Countsell is published at Pisa against the Pope.

“ He mindes of men of their proper inclination are mutable, bearing no
 “ small subiection to passions of enuie, ambition, and glorie: and to great
 “ Princes aspiring to high actions; by so much lesse tollerable is the stroke
 “ of reuolution & chaunge, by how much more the occasions are wrought
 “ directly contrary to their expectations, and do conclude preiudicially a-
 “ gainst their proper imperie and greatnesse. For, as this absolution which
 “ the Pope gaue to the *Venetians*, brought no little griefe to the minde of
 “ *Maximilian*, being so much the more vexed; by how much the action
 was accomplished with a will resolute, and touched him more particularly and principally then
 all the residue: so also the French king, hauing no lesse interest in the harmes that might happen,
 did equally communicate in the perplexities of this alteration, for that he desired for his priuate pro-
 fit that the greatnesse of the *Venetians* should not be eftsouones reestablished: neuerthelesse he
 could not finde out what were the intentions and last endes of the Pope: and therefore feeding
 himselfe with vaine hopes concerning the difficulties of the affaires that were prepared against him,
 he perswaded himselfe that the Pope stirred onely for suspition of his vnitng with *Maximilian*, &
 that temporising with him: and giuing him no occasion of greater feare, he woud passe no further,
 but rest satisfied with the absolution he had giuen: a perswasion much abusing the kings affaires,
 & no lesse farre from the resolution of the Pope, who growing more & more confirmed in his de-
 liberation, and little respecting the declarations and impediments of the confederate Embassadors,
 suffered the subiectes and dependants of the Church to enter into the pay of the *Venetians*, who re-
 ceiuied into intertainemēt *Iohn Paul Bailon* as Generall of their whole companies, standing with-
 out a gouernour by the death of the Count *Petillano*: they tooke also into their wages *Iohn Louis*
 and *Iohn Vitelli*, sonnes to the late *Iohn* and *Camilla*, and made *Ranso de Cere* Colonell of their
 footemen, (holding it a iustice as reasonable to fauour them with this libertie for their temporall
 ayde, as to acquite them of the paynes of the Church, both the one and other respecting one mea-
 ning and matter.) And as in this action he made open declaration that he tooke the *Venetians* in-
 to his protection, so he laboured also to bring them to agreement with *Cesar*, hoping vnder that
 meane not onely to seperate him from the French king, but withall to knit him with himselfe: and
 with the *Venetians* to make warre vpon him: wherein, for the more easie succeeding of this deuise,
 taking his oportunitie vpon the necessities of *Cesar*, he interposed his authoritie to the electours
 of the Empire and the free townes, to the end that in the dyot of *August* there should be no con-
 sent of contribution. But the more he aduanced and vrged this practise, the more he found it of
 hard operation, for that on the one side, *Cesar* would not harken to any motion of agreement, vñ-
 lesse *Verona* might remaine to him: and on the other side, the *Venetians* (in whom the Pope had
 hope of a greater facilitie) perswading themselues to be able to defend *Padoa* in all fortunes, and
 that keeping that Citie, time would fauour them with more occasions, demaunded resolutely the
 “ restitution of *Verona*, offering to pay in recompence a huge summe of money. To a minde dispo-
 “ sed to troubles, nothing is more sweete then the study of vexation: and by how much more plenti-
 fully

fully doth abound the humour of ambition, by so much lesse is limited the desire of oppression, which in mindes corruptly inclined, holds nothing lawfull that may serue to the action pretended, nor any thing vnreasonable that agreeth with the humour of their passion, in whom this is one naturall custome, to conuert all things to his owne proprietie and working. The Pope omitting neither meane nor matter that might giue furtheraunce to his purpose, made secret solicitation to *Henrie* the eight then king of *England*, to raise warre against the French king, wherein enforcing the memorie of the auncient emulations of those two kingdomes, he ioyned to the facilitie of the enterprise, this occasion of the felicitie and successe: that if he would begin to leaue armes against *Fraunce*, the action would take imitation in many others, to whom the puissance and greatnesse of that crowne was either suspected or hated; he forgot not to encourage him to embrace with that deuotion which in other times had bene proper to the kings of *England*, the glory that was offered him to be protectour and preseruer of the sea Apostolike, which, without the aide of his authoritie and rescue, stood in manifest daunger by the ambition of the French king. In this practise the king of *Aragon* did communicate with the Pope, but secretly & not really, vñing perhaps this moderation of mind, not to suffer his desires to be greater thē his fortunes. But that which was of greatest importance, the Pope entertained still with the *Swissers* the negociations which were begun by the Bishop of *Syon*, by whose authoritie (being great with that nation) & perpetuall importunitie labouring their assemblies, and counsels & preaching in their Churches: he obtained at last that the *Swissers*, receiuing euery yeare a thousand *Florins of Rhein* for euery Canton, should be bound to the protection of him & the estate of the Church, with permissiō to the Pope for his defence against all men that would vex him, to leaue certaine proportions of footemen. The occasion that most helped forward this matter, and made his request more easie and plausible, was the disagreement that began to kindle betweene them and the French king: for the *Swissers* being of nature proud and weening, became more raised and lifted vp in minde by the estimation that others had of them, and challenging to themselves peculiarly the glory of the French victories, were caried into this presuming, that all the conquestes and honorable actions which either the king reigning, or his predecessour had obtained in *Italie*, proceeded principally of their valour and the feare of their armes: and thereupon insisting vpon merites, as though the crowne of *Fraunce* ought much to them, they demaunded (the French king soliciting to make renouation of the alliance that now was determined) that he would augment their pensions, being then three-score thousand frankes by yeare, ouer and aboue the merconarie contributions which were secretly dispersed amongst priuat persons; pensions which had bene begun vnder *Lowis* the eleuenth, & continued vnto the present time. But for that they accompanied their demaunds with a presumptuous audacity which the king construed to manifest insolencie, & for that of peasants & mountaine men (such was his phraze) they sought imperiously to impose & taxe him being a king, he began so to shake them off with wordes and countenances, that they might discerne how much he disdaind them, more respecting his dignitie royall, then regarding the present vtilitie of things. He was the more induced to this, for that at the same season by the solicitation of *George Sopressan*, the peoples of the valleys subiectes of *Syon*, who were gouerned in seuen communities which they call Courts, being corrupted by publike promises and priuat pensions, were not onely confederat with him, but also bound to giue passage to his people, and refuse it to his enemies, and withall to enter into his payes with such numbers of footemen as their forces were able to beare. In the same sort did enter confederacie with him, the Lordes of the three leagues, whom they call the *Grisons*: and albeit one part of the men of the valley had not yet approued it, the king was not without hope to induce them to ratification by the selfe same meanes: in so much as he began to perswade himselfe that the amitie of the *Swissers* was now no more necessarie to him, hauing determination to supply his warres with *Almain* footemen, ouer and besides those proportions of souldiers which the valley-men & *Grisons* should furnish him of. Besides, he feared little their stirres or preparations, & lesse expectatiō that they were able to assaile the Duchie of *Millan* but by the straits of *Ballinsona*, and other passages of great difficultie: through the which, if they should march in great troupes and numbers, he made his reckning that they would be easily reduced into necessitie of victuals by a small armie: and if they came but in small companies, a slender strength would likewise suffice to make them retire. Wherein he made his coniectures at random, and seemed to limit the fortunes of the whose forces yet he knew not, flattering himself with his proper greatnes: an humour,

preiudicially mouing in Princes, in whom there ought to be no partialitie of comparifon, when there is question of enterprise and action: because he stood refolute not to graunt them augmentation of penfions, he could not obtaine in their counfels a renouation of the alliance, notwithstanding there were many men in the middest of them, who did earnestly perfwade it, to whom in particular were retributed no small rewards: and for that cause they consented more easly to the confederation which was demanded of them by the Pope. By which new confederation the Pope seeming to haue layed a great foundation for the aduancing of his purposes: and hauing a perpetuall nature to proceede in all things as supreme & foueraigne aboue all men, and as though the whole world were in necessitie to receiue lawes of him, he began to sow feedes of new controuerfies with the Duke of *Ferrara*, either pushed on by the cause that was in difputation betweene them, or else by an auncient hatred, for that hauing receiued of him so many honors, benefites, and gratifications, he seemed neuerthelesse to depend more vpon the French king then vpon him: a dealing which he construed preiudicially and farre contrary to the recompence of his merites. But whatfoeuer was the cause, searching a beginning of the quarrell, he commaunded imperiously *Alphonso* Duke of *Ferrara* to forbear to continue the working of salt at *Comacchio*: he alleged that it was not reasonable that that which was not lawfull to him when the *Venetians* held *Cerua*, should now haue sufferance being possessed by the sea Apostolike, to whom appertained the absolute gouernement of *Ferrara* and *Comacchio*. Besides, it was a matter of great profite, for that the working ceassing at *Comacchio*, the saltpittes of *Cerua* ministred traffike to all the townes thereabouts. But Duke *Alphonso*, who reposed more in the coiunction which he had with the French king & in his protection, then he feared the Popes forces, gaue small obedience to this commaundement: he complained that he should be constrained not to reape the fruite which grew to him in his proper house with small labour, & to be driuen to buy of another for the vsage of his peoples, the ware whereof he had enough to replenish forreine countreys, alleaging withall, that that ought not to be enforced for an example, which the *Venetians* had made him consent vnto, more by compulsion of armes then by condition of iustice. Which reasons little auayed to content the Pope: who eftsoones sent to protest to him vnder great paines and accursings to discontinue that worke: such were the thoughtes and actions of the Pope, inclined altogether to raise vp and support the *Venetians*. But on the other side *Cesar* & the French king thirsted not a little after their embacement, with desire to diminish their authoritie & greatnesse. And much being discontented with the demonstrations which the Pope expressed on their behalfe, they drew into a more strayte alliance and intelligence one with another, concluding to inuade the *Venetians* that sommer with huge forces: for the better aduancing of which expedition, the contract bare, that the French king for his part should send *Monsieur Chaumont* with a strong army, whereunto should be ioyned the Launceknights that lay at *Verona*. And *Cesar* for his part, should make entry into the countrey of *Friul* with those leauies of men & munitions which he hoped to obtaine of the Empire in the dyet of *Auspurge*: and hauing accomplished that actiō, he was to proceede to other enterprises according to the estate of occasions and time. They solicited the Pope to ioyne with them according to the bonde of the league of *Cambray*, holding it but iust to summon him to performe that which he had so willingly promised: but he who was no lesse discontented with that motion, then hauing a capacite searching aboue the wit of other men, made answer that he was no more bound to that confederation which hath had already his perfection, seeing it had bin in the power of *Cesar* to haue first *Trenis*, and afterwarde a satisfaction & recompence in money. *Cesar* likewise solicited to haue succours from the king Catholike, both by vertue of the same capitulations of *Cambray*, and also vnder couenants and promises made particularly with him, at such time as he consented to him the gouernement of *Castille*: but this solicitation, as it bare a forme of request to ayde him rather with money, then with men, so the king of *Aragon* whom it imported much not to disfurnish himselfe of the thing whereof he had most neede, made answer that he would send him foure hundred Launces: A strength of little profite for *Cesar*, for that aswell in the French army, as in his owne campe, the seruice on horsebacke was plentifully furnished. About this time the Citie of *Verona* liued in great afflictions vnder the souldiers that garded it, who, for that they were not payed, drew into secret conspiracie with certaine *Venetian* bandes, by whom they thought to worke some trayterous stratageme: for which purpose the *Venetians* issuing out of *S. Bomsace*, approached the Citie by night to scale the Castell of *S. Peter*: and as they were entred *S.*

The league of
Cesar and the
French king
against the
Venetians.

Georges gate, whilest they taried to fasten their ladders together (for that being single they sufficed not to reach to the highest of the wall) either they were heard by the warders of the Castell of *S. Felix*, or in their feare they seemed to heare a brute of armed men. And as in matter of enterprise imagination abuseth much, so whether they feared their owne shadows, or whether they doubted that to be indeede which was but a vision in their timorous fantasies, they suddenly retired, leauing behind them their ladders as testimonies of their feare and intention, leauing to the enemy to doubt much of their valour, that in so faire an oportunity forooke the felicitie that their fortune had prepared. The armie retired forthwith to *S. Boniface*, and at *Verona* the conspiracie comyng to detection, many were passed ouer to iustice and punishment, though some found fauour more by clemencie then their proper innocencie.

In this season the Pope expressed certaine inclinations to be eftsoones reunited with the French king, not of good will, but for feare: for that *Maximilian* summoned him with braue messages to lend him two hundred thousand duckets, threatning that otherwise he would ioyne with the French king against him: another reason of his feare was a brute that was spread, that in the Dyot of *Auspurge* it was agreed to minister to him a strong succour, and also the peace had bene newly established betweene the kings of *England* and *France*, and published with great solemnitie. By reason of these feares, he began to treat with great diligence with *Albert de Carpie*, whom till that day, he had intertained with wordes & hopes generall, vsing in all his actions of negociation more art then true meaning, and lesse fidelitie then faire resemblance. But besides the mutabilitie of his owne nature, the variation of occasiōs made him not dwell long in that resolutiō: both for that the Parliament of *Auspurge* (without the forces and aydes of which there was no great reckening to be made of the threates of *Caesar*) not answering expectation, determined for him no other succours, then a supply of three hundred thousand Florins of *Rhein*, whereof his prodigalities had already made great wastes: And also the king of *England* signified that he had set downe an article in the peace, expressing that it should be no peace as often as the French king should offend the state of the Church. In regard of these things, the Pope reentred into new stomacke, and returning eftsoones to his former thoughtes, he began to heape new complaints against the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, he sayd, that since it was suffered to the subiectes of the Church to sayle & traffike freely through the gulfes of *Venice*, had imposed new tributes vpon the goods which were brought to *Venice* by the riuier of *Pau*: A taxatiō which the Pope alleaged that the vassall could not leauy (according to the interpretation of the lawes) without licēce of the Lord paramount, & withall it was a thing that brought great preiudice to the people of *Bologna*, who were his subiectes: for which consideration he made instance that they might be deposed, threatning that otherwise he would bring warre vpon him. Wherein to giue him a greater feare, he caused to march his bandes of men of warre into the countrey of *Bologna* and into *Romana*. These things troubled not a little the minde of the French king being loath on the one side to fall at oddes with the Pope, and on the other side he felt himselfe touched in honour and conscience to leaue abandoned the Duke of *Ferrara*, to whose protection he had bound himselfe by receiuing thirty thousand duckets. No lesse was he moued with the regard of his proper profite, for that Duke *Alphonso* depending wholly vpon him, and fleeing so much the more to his deuotion, by how much he saw him persecuted by the Pope, he esteemed it his proper interest to preferue him, and for that cause he interposed his deputies with the Pope to sollicite some accord betweene them. But it seemed iust to the Pope that the king should withdraw himselfe from that protection, alleaging that he had taken it vpon him against the capitulations of *Cambray*, by the which (made yader colour to render to the Church that which was vsurped) it was forbidden that none of the confederates should take into protection any that was named by another, and that for his part, he had named the Duke of *Ferrara*: and moreouer it was defended that no one of them should haue any action with things appertaining to the Church. He alleaged that the like also was confirmed in the confederation made particularly betweene them at *Biagrasso*, wherein was exprefly prouided that the king should not take into his protection any estate depending of the Church, & should aswell refuse to take them hereafter, as also cancell and make voyde all protections which he had accepted heretofore. To which adiections notwithstanding it was answered for the king, that by the same conuention it was prouided, that the king should haue power to dispose of the Bishoprikes on this side the Mountes as he listed, which the Pope had violated in the first auoydance that fell; as likewise he

The Pope
threateneth the
Duke of Ferr-
rara.

had broken in fauour of the *Venetians*, the capitulations made at *Cambray*, by which euasions the king was at libertie not to obserue the thing he had promised: yet because he would not come to armes with the pope for the quarrel of the duke of *Ferrara*, he offered cōditions, by the which, not offending directly his honour, the Pope in a great part might rest satisfied touching the interests which the Church & he pretended against Duke *Alphōse*: & besides, he was cōtented to bind himselfe by promise (according to the Popes request) that the French armies should not passe the riuer of *Paw*, but for the protection of the *Florentins* whereunto he was bound, & to molest *P. Petrusio Iohn* & *Paul Baillon*, vnder colour of money promised by the one, and detained by the other.

Monsieur
Chaumont a-
gainst the Ve-
netians.

Whilest these things were in action, *Monsieur Chaumont* aduanced with an army of fifteene hundred Launces, and ten thousand footmen of many nations, amongst whom were certaine regiments of *Swissers* priuately leauied, and not by permission of the Cantons, & followed with great proportions of artilleries, with certaine bridges prepared to passe riuers: hauing also ioyned with him the Duke of *Ferrara* with two thousand men at armes, fiue hundred light horsemen, and two thousand footmen. With these cōpanies he tooke in the meane while without any impedimēt, *Po-lisena de Ronigno*, a peece which the *Venetians* had abandoned; and taking also the tower *Margusano* standing vpon the riuer of *Adice* towards *Padoa*, he marched on to *Castelbaldo*, and had at the first summo the townes of *Montagnano* and *Este*, the one appertaining to *Alphonso d'Este*, by graunt from *Maximilian*, & the other giuen to him in gage. *Alphonso* after he had recouered these townes, sent backe his regimēts vnder colour to encounter certaine galleis of the *Venetians*, which floted vpon the riuer of *Paw*. By the imitation of *Chaumont*, the Prince of *Hanaw Maximilians* Lieutenaunt, marched in like sort out of *Verona* with three hundred French Launces, two hūdred men at armes, & three thousand *Alman* footmen, & ioyning with *Chaumont*, he followed him alwayes within one remoue of his campe. They left behind the *Montselice* holden for the *Venetians*, & marched towards the cōitrey of *Vincenza*, where *Lonigna* & the whole cōuntry yeelded without resistance: for that the *Venetian* army cōtaining fixe hundred men at armes, foure thousand light horsemē & stradiots, & eight thousand footmen vnder *Iohn P. Baillon* Generall, & *Andrew Gritti* treasurer, hauing first abandoned *Swano*, & alwayes retiring into places of suretie according as the enemy aduāced, & lastly hauing bestowed sufficiēt garrison within *Trenisa*, & a thousand footmē within *Adestro*, they were retired to the *Brentelli*, a place within three myles of *Padoa*, & of great suretie for their incamping, both for that the cōuntry is full of hils and risings, and the place it selfe standeth inuironed with the waters of these three riuers *Brento*, *Brentello*, & *Bagnillon*: Such is the frayltie of mans nature, that the suddennesse of perill is more terrible then the daunger it selfe: and by how much it happeneth to a multitude vngouerned, by so much it seemes more desperate, for that when their miudes are once possessed with feare, there is no place for confidence and resolution, and all hopes are turned into doubts, their extremitie making them timorous, which ought to make them resolute. The poore people of *Vincenza*, for that the armie was thus retired, finding the selues no lesse abandoned, then altogether vnable to defend their estate, and seeing that their fortune had left them no other hope the such as they might expect in the mercy of the victors, which they supposed they might more graciously obtaine by the meane and working of *Monsieur Chaumont*: they sent to him to demaunde safeconduit to adresse Embassadours to him and the Prince of *Hanaw*, which being graunted, they presented themselues in forme and aspect pitiful, and full of sorow and feare afore them, both being then at the bridge of *Barberano* ten myles from *Vincenza*. Their attire representing the lamentable conditio of their fortune, and their other dolefull circumstances, bearing a preface of sorow and languishing mindes, moued pitie in such as came prepared to spoyle them, and inclined to grace euen those that afore had determined their destruction. So effectually worketh the consideration of miserie in mindes tractable to compassion. The chiefe of the Embassage, being the mouth of the residue, was licensed to speake in this sort in the preface of all the Captaines and principals of the armie.

This Question may be asked in the consideration of our present condition, which is least hurtfull, either to be extreme miserable, without the threats and feare of fortune, or to be in full prosperitie which alwayes stands subiect to diminution and falling. And since there is a diuine power that hath bin appointed frō the beginning to guide all our mortall accidēt, me thinkes that that man erreth lesse who promisseth to himselfe a chaunge of the affaires of this world, then he that perswadeth that they are alwayes firme & stable: the same being a comfort to earthly men (if any thing could mode-

moderate their frayle passions) not to hold those things grieuous which both can not be auoyded, and also are sent for our better reformation and necessarie correction. If it were knowne to any of this honorable presence (at whose feet I speake now much this Citie of *Vincenza* (heretofore enuied of her neighbours for her riches and felicitie) hath suffered, since more by error, and rashnesse of her inhabitants, and haply more by a certaine fatal disposition then through other occasion, she returned vnder the iurisdiction of the *Venetians*, together with the intollerable harmes and domages she hath receiued: we beleue (and your gracious aspectes assure no lesse) that in your harts will be greater the compassion of our miseries, then the hatred for the memorie of our rebellion, if rebellion may be imposed vpon the error of that night, wherein our people, drawne into vniuersall confusion, for that the armie of our enemy had forced the suburbs of *Posello*, not to rebell nor to flee from the easie gouernement of *Cesar*, but to deliuer our selues from the sadde and extreme afflictions of other Cities, did send our Embassadours to compounde with the enemy. To which action our multitudes and peoples not accustomed to armes, and lesse acquainted with the daungers of warre, were altogether pushed on by the authoritie of *Fracasso*, a Captaine, who experienced in so many seuerall warres, and appointed of *Cesar*, either by subtiltie or by feare (a matter not appertaining to vs to search) gaue vs counsell to sollicite an accord for the safetie of our wiues, our children, and our poore afflicted countrey: The same making it manifest that no ill impression of minde, but onely feare increased through the authoritie of such a Captaine, was the cause, not that we did determine by long counsell, but rather that in a very small computation of time, in so great a tumult, and in so fearefull a noyse of armes & artilleries thundring, whose terrour vanquished our resolution, we ranne rashly vnder the rule of the *Venetians*, the felicitie and power of whom were not such as we ought either to feare the one or affect the other. Our condition was not to expect or temporise, for that the enemy was incamped in the places which the strength which was left for our succours had newly abandoned: and as in communalities or multitudes the hope that is deferred maketh their harts to languish: so the long continuance of miseries sufficeth euen to shake the mindes of the most assured. Men not accustomed to aduersities, haue least rule ouer their passions, and such as neuer liued but in securitie, haue least temperance to beare a chaunge. Faultes done by necessitie bring with them their proper pardon. And as you are not now to doubt of the difference betweene faults committed by feare and error, and offences proceeding of fraude and ill intention: so neuerthelesse, though our fortune moue you to interpret our rebellion not to feare, but to will, and that so vile an action was begun by counsell and consent vniuersall, and not through confusion and vnbridled rashnesse of a few, whom neither counsell nor authoritie could repress, and be it lastly that the transgressions of this wretched Citie were altogether inexcusable: yet our calamities haue bene so great since that accursed reuolt, that we may truly say, that the punishment without all comparison hath bene greater then the fault: for within our wals, the garrison souldiers that were left for our safetie and comfort, turned themselues into the habit of aduersaries, doing all things to the aggrauation of our miseries, not sparing to spoyle those goods that were left vs for our reliefe and succour. And without, we haue not bene free from all those sortes of harmes which warre and hostilitie are wont to draw with them, our afflictions being so much the more grieuous and great, by how much the war hath bene continuall without intermission: we haue nothing remaining in this miserable countrey which carieth any memorie of the riches, delight, or felicitie thereof: All the houses of our possessions are burned, all our woods cut downe and wasted, all our fields and gardens defaced, and all our infinite herds of cattell driuen away and deuoured. This is the second yeare that we haue bene driuen to reape our hauest afore the time, that we haue had no securitie to sow our seedes, and lesse season to gather our fruites, yea the seueritie of the time hath left vs no hope, that this countrey so generally destroyed, can be euer readressed. Our miseries are come to these desperate termes & limites, that what with the needefull supportation of our liues, and to furnish the intollerable exactions which our necessities haue imposed vpon vs, all that remaineth either of our hidden treasure or common store, is farre insufficient to nourish the liues of our wiues, children, and our selues, to whom remaineth nothing but a miserable spectacle of the happinesse wherein we haue liued. If the present state of our countrey were now objected to any that had seene and knowne it before, and our calamities present measured with our felicities passed, I know it would stirre vp motions of pitie & compassion, euen in the mindes of enemies, considering specially that this Citie (albeit it hath small cir-

cuite) which was wont to be replenished with inhabitants, stately in maiestie and presence, rich
 through magnificence of buildings and pallaces, an assured and free retraite for all straungers, a
 Citie reioycing in friendships, societies, & gratulations, to be now made voyde of dwellers, poore
 in the presence and countenances of men and women, no place left for hospitalitie, no one man
 able to feede his familie for one moneth, and in place of stately feasts, meetings, and banquets, no-
 thing left but penurie, desolation, & teare to shew friendship, men sighing in the sorowes of their
 wiues and children, whom they cannot comfort, and women wayling the seueritie of their com-
 mon deslinie. And these calamities (oh gracious Prince of *Hanaw*) would be yet greater, if we co-
 sidered not that on your vertuous will dependeth either the last desolation of our afflicted coun-
 try, or the hope that once againe vnder the wings of *Cesar*, guided by your high wisdom and cle-
 mencie, we might lift vp our heades, not to be restored (for that agreeth not with our merite and
 fortune) but consuming our liues to the vttermost, to auoyd at least an extreame and last destru-
 ction: a grace which we so much the more expect and hope for, by how much your affabilitie &
 easinesse is knowne to vs, wherein we doubt not but you will resemble and imitate *Cesar*, with
 whose examples of clemencie all *Europe* is replenished. All our wealth is consumed, all our hopes
 determined, all our fortunes layd at your feete, there remaineth nothing else to vs but our liues and
 persons, against the which to vse crueltie, were neither profit to *Cesar*, nor prayse to you: for, as
 that benefite is vniust that is purchased with the hurt of another, so that glorie can not be without
 infamie, that is won with the punishment of men in miserie. Clemencie is as great a vertue as ius-
 tice, and nature hath sown in men aswell seeds of pitie & forgiuenesse, as of cruelty & reuenge, &
 hath enioyned Princes aboue all other creatures, to beare an infinite regard to the dignitie of ver-
 tue. We beseech you with teares, which it may please you to imagine to be mingled with the mi-
 serable complaints of euery sexe, of euery age, & of euery order that is within this city, to make the
 wretched & desolate state of *Vincenza* an example to all others of the clemencie of the *Almain* Em-
 pire: call to your honorable memories the pitie and magnanimitie of your renowned elders, who
 being victorious in *Italie*, preferued the Cities that were vnited & confederate, many of them chuf-
 sing those seats for their proper dwellings, & from thence, to the singular glory of the *Almain* race,
 are descended so many noble houses in *Italie*, as *Gonsaguo*, *Catraro*, & *Escalo*, who somtimes were
 our Lordes. Let *Vincenza* serue at one time for example, both that the *Venetians* ayded and sup-
 ported by vs in our lesser daungers, haue cowardly and dishonorably left it abandoned in the
 greatest perils and necessitie of defence that euer could happen: & on the other side that the *Al-*
maines, in whom was some reason to distresse vs, haue ioyned remission to our offences, and both
 frankly & gloriously preferued vs whom by due iustice they might haue put to punishment. The
 punishment of one only is not cruelty, but the calamities of many. That Prince that lookes strict-
 ly vpon the offences of his people, cannot be called mercifull, but rigorous: & hauing an example
 in the dealing of God with sinners, if he looke straitly vpon offendours, who can abide it? We ap-
 peale also to you oh inuincible Lord *Chaumont*, to take vs into your protection: looke backe to
 the example of your king, whose clemencie was greater to them of *Millan* and *Genoway*, drawne
 into reuolt without necessitie, then was their fault which was both voluntarie and vaine: but after
 they had found his clemencie greater then their transgression, & that his pardon preuailing aboue
 their offences, he had reclaimed them by so great a benefite as to giue them life, he could neuer af-
 ter finde any fault in their fidelitie and seruice. Seueritie keepes men in obedience, but it is by com-
 pulsion, which is seruite: but clemencie winneth the heart & affection, which confirmeth the sure-
 tie of the Prince. Oh Prince of *Hanaw*, if the preferuation of *Vincenza* turne nothing to the pro-
 fit of *Cesar*, at the least it will bring him glory, remaining as a perpetuall example of his benigni-
 tie. If he destroy it, it can serue him to no vse, and the seueritie which he vseth to vs will be grie-
 uous to all *Italie*. Clemencie will make acceptable to all men the name of *Cesar*, and as in actions
 of warre and managing of an armie, he is knowne to haue great affinitie with the auncient *Cesar*,
 so in being easie to pardon where he hath power to punish, his clemencie will make him equall
 with *Cesar* in all those vertues, which haue made his name perpetuall to all posterities. *Vincenza*
 that flourishing and auncient Citie, and heretofore the seate of nobilitie, lyeth now prostrate at
 your feete: she expecteth from you either her preferuation or destruction, her life or death: take
 pitie of so many innocent persons, so many vnfortunate women, and so many guiltlesse children,
 who in that lamentable night full of follie and error, medled with nothing, and now with plaints
 and

and waylings expect your deliberation. To pardon many for the offence of one, is the office of a pitifull Prince, but to punish many for the fault of one, can not but hold of tyrannie. Consider that what is done by force and necessitie, brings with it a sufficient reason of excuse. In which regard we kisse your knees, & as well with the repentance of the offendours, as with the innocencie of the guiltlesse, & lastly with the humilitie and submission of this whole afflicted state, we beseech you pronounce at last that reuiuing voyce of mercie and clemencie, through the which our wretched Citie comming to receiue a new life, shall call you alwayes her right worthy preseruer & patron.

Such is the obstinacie of a minde once iustly iniured, that neither the pitifull phrase of this Oration, nor the sorowful aspect of the speaker lying prostrate at his feete, and much lesse the compassion of so wretched a citie, could moderate the mind of the Prince of *Hanaw*, whose felicitie making him insolent, and his authoritie cruell, he could not so much commaund ouer his passions, as to make his wordes lesse cruell then his deedes, making by the mouth of a Doctor this rigorous and vncomfortable answer.

Thinke not that either the power of your perswasions, or other respect of your dissembled sorowes, can suffice to wipe out of memorie the faults you haue committed against the maiestie of the name of *Cesar*, without any regard to his greatnesse or dignitie, and lesse respect to the honor wherein you were receiued by him: you haue by common counsell and consent of the whole Citie, called into your towne the *Venetian* armie, who forcing the suburbs with great difficultie, distrusted to take it, and began to go away: you called them in against the will of the Prince that represented the person of *Cesar*: you constrained that Prince to retire into the Castell, and in the furie of your rebellion haue sacked the artilleries & munitions of *Cesar*: you haue torne in peeces his pauillions displayed in honour of his victories in so many warres and triumphes. These insolencies were not done by the souldiers of the *Venetians*, but the people of *Vincenza* haue defiled their loyalty, discouering their violent thirst after the blood of the *Almaines*: it was not long of you that the *Venetian* armie tooke not *Verona*, which they had done, if knowing the occasion, they had followed the victorie: this happened not by the counsell or perswasion of *Fracasso*, who abused by your flanders, hath expressed clearly his innocencie: it was an effect of your wicked mindes, it moued by a poysoned impression of hatred, which without cause you beare to the *Almain* name: your offences are so haynous, as there is no place left for pardō or merite: the despite of the iniurie you haue done, maketh double the desire of reuēge: it was not your errors that made you offend, but your wicked inclinations: and therefore to vse clemencie to you, would be both hurtfull & infamous, for that you would returne to your vomite vpon euery occasion: and the harmes you haue receiued, haue not bin for a punishment & scourge of your faults, but for that you would obstinately perseuer in rebellion. And now that the *Venetians* haue abandoned you, you haue no other remedie to defend you, but to implore the pitie of *Cesar*, whom you haue betrayed. The Prince was determined not to heare you, following the intention and commission of *Cesar*, and yet he hath not denied you audience, satisfying the will of the Lord *Chaumont*: but he will not change the sentence, which since the first day of your rebellion hath remained fixed in the minde of *Cesar*: he will not receiue you otherwise, then to discretion for your goods, your honours, and your liues: and hope not that he will do that to shew you the more clemencie, but the better to make you serue for example of punishment to such as accursedly breake their faith to their soueraigne Prince.

The seueritie of this answer did not a little amaze the aggriued people of *Vincenza*, who seeing to suffer a generall priuation of all sence and feeling, began eftsoones with a new estate of feares and sorow, to recommend them to the mercy of him in whom they discerned nothing more ready then a disposition to reuēge: but being repulsed by the same Doctor, rebuking them with wordes more bitter and fierce then the first, they stood more desperate then before, expressing by their lookes which they cast vpon *Monsieur Chaumont*, how much they hoped in him, and how grieuously wrought in them the sharpe answers of the Doctor: *Chaumont* encouraged them to obey necessitie, and in giuing themselues wholly vp to the will of the Prince, to seeke to appease his wrath: he comforted them in the singular humanitie and curtesie of *Cesar*, in whom being a Prince of so noble race, and an excellent Captaine, was not to be expected that he would do a thing vnworthy of his name and vertue: he willed them not to be amased with the seuerie answer that was made, but sayd it serued better for their turne that noble and free mindes

The Vincen-
sins yeeld to
discretion.

should sometimes burst out sharpe and biting wordes; for that deliuering by that meane some part of their anger, the rigour of their doings was thereby somewhat the more abated; he offered to do all that he could to moderate the minde of the Prince, so farre forth as they would preuent the worst by humbling themselves simply to his discretion: by whose counsell and consideration of their owne necessitie, the poore afflicted *Vincensins* falling estoones prostrate on the ground, referred absolutely both their honours, liues, and Citie to the power of him, in whom they could yet discern no hope of mercy. Then *Monsieur Chaumont* began to sollicite for them, declaring to the Prince, that in chastising them he was to respect more the greatnesse and glory of *Cesar*, then the qualitie of their offence: That he should not set downe such an example to others that were to fall into the like faults, least despairing to obtaine mercy, they would become obstinate to the extremitie: That clemencie had alwayes brought forth to Princes good will, suretie and reputation, where crueltie was the cause of disobedience, distrust, and conspiracie, not taking away (as many vndiscretly beleue) impediments and difficulties, but rather serued as working instruments to redouble them and make them greater. Lastly he told him that it was worthy the vertue of a noble Prince, to forbear to strike when he had power to do it, and not by correction to increase the affliction of such as are sufficiently punished with the remorse of their proper transgressions: his authoritie accompanied with the petition of many others, together with the miserable waylings of the *Vincensins*, ranged the Prince at last to this moderation, to promise them safetie of life, the disposition of all their goods remaining wholly at his will: a booteie greater in opinion then in effect, for that the Citie was left almost no lesse desolate of men then of goods. The *Almaines* in this license of warre searching after pray and spoyle, vnderstood that many of the towne and countrey were withdrawne with their goods into two caues in a certaine mountaine neare to *Vincensa* called the gutter of *Masano*, where by the strength of the place, and difficultie to enter, they supposed to find securitie, or at least to be free fro the furie of the souldiers. Thither went many troupes of the *Almaines* to make pillage of the Caues, & being not able after long triall and many harmes, to force such as were within the great Caue, they went to the lesser, where making a vaine experience of their strength, they vsed at last the meane of fires; and by the benefite of the smoake carried it, with the losse of more then a thousand persons: Such are the insolencies of souldiers, when is no authoritie to bridle their furie, and libertie hath law to ouercome discipline.

Vincensa being taken in this maner, greater difficulties appeared in other things, carying more respect and importance then was expected in the beginning: for, not onely *Maximilian* did not stirre against the *Venetians* as he had promised, but also the regimets which he had in *Italy* diminished continually for want of pay: in so much as *Monsieur Chaumont* was constrained, to stay himselfe vpon the garding of *Vincensa*, much lesse that he was able to, execute any other enterprise, the incertainties of the Emperour standing as great impediments to his valour, & most preiudiciall to the commo fortune of them, both. Neuerthelesse he determined to go incampe before *Legnago*, a towne of such speciall regard, that if it were not taken, all that had bene done till that day serued to nothing. The riuer of *Adice* passeth by the towne of *Legnago*, & the lesser part of the same which they call the haue is towards *Montagnana*, where the *Venetians* not reposing so much in the strength of the towne & valour of the defenders, as in the oportunitie & impediments of the waters, had cut the riuer in one place: and in another portion of the banke where is the greater part of the towne, they had cut it in two places, so as the riuer comming falling through those trenches, and so spread it selfe by many armes into the lowest places, had so couered the countrey about, that standing drowned for many monethes, it was almost become a marish: it hapned that the rashnesse and disorder of the *Venetian* bands, partly made these difficulties lesser: for, *Monsieur Chaumont* comming to incampe with his armie at *Minerua* three myles fro *Legnago*, & hauing sent before certaine of his horsemen and footmen, who as they would haue passed the last arme of the water which was within halfe a myle of *Legnago*, they encountred the bands of the footmen which kept the ward of *Porto*, who were issued out to stop them of passage. But the foote bands of the *Gassons* and *Spaniards* rushing resolutely into the water vp to the brest, repulsed them, and pursued them with such valour and furie, that they entred with them pelmell into *Porto*, very few of the footemen of that place being saued, for that as some were slaine in flying, so the greater part that sought into *Legnago*, were drowned as they would haue passed the riuer of *Adice*. This successe caused *Monsieur Chaumont* to leaue his campe at *Minerua*, going the same night

night to lodge within *Porto* : and after he had caused to traylor vnder the water, the great artillery which the firme bottome of earth did sustaine, he caused the labourers and pioners the same night to fill vp and choke the trench of the riuer. And knowing that on that side to *Porto*, *Leguaguo* was inexpugnable for the largenes of the riuer, so great, that scarcely could they fight on that side, (notwithstanding betwene *Leguaguo* & *Porto* for that it is compassed with the hills, it is not so large as below) he commaunded to prepare a bridge for the artillery & greatest part of the armie to passe on the other side : but finding the boats & barks which he had caused to be brought thither, not to suffice for the largenesse of the riuer, he incamped neare the riuer vpon the opposite of *Leguaguo*, making to passe by the benefit of the boats & barks to the other side of *Adice*, Capitaine *Molard* with foure thousand *Gascon* footemen and fixe peeces of artillery : as soone as they were ouer the riuer, they began on both sides the riuer to batter the bastillion which was vpon the rising of a hill at the point of the towne, on that side aboue : and hauing battred a great part of it, notwithstanding the defendants expressed great office and valour in reenforcing, yet the night following, the treasurer of the *Venetian* campe, hauing more feare of his enemy then hope or confidence in his owne people, withdrew himself suddely into the castell with certaine *Venetian* Gentlemen. As soone as it was day and their retiring vnderstood ; the Capitaine of the footemen that guarded the bastillion, rendred it to *Molard*, their liues and goods saued, which neuertheless was not obserued, for that when he was come out, he and his footemen were stripped by the souldiers of the campe : a licence contrary to the law and reputation of armes. By the example of the bastillion the towne was immediatly put to sacke by Capitaine *Molard*, & the bands of footemen who guarded another bastillion made on the other point of the towne, fled through the marish, leauing their armour and weapons in entring the water. Thus *Leguaguo* by the cowardise of such as were within it, was conquered with a more ready facilitie and speede then either was expected or imagined, the cowardise on the one part giuing as great oportunitie to the victory, as the valour of the other side. The castell made no greater resistance then the towne, for, the bulwarkes and defences being executed the day following by the artillery, & beginning to vndermine one side of a tower with intention afterwards to giue fire to it, they within fearing the perill which yet was but in demonstration, yelded themselues with condition that the Gentlemen of *Venice* remaining in the power of *Monsieur Chaumont*, the souldiers should depart with a white rod in their hands : fortune in this victorie mixed the felicitie of *Monsieur Chaumont* with some bitter composition, for that in that place he had aduertisement of the death of his Vncle the Cardinall *Amboise*, by whose great authoritie and regiment with the French king, he, hauing bene already raised to high promotions and honours, hoped still to be lifted vp higher, and receiue farre greater aduancements : such a busie humour is ambition, for that in whom it ruleth, it makes them hard to be contented with things that they haue, since that which they haue gotten doth not content them, so long as they hope to haue better : for that the *Almans* had not then sufficient souldiers to leaue within *Leguaguo*, *Chaumont* resupplied their garrison with an hundred Launces & a thousand footemen, and so giuing licence to the *Grisons* and *Valesiens* (footemen mercenarie in this seruice) he prepared to returne with the residue of his army to the Duchy of *Millan*, following the commandement of the king, who would no more entertaine so great expences. Of this armie, for that the prouisiōs on *Cesars* part answered not the promises that were made, there came no effect of importance (their fortune offering to bring to passe the things that either their policie could not foresee, or their valour durst not attempt.) Neuertheless the king sent a new commandement to *Chaumont* to stay yet for the whole moneth of Iune, for that *Cesar*, being then come to *Yprinch*, no lesse replenished with difficulties according to his custome, then perplexed with plots & hopes, made instance that he should not depart, promising from houre to houre that he would passe into *Italie*. About which time the *Almans* desiring to recouer *Marosiquo*, *Citadella*, *Basciano* and other peeces thereabouts, to make the descending of *Cesar* more easie on that side, *M. M. Chaumont* with his armie encamped at *Lungaro* vpon the riuer of *Bagnillon*, to the end to stop the *Venetian* companies for entring into *Vincenza* (very weake in garrison) & that they should not oppose against the *Almans* : but, being there aduertised that the *Venetians* were retired to *Padoa*, the *Almans* ioyning theselues of new with him, they went to the *Torricelli* vpon the high way that leadeth fro *Vincenza* to *Padoa*, & fro thence leauing *Padoa* on the right had, they marched to *Citadella* with no little discōmoditie of victuals, being troubled by the light horsemen that were within

Padoa, and much more by such as were at *Monfeliçe*: *Citadella* yeelded without resistance, by whose example also *Marostico*, *Basciano*, with other peeces thereabouts abandoned by the *Venetians*, came to composition. In so much as things being dispatched on that side, the armies returned to the *Torricelli*, and leaving *Padoa* on the right hand, and taking towards the mountaine on the left hand, they encamped about *Brento* a neare to the mountaine within ten miles of *Vincenza*: the chief reason why they went to that place, was, for that the *Almaines* desired to occupie *Escalo*, a passage very conuenient for the regiments that were to come out of *Germanie*, & a peece that only of all other places from *Trenisa* to *Vincenza*, remained in the hands of the *Venetians*: from this place the Prince of *Hanaw* being departed with his *Almaines* and an hundred French Launces, tooke the way of *Escalo*, which was xxv. myles from thence: but he could passe no further, for that the peasants and countrey people, bearing an incredible affection to the *Venetians*, and such as being prisoners sticke not to offer their bodies to torments and death rather then to denie them or to speake ill of them, had taken many passages in the mountaine. And after he had obtained by composition *New-castell* which is also a passage of the mountaine, he returned to the incamping place about *Brento*, hauing sent by another way towards *Escalo*, many of his footemen, who, according to his direction forsooke the way of *Basciano*, to auoyd *Conolo* which is a strong passage in the mountaines there, and taking the tower more low by the way of *Feliro*, they found a very few people within *Feliro*, which they sacked and burned, and so tooke the way to *Escalo*, which, with the passage of *Conolo*, they found abandoned. About that time also the ruines were nothing lesse in the countrey of *Friul*, for that being sometimes assailed by the *Venetians*, and sometimes inuaded by the *Almaines*, now defended and eftsoones pillaged by the Gentlemen of the countrey, this day aduancing, and that day declining according to occasions and times, there was secne in euery place nothing more then dead carcasses of men: townes sacked, and fortresses burned. And as the calamities that a war draweth with it be infinite, so it hapned oftentimes that the places which had bene first sacked by one armie, was eftsoones burned by the other, and except certaine strong peeces, all the residue of the countrey put to miserable destruction. But because in those actions there was nothing done worthy of memory, it would be no lesse superfluous to recount the particularities, then trouble some to vnderstand so many variable reuolutions which brought forth no effect importing the substance of the warre.

Conuention betweene Caesar and the French king.

The time now approching that the French armie should depart, there was made this new conuention betweene *Caesar* and the French king, that his armie should yet continue for the moneth following, with couenant that the extraordinary expences such as ranne ouer and aboue the payes of the bands which the king had defrayed till that time, should be payed hereafter by *Caesar*, together with the regiments of the footemen for that moneth. But because *Caesar* was not then prouided of money, the rate and summe should be set downe of those expences, and the king to make it vp by way of loane to the summe of fiftie thousand duckets: which if *Caesar* did not repay within one yeare following, together with the other fiftie thousand which were lent him before, the king should resume into his hands *Verona* with all the territories, and keepe it possessed till he were satisfied. *Chaumont* hauing the kings commaundement to follow still those warres, turned all his wits and deuises to take *Monfeliçe*, in which disposition as soone as foure hundred Spanish Launces led by the Duke of *Terminy* were arriued, who, being sent by the king Catholike to the succours of *Maximilian*, had according to their custome marched very slowly. The armies after they had passed the riuer of *Brento*, and afterwarde the riuer of *Bagnillon* at the village of *Purlo* within fife myles of *Padoa*, arriued at *Monfeliçe*, not without suffering a woderfull scarcitie of victuals and forrages by the incursions of horsemen that were within *Padoa* & *Monfeliçe*, who besides those damages, tooke *S. Benzoni de Cremo*, a Captaine for the French being gone with a verie slender strength of horsemen to view the scouters: this Captaine, for that he was the Author of the rebellion of *Cremo*, *Andrea Gritti* respecting more that he was a subiect to the *Venetians*, then a souldier of the enemies, caused him to be executed presently.

The taking of Monfeliçe.

In the towne of *Monfeliçe* which standeth in the plaine, is a rising as it were a stonie hill, (by that reason it is called *Monfeliçe*) which is very high, in the top whereof is a castell, & at the backe of that hill which goeth alwayes lessening, be three waits of wals, the lowest wherof embraceth so much space, that it wel needeth two thousand mē to defend it against a whole army. The enemies abandoned suddenly the towne, wherein the French being bestowed, plated their artillerie against the

the first waite, and after they had well battered it in many places, the footmen of the *Gascous* & *Spaniards* began to approach the wall in disorder, striving to enter by many breaches: there were within for the defence of it 700 men, who supposing it had bin an assault appointed & ordered, and seeing their disability to make resistance if the assault had bene followed in sundrie places, after they had made a small defence, began to retire according to an agreement made amongst the selues before, as was beleueed: but they made their retrait in such disorder, that the enemy that began but now to enter, entertaining with them the skirmish and chase, entred pell mel with them at the other two waits and so to the Castell: there the greatest part of them were slaine, and the residue which were withdrawne to the dungeon, offering to yeeld vpon surety of life; were not accepted by the *Almaines*, whose furie ioyned to their fortune, led them at last to put fire in the dungeon: so as of 700 footmen the executioners reserued verie few, euerie one bearing lesse compassion to their calamities for the cowardise they shewed in their owne defence. There were amongst them fise Constables & Marshals, whereof *Martin de Bourg* of *Tuskaine* was the principall, who being parties in the confusion, they found seuerallie the particulat fortune: the crueltie of the *Almaines* was shewed nothing lesse against the buildings and wals, for not hauing sufficient companies to gard them, they did not onely dismantell the fortresse of *Monfelice*, but also consumed the towne with fire, holding nothing vnlawful which was within the compasse of their furie to accomplish: after this iourney, those armies did nothing of importance, sauing that 400 French lances run vp to the gates of *Padoa*, rather declaring their good wil, then doing any actiō worthy so great valour. About this time the Duke of *Ferrara* departed from the campe, & *M. Chastillon* with him, whom *Chaumont* sent with 250 launces for the gard of *Ferrara* where the people liued in great suspition, for that the bands of the Pope were not farre from thence: the *Almaines* perswaded much *M. Chaumont* (vrgeing the treatie that was made betweene them before) to go incampe before *Trenisfa*, laying afore him that the actions which had bene done with so great expences were of litle importance, if *Trenisfa* were not taken: for, touching *Padoa*, there was no hope to be able to haue it: of the contrarie, *Chaumont* replied that *Cesar* was not descended against the *Venetians* with such forces as he had promised, as also such as were ioyned to his armie were reduced to a very small number: that within *Trenisfa*, where the *Venetians* had made verie great fortifications, there were strong companies of souldiers: lastly, he alleaged that the store of victuals was worne out of the country, and no lesse the difficultie to bring prouision to the campe from far places, for the continuall vexation of the light horsemen and stradiots of the *Venetians*, who being aduertised by the diligent espiall of the countrymen of euery litle mouing that they made, and being besides in great number, discovered themselues alwaies in euery place where they thought they might endamage them: these disputations ceased by a new commandement that came from the French King to *Chaumont*, that leauing in the armie of the *Almaines* foure hundred launces & fiteene hundred Spanish footmen of the kings pay, besides those that were in garison in *Legnaguo*, he should sodainly returne with his army to the Duchy of *Millan*: for that many troubles and dangers began to disclose by meane of the Pope: by reason whereof *M. Chaumont* leauing the gouernment of those companies to *M. Persi*, followed the kings commandement: and the *Almaines* distrusting to be able to do anie thing of importance, put themselues into *Lomgno*.

The Pope had of long time set downe in his mind an obstinate resolution not only to repossesse the Church of many estates, which he pretended to appertaine to him, but also to chase the French king out of al that he held in *Italy*. The matter that induced this disposition, was either a secret & ancient ill will that he bare him, or else a settled suspition and iealousie which he had nourished a long time, and now was conuerted into extreame hatred: or haply it might be an ambition of glorie to be the deuierer (as he boasted afterwards) of *Italy* from forraigne nations; to these ends he had absouled the *Venetians* of the Church Censures: to these ends was he entred into intelligence & strait alliance with the *Swissers*, making semblance to proceed in those things more for his proper suretie, then for desire to offend another: & to these ends not being able to withdraw the Duke of *Ferrara* from the deuotion of the French king, he was determined to do all that he could to occupie that Duchie, blazing his deuises with this colour, that he stirred onely for the quarrel of the salt and salt pits: & yet to the end not to disclose the plainnesse of his thoughts vntill he were better prepared, he had continuall negotiations with *Albert Pio*, to haue agreement

The Popes desire
liberation to
chase the
French out of
Italy.

with the French king, not sparing to protest openly, though he kept his intentions cōsembled: the king for his part interpreting all his discontentment to come for that he had taken the Duke of *Ferrara* into his protection, and hauing a careful desire to auoide his ill will, consented to contract with him new couchants, referring himselfe to the capitulations of *Cambray*; wherein was expressed that not one of the cōfederats should intrude into the things appertaining to the church, & did insert withall such words & clauses as might make it lawful to the Pope to proceed against the Duke of *Ferrara* so farre forth as concerned the particularity of the salt & salt mines, to which ends the king supposed that the Popes thoughts did chieflie aspire: wherein he made such interpretation of the protection which he had taken of the Duke of *Ferrara*, as though there was left to him a lawfull libertie to contract with the Pope in that maner: but the nearer the king approached to the demands of the Pope, the further was he estranged and separate from him, inclining nothing the more for the newes he heard of the death of Cardinall *Amboise*: for, to such as perswaded him to the peace, and tooke their argument vpon this, that his suspicions were now finished, he answered that the same king liuing, the same iealousies did yet endure, confirming his opinion by this, that the accord made by the Cardinall of *Pavia* had bene violated by the king of his proper deliberation, contrarie to the will and counsell of the Cardinall *Amboise*: yea such as looked deeply into the intentions of the Pope and his manner of dealings, found that his stomacke and hopes were so much the more increased, and not without occasion; for the qualities of the king being such, as he stood in more necessity to be gouerned, then that he was able or proper to gouerne, it is without doubt that he was much weakened by the death of the Cardinall, since that besides his long experience, his abilitie of wit was great, & stood withall in such grace and authority with the king, and had such power ouer his directions and counsels, that he would oftentimes take vpon him to giue of himselfe a forme & resolution of affaires: a matter which could not be found in such as succeeded him in the gouernment, who durst not communicate with the king in affaires which they thought would displease him, much lesse that they had authoritie to deliberate: besides, reposed not the same faith and confidence in their counsels, and being a bodie of a counsell compounded vpon many persons, and they respecting one another without any great trust in their new authoritie, they proceeded both more coldly and carelesly then either the importance of the present affaires required, or was necessarie against the heat and importunity of the Pope: who not accepting any of the offers that were made to him by the king, required him at last to renounce, not with condition and limitation, but absolutely and simply, the protection which he had taken of the Duke of *Ferrara*, not weighing to aduance his owne purposes with the kings dishonour: and albeit the king perswaded him much that such a renunciation would bring him great infamie; yet was it in vaine to labour to stay him with words and reasons, whose ambitions were infinite and his intentions full of malice, with which propertie of mind he answered the king, that seeing he refused to renounce simply, he would also take libertie not to contract with him, nor yet to be against him, and not binding himselfe to any person, he would studie to maintaine the state of the Church in peace, beginning euen then to complaine more then euer of the Duke of *Ferrara*: whose friends weighing wisely with what aduersarie he had to do, perswaded him to giue ouer the working and making of salt, which hee answered he could not do without preiudicing the rights of the Empire to whom the iust iurisdiction of *Comacho* appertained. Many entred into a certaine doubt & opinion which tooke increasing with time, that *Albert Pio* the French kings Embassadour, not proceeding sincerely in his legation, stirred vp the Pope against the Duke of *Ferrara*, for a burning desire hee had (wherein hee continued till his death) that *Alfonso* should be deposed from the Dukedome of *Ferrara*: the reason was, for that *Hercules*, father of *Alfonso*, hauing had certaine yeares afore of *Gilbert Pio* the moiety of the dominion of *Curpy*, giuing him in recompence the borough of *Sassola* with certaine other landes, *Albert* feared least in the end the other moiety either by compulsion or corruption would deuolue to him: the experience often happening that the neighbour lesse rich and able yeeldeth to the couetousnesse of the most wealthie and mighty: a matter which in all common weales hath bene seene to minister no small troubles, and therefore it hath not bene thought good that the poore and rich should dwell neare together, for that as in the wealth of the rich man are sowne the seeds of enuy in the mind of the poore man, so of the wants of the poore, and superfluities of the rich are nourished the disorders of a whole people.

But

But what neuer was the simplicitie and truth of it, the Pope expressing tokens of a person vnappeasable against *Alfonso*, and hauing a full resolution to leaue warre against him; prepared first to proceed with the authoritie and censures of the Church: wherein seeking to giue some iustification to the grounds of this action, he gaue it out; that he had found among the Records of the chamber Apostolike, the inuestiture of the towne of *Comacho*; giuen by Popes to the house of *Este*. These were the publike and manifest behauiours of the Pope; but in secret he solicited to set abroad farre greater mouings, wherein he seemed to haue giuen a good foundation to his affaires, in contracting amitie with the *Swissers*, and to haue at his deuotion the *Venetians*, who now were vpon their feet. Besides, he saw that the king of *Aragon* respected the same end that he did, or at least was not soundly ioyned with the French King: that the forces and authoritie of *Cesar* were so weakened that there was left no occasion to feare him: and lastly, that he was not without hopes to procure the king of England to stirre. But that which should most haue appeased him, he made to serue most to stirre vp and kindle his humacke, which was the knowledge he had that the French king hauing no disposition to make warre against the Church, nourished a settled desire to haue peace: insomuch as it seemed that it would alwayes remaine in his power to draw him to peace, yea though he had leauied armies against him. The reason of these matters making him rise dayly more insolent, and redoubling openly his complaints and threats against the French king, and Duke of *Ferrara*, he refused in the feast of the celebration of *S. Peter* (a day wherein, according to ancient custome, are offered the tributes which are due to the seege Apostolike) to accept the tribute of the Duke of *Ferrara*; saying, that the euasion of *Alexander* the sixt, who in marying his daughter, had from foure thousand Duckets, reduced that offering to a hundred, could not take example to the preiudice of that Sea. Besides, he would not afore this time giue licence to the Cardinall of *Achx* and other French Cardinalls to returne into *Fraunce*: and vnderstanding that day, that the Cardinall of *Achx* was gone to take the pleasure of the fields with certaine grayhounds, he entred into a vaine suspicion that he would secretly start away, and therefore sent speedily after to take him, and held him prisoner in the Castle *S. Ange*. Thus disclosing openly his manifest contention with the French king, and for that cause seeing himselfe so much the more constrained to lay great and assured foundations, he graunted to the king Catholike the inuestiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, vnder condition of the same tribute, with the which the kings of *Aragon* had obtained it, notwithstanding he had refused afore to bestow it otherwise then for forty thousand duckets: a rate afore time imposed vpon the French whē he obtained it: in this action the Pope respected not so much the bond which in other inuestitures of the same kingdome, was wont to be made to him to entertaine euery yeare for him, as often as need required, three hundred men at armes for the defence of the Church: as the desire he had to make him his friend, ioyned to a hope that his aides (vpon occasion) might do much to leade him into open contention with the French king: whereof were already discerned certaine seedes and beginnings, for that the king Catholike suspecting much the greatnesse of the French, and no lesse ialous of his ambition, for that not content with the limits of the league of *Cambray*, he aspired to draw to his obedience the citie of *Verona*, and besides all this, being pushed on by the memorie of ancient quarels, desired greatly that there might be found some impediment in his affaires: and therefore ceased not to counsell a peace betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*, which was not a litle desired by the Pope: and albeit he proceeded secretly in those actions, yet he was not able altogether to couer his thoughts: in so much as his armie by sea being false vpon *Sicilie*, which he sent to assaile the Ile of *Gerbes* (an Iland anciently called by the *Latines* the great *Sirta*) the king was entred into suspicion, and the minds of men that were wel acquainted with his suttleties, were occupied with many doubts.

But as in worldly dealings it oftē hapneth that the thing that is feared least, doth soonest chāce, and hurteth most; so troubles and perplexities began to rise to the French king from those parts which he doubted least, and in a time wherein he had no expectation of any mouing of armes to be prepared against him: for the Pope, betweene whose suttlety and secrecie there was no difference, working alwayes vnder hand, solicited that at one time *Genes* might be assailed both by sea and land: that twelue thousand *Swissers* might descend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*: that the *Venetians* should take the field to recouer their townes holden by *Cesar*: and that his owne Armie should enter vpon the country of *Ferrara*, with intētion to passe afterwards into the Duchy

The Popes
armie against
Ferrara and
Genes.

of *Millan*, if things began to succeed happily to the *Swissers*: he hoped that *Genes* being assailed vpon the sodaine, there wold easily arise some mutation or mutinie, both for that there were manie that bare no sound affection to the French, and also that the faction of *Fregosa* would minister aide, going thither vnder colour to make Duke, *Ottavian*, whose father and vncle had possessed the same dignitie: that the French men amazed for the commotion of *Genes* and inuasion of the *Swissers*, would reuoke to the Duchie of *Millan*, all the bands which they had with *Cesar*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, which would be a cause that the *Venetians* should easily recouer *Verona*, and afterwards set vpon the Duchie of *Millan*: lastly, that his regiments should do the like after they had made an easy conquest of *Ferrara*, being abandoned of the French, making a iudgement vpon these computations, that the estate of *Millan* would haue no abilitie of defence against so many enemies, and so sodaine a warre: he began at onetime the warre against *Ferrara* and against *Genes*: and albeit the Duke of *Ferrara* (against whom he proceeded the more to hasten the execution as against a notorious offender) offered to giue him the saltes that were made at *Comacho*, with obligation that hereafter there should be no more made: yet (nothing can satisfie a mind possessed with malice) after he had licensed his Embassadors, he caused his armie to march against him, which with the only summons of a trumpet, and no defence appearing, obtained *Cente* and *Picua*; which boroughs appertaining first to the Bishopricke of *Bologna*, Pope *Alexander* in marrying his daughter, had annexed them to the Duchie of *Ferrara*, recompensing the Bishopricke with other reuenues. Against *Genes* were sent 11 Gallies of the *Venetians* guided by *Grillo Contarin*, and one speciall Gallie of the Popes, carying *Ottavian Fregosa*, *Ieronimo Dorea*, with many other of the banished men of that estate: and by land at the same time, and for the same expedition was dispatched *M. Anth. Colonno* with a hundred men at armes, and seuen hundred footmen: this Captaine hauing left the pay of the *Florentines*, and being entertained by the Pope, abode vpon the territories of *Lucqua* vnder colour to furnish his band, giuing out a brute that he was afterwards to go to *Bologna*: & albeit *M. Chaumont* entred into some suspition of *Genes* by reason of his abiding, yet not knowing that the armie by sea was to come, & the Pope spreading a suttile and dissembling brute that the preparations of the *Swissers* and houering of *M. Anth.* were to execute some surprize vpon *Ferrara*, *Chaumont* made no other prouision for *Genes* then a certaine small crue of footemen whom he sent thither.

Marke Anth. marched with his copanies vp to the vale of *Visagna* within a mile of the wals of *Genes*, notwithstanding he was not receiued (according to the Popes hopes) either into *Serezana* or into the towne of *Spetia*: & at the same time the armie by sea which had occupied *Sesfria*, and *Chianara*, was come from *Rapalo* to the mouth of the riuer *Enelle*, which falleth into the sea neare the port of *Genes*: but there were entred into *Genes* for the French king at the first brute that the enemies approached, the sons of *Jo. Lowys de Fiesquo* with 800 men of the country, with whom was ioyned the Cardinals nephew of *Fimalo* with an equal proportion of souldiers, which both assured the towne, & kept suppressed all stirres & commotions: by this succour and prouidence, the Pope & the exiles being deceiued of their principall hope, seeing besides a continuall flocking & concourse of people out of *Lombardy* and the riuer of *Ponant*, together with six great Gallies entring the hauen giuded by *Pressan*, they thought that to tarie longer there could not bring more perill then profit: & therefore both the nauie by sea, and the armie by land returned to *Repalle*, where in assaying to take *Portofino*, died *Francisco Bolani*, a Patron of one of the *Venetian* Gallies: from thence their armie by sea hoysing saile to go to *Ciuitanechia*, *M. Anth. Colonno* doubting his suretie to passe by land for the commotions of the countrey men and popular furie alwayes raging against souldiers that retire in disfaueur, imbarcked himselfe in the gallies with 60 of the best horsmen, sending the residue by land to *Spetia*, who were all stript aswell vpon the countrey of *Genes*, as vpon the marches of *Lucqua*, and frontiers of the *Florentines*: this attempt was done with verie small honour to *Grillo* and *Ottavian*, for that of feare they abstained to charge the vessels of *Preian*, who being inferior, it was beleueed that before he entred the hauen they wold haue set vpon him with a great aduantage: asloone as they had weyed anker & gone, *Preian* issued out of the hauen with 7 Gallies and 4 ships, taking his course to pursue the *Venetian* nauie which was stronger then he in Gallies, but weaker in number of ships: both the one & other fel with the Ile of *Elbo*, the *Venetians* in the port of *Lugano*, & the French in the hauen of

of *Ferrara*, who returned eftsóones to *Genes* after they had accosted the enimie to the Mount *Argentara*. About this time the Popes souldiours were entred into *Romania* vnder the Duke of *Vrbyn* against the Duke of *Ferrara*, where hauing taken the towne of *Lugo*, *Vaguacaul*, and all the residue that the Duke held on this side *Paw*, they held the castell of *Lugo* besieged: and whilest they lay there both in disorder and without effect, being suddenly aduertised that the Duke of *Ferrara* with the French bánds, and a hundred and fiftie men at armes of his own, with many troupes of light horsemen, was marching to the reskewe of it, they leauied their siege, and leauing in pray to the enemie three píeces of artillerie, they retired to *Ymola*, nothing being able to assure them whom feare had compélléd to flee. *Alfonso* taking the aduantage of this occasion, recouered with a wonderfull facilitie all that they had taken from him in *Romania*: but the campe Ecclesiastike being eftsóones reassembled & reassured, reconquered eftsóones the selfe same places, and immediately after forced the castle of *Lugo* hauing battred it many dayes: and after the taking of it, their fortune presented to them an occasion of greater successe: for, being no garrison in *Modona*, for that the Duke being occupied in defending other places where the daunger was nearest, was not able to furnish it of him selfe nor obtaine of *Monsieur Chaumont* to send thither two hundred lances. The Cardinal of *Pauya* passing with the army to *Frank castell*, obtained by composition that citie, whither he was inuited to come by *Gerard* and *Frauncis Maria Rargóns* gentlemen of *Modona*, whose authoritie was so great, as they were able to dispose of it as best liked them. And in this action it was beleueed that they were pushed on more by ambition & desire of innouation, then by any other occasion. The losse of *Modona* was a warning to the Duke against other harmes, who fearing least the like wold happē to *Regge*, bestowed present garison there, as also *Chaumont*, doing after the hurt receiued that which would haue profited more in the beginning, sent thither two hundred launces, notwithstanding he had many impediments for the discending of the *Smyssers*.

The confederation betweene the French king & the *Smyssers*, was determined many moneths before, the king continuing his resolution not to augment their pensions, contrary to the counsell of all his Nobles, who aduised him to consider of what importance it would be to make those armies his enemies, with the which he had before atchieued his greatest fortunes: and they already drawn into armes vnder the authority of the Popes promises, but specially made angry with the kings obstinacy in denying their demaunds, were resolved by an vniuersall consent of the Communalities in an assembly holden at *Lucerna*, to conspire against him: but *Monsieur Chaumont* looking into the perill of these leauies and stirs, set good gard vpon the passages towards *Coma*, tooke away from the riuers all boates & barks, withdrew into places of strength all victuals & prouisions, and lastly cut from the milles their instruments to grinde by, leauing nothing that might be employed to the seruice of the enimie, but the riuers and land which he could not remoue. And being vncertaine, whether the *Smyssers* would make their descending vpon the Duchie of *Myllan*, or else passing the Mount *S. Barnard*, to enter into *Piemont* by the vale of *Augusto*, and so go to *Samona*, with intention to endamage *Genes*, or els from thence passing the *Appenn*, to make inuasions vpon the Duke of *Ferrara*; he had also induced the Duke of *Sanoy* to denie them passage, and for their more impediment, he sent with his consent fíue hundred launces to *Turea*, not ceassing neuerthelesse to do all that he could to corrupt with presents and promises the chiefe commaunders of that Nation, to draw them from their rising, holding it but iust to obiect practise against them, in whome was so great lightnesse to stirre vpon so small occasion. But in vaine did he labour and sollicite those communalities, whose mindes did not retaine any thing more willingly then the memorie of the kings deniall, being growne from an hatred to a violent desire to be reuenged of the French nation: in so much as the Commons (thinking it to be their proper cause) notwithstanding the difficulties that were in the Pope to send them money, for that the Fookers bankers of *Germany*, who had promised to defray it for him, shrunke backe for feare to offend *Cesar*, fixe thousand of them leauied by the Pope entred really into the action in the beginning of September: amongst whome were foure hundred horsemen, halfe armed with shot, two thousand fíue hundred footemen with halfaques, and fiftie harquebusiers, without artillerie or other prouision of bridges or vessels. In this furniture, they marched, turning to the way of *Belmsone*, and taking the bridge of *Tresa*, with a garison of fíue hundred French footemen left abandoned, they

The descēding
of the *Swissers*
to the Duchie
of *Myllan*.

incamped at *Varefa*, expecting there (as they said) the Bishop of *Sion* with new companies. Albeit these beginnings troubled much the mindes of the French, both for an ordinarie feare they had of the *Swyssers*, and also particularly respecting their owne weakenesse, hauing at that time in *Millan* a verie small number of men at armes, for that part of them were distributed for the gard of *Bressa*, *Leguaguo*, *Valegge* & *Pesquero*, 3 hundred launces sent to the succors of the Duke of *Ferrara*, & 5 hundred being ioyned with the armie of *Almain* against the *Venetians*: yet *Monsieur Chaumont* assembling his forces, & expressing his valour euen amid his hard fortune, marched with 5 hundred launces and 4 thousand footemen, & tooke the plaine of *Chastillon* within two miles of *Varefa*, hauing sent to the Mount of *Briansa* *Ioh. la Triunice*, to the end that not so much with the bads which he brought with him, which were in very small number, as with the fauour and further strength of the men of the countrey, he might be an impediment to the *Swyssers* for taking that way. The *Swyssers* as soone as they were arriued at *Varefa*, sent to demand passage of *Monsieur Chaumont*, saying they would go to the seruice of the Church: by reason whereof it was doubted that they would passe to *Ferrara*, either by the Duchie of *Myllan*, by which way, besides the impediments of the french companies, they should haue found difficultie to haue passed the riuers of *Pauv* & *Oglia*: or els by taking the left hand, and coasting by the hilles below *Coma* and *Lecqua*, and passing the riuier of *Adda* which there is narrow, and not rough, from whence they might haue bene guided by the hill of the countrey of *Bergamo* and *Bressa* to the riuier of *Oglia*: and hauing passed ouer there, they might haue descended either by the countrey of *Bressa* or by *Guaradada* vpo the marches of *Mantua*, which is a countrey large & beareth no places of force to haue resisted them. So great was the reputation of the valour and order of that nation, that in all euents *Monsieur Chaumont* had no intention to set vpon them, although they made their descending into the plaine, but with his horsemen & footemen ioyned together, and with his field peeces, to accost and houer vpon them to cut off their victuals, and to giue them as many impediments as he could without assaying the fortune to passe the riuers: and in the meane while, for that the places neare *Varefa* were well furnished with horsemen and footemen, he visited them often times with false alarums, keeping them in breath all the night. At *Varefa*, where the *Swyssers* suffered great want of victuals, a new supply of foure thousand came and ioyned with them, and the fourth day after their coming, they marched altogether towards *Chastillon*, keeping vpon the left hand along the hilles, marching alwaies in cloase ranke, in good order, more respecting to march in safetie then to make speede: They were in euery Squadron foure skore or an hundred, the last ranks being all halfaques and harquebusiers: Their obseruation was such in marching, that much lesse that the enemy could auoid them by any aduantage, but of the contrarie they made a valiant defence against the French armie, which alwaies accosted them, and put them to the skirmish both behind and before, yea, sometimes they would draw out of their squadrons an hundred or fiftie to entertaine the skirmish, sometimes aduancing, sometimes slaying, sometimes retreating, nor that there could be discerned in their doings the least disorder: They thought it no dishonor to retyre, when by giuing of place they might profit them selues and endaunger the enemy. In this order they arriued the first day at the passage of the bridge of *Vedan*, which was garded by Captaine *Malard* with certaine *Gascoigne* footemen, who being driuen backe with the shot of their halfaques, they lodged the same night at *Appiana* eight miles from *Varefa*, & *Chaumont* encamped within *Assaron* towards the hil of *Briansa* fixe miles fro *Appiana*. The day following, they drew along the hils, towards *Cantu*, *Chaumont* accosting the alwaies with 200 launces, for that by the sharpnesse or steepenes of the places, the artilleries remained more lower together with the footme that garded the: and yet in the half way either for the damages which the french had giuen the that day (whereof *Chaumont* made not a litle glorie) or for that such was their resolution, leauing the way of *Cantu*, and turning more on the left hand, they went retreating by the high places towards *Coma*, encamping for that night in a suburbe of that citie, and in the villages thereabout: from the suburbe of *Coma*, they made another lodging at *Chiasso* three miles more forward, keeping the French men in doubt whether they would returne to *Belinsone* by the vallie of *Lungaro*, or draw towards the riuier of *Adda*; where, albeit they were not furnished with bridges, yet many supposed that their valour would open them a way to passe, necessitie making them to vse planks in steed of bridges. But putting them out of doubt the day

following they went and harboured at the bridge of *Trese*, and from thence retired by troupes into their houses, being reduced into the uttermost extremitie of victuals and want of money: it was beleueed that this retraite so suddaine was done for want of money, for the difficulties to passe the riuers, but much more for the necessitie of victuals, impediments of great importance to hinder both the fortune, the valour, and felicitie of an armie. In this sort the French men were deliuered for this time of a daunger which they esteemed not litle, notwithstanding the king making those things greater then they were in deede, affirmed that he could not but hold it profitable for his affaires to suffer them to passe, making this question, whether of these two things would make the Pope more weake, either to be without souldiours, or to haue an armie that came to offend him, as did the *Swysers*, whome, with so many forces and so much treasure, he had had all the paine in the world to manage.

The perill of the French had beene farre greater, if at one time they had beene assailed in many places, according to the deuises of the Pope. But as the enterprise of *Genes* was afore the mouing of the *Swysers*, so the armie of the *Venetians* aduanced not so soone as was determined, notwithstanding they had a singular occasion and commoditie, for that the *Almaine* bands within *Vincenza*, with whome were the Spanish footemen, and the 500 French launces, being much diminished since the departure of *Monsieur Chaumont*, the *Venetians* issuing out of *Padoa*, recovered without great trauell *Este*, *Monselice*, *Montagnano*, *Maresico*, and *Basciana*: and ioyning valour to their fortune, they passed further, and taking aduantage of the retyring of the *Almains* drawing the way of *Verona*, they entred into *Vincenza* which they had abandoned: except *Legnagno*, they reconquered with this felicitie all those pieces which with so great expences and trauell of the French men, they had lost in the whole sommer: and so they came to *S. Martin* siue miles from *Verona*, into which city the enemies retired, their retraite not being without daunger by the doubtfull valour of *Luke Malvezzi*: who being then their Generall, for that *Io. P. Baillon* had left their pay, shewed a courage inferior to the reputation of the place which he held: for, the *Venetians* being come to the village of *Torre*, the enemies leauing great prouision of victuals in their lodgings, tooke the way to *Verona*, being followed with the whole *Venetian* armie, and continually suffering by their light horsemen: and yet the French sustaining valiantly the rearegard chiefly with their shot, they passed the riuer of *Appan*, and marched without daunger to *New towne*, the *Venetians* incamping within halfe a mile of them: who forbearing to followe the day after, with that diligence they did before, for that their footemen were not able to hold chase with the horsemen, they retired in safetie to *Verona*: from *S. Martin*, after they had remained there certaine dayes, approaching neare *Verona*, not without being blamed for the vnprofitable stay they had made, they began to employ their artilleries (which they had planted vpon the other mountaine) against the castell of *S. Felix* and the next wall: perhaps they made choise of that place for the difficultie to be refortified, and that the horsemen could not execute but with great discomforts.

The *Venetian* armie contained eight hundred men at armes, three thousand light horsemen, the most part estradiots, and ten thousand footemen with a great trayne and quantitie of payfants that followed: and within *Verona* were three hundred Spanish launces, one hundred launces of *Almaines* and *Italians*, and foure hundred French launces, fives hundred footemen paid by the king, and foure thousand *Almaines*, no longer vnder the guiding of the Prince of *Hanaw*, who was dead certaine dayes afore. The people and inhabitants of *Verona*, were ill disposed to the *Almaines*, were vp with their weapons in their hands: a matter wherein the *Venetians* had much hoped, whose light horsemen passing at the same time the riuer of *Adice* at a foard vnder *Verona*, runne ouer the whole countrey. The artilleries of the *Venetians* battred the wall in great furie, notwithstanding the artillerie planted within by the French, and couered with defences, did greatly distresse those that were without, who had no rampiers: *Lallance Bergame*, a Colonell of the greatest account with the *Venetians*, was stricken with a shot of the artillerie, of which he died within few daies after. At last the artillerie without hauing done a wonderfull execution and dismantled a great part of the wall, euen to the beginning of the skarpe, and so dismounted and broken their

The *Venetians* recover most part of their townes after the departing of *Chaumont*.

Verona besieged by the Venetians.

cannons that the artillerie within was of little seruice, the *Almaines* were not with their feare to lose the Castell notwithstanding it was well rampired. To which losse, to the end the losing of the citie were not ioyned, they determined in cases of necessitie to retyre to certaine rampiers which they had made in a place neare, to beat vpon the sodaine with their Cannons, which they had already planted, the face of the inner part of the Castell, hoping to make such an opening, that the enemies should finde small safetie to tary there. But the valour of those that were within, was farre above the vertue of the other, for that in the *Venetian* armie were no other bandes of footemen then *Italians*, who being ordinarily payed euery fortie dayes, followed that seruice more, for that they found in other places very slender preferment, then for any other reason. Besides, the *Italian* footemen not accustomed to the order of seruice, beyond the Mountes, neither assured in holdes, nor resolute in the field, were at that time almost reiected of euery one that had meanes to furnish their seruice with footemen straungers, specially with *Swysers*, *Almaines* and *Spaniards*. Therefore the towne being defended with a greater valour then it was assaulted, there issued out one night about eightene hundred footemen with certaine French horsemen to charge the artillerie, and the footemen that garded it beeing easily put to flight, they choaked two great pieces, struing to draw them into the towne. The Alarm was sodainly through all the campe, when *Zitolo Perouso* bringing a reskew of footemen, and making haste more then others to the misfortune that attended him, in fighting valiantly finished his life with great glorie. But *Denis de Naldo* comming on with the greater part of the armie, the enemy was compelled to reabandon the artillerie and retyre, notwithstanding with great praise, for that in the beginning they brake the garde that defended the artillerie, and after made slaughter of a great part of such as came first to the reskew, and lastly, retyred almost all in safetie. This accident brought great discouragement to the *Venetian* Captaines, who seeing the inhabitants made no mutinie, and iudging withal, that their abiding there would be no lesse vnprofitable then full of perill for the ill suretie of their campe (their footemen being lodged in the mountaine, and their horsemen in the valley) they determined to retire to their olde lodging at *S. Martin*, wherein they made so much the more speed, by how much they vnderstood that *Monsieur Chaumont* would come to the reskew of the towne, hauing already auoyded the perill of the *Swysers*. At such time as the campe leauied and brake vp, the foragers of *Verona* accompanied with a great strength, entred the valley of *Polente* ioyning to the mountaine of *S. Felix*: but many light horsemen of the *Venetians* being sent out for reskew, and seasing first of the entrie of the valley, put them all to the sword, or to the fortune of prisoners. From *S. Martin* the *Venetian* armie drew to *S. Boniface*, being fearefull of the comming of *Monsieur Chaumont*. About this time the garison within *Trenisa* tooke by composition the towne of *Asola* neare the riuier *Musone*, wherein were eight hundred *Almaine* footemen: the castell also suffring the same fortune. And in the countrey of *Friuli*, they proceeded with the same variations and cruelties accustomed, not seeming to make warre vpon enemies, but prosecuting on all partes the extreme destruction of buildings, places, and whole countreys. The like calamities also consumed *Istria*, the libertie of the warre making al things lawfull to the furie of the souldiers, whose insolencies left no other comfort to any sortes of people, then such as may be expected in an vnbridled furie of warre.

Marquis of
Mantua
captured out of
prison.

About this time the Marquis of *Mantua* was deliuered out of prison by a strange deuice practised by the Pope, whereunto he was induced by an auncient affection which he bare to him before, ioyned to a desire to serue his turne of him, and the commoditie of his estate, in the warre against the French king. It was spread throughout all *Italie*, that in these respects he was the worker of his deliuerie, and set him at libertie: but it was credibly knowne by an Author worthy of faith, and through whose hands at that time passed the whole gouernement of the estate of *Mantua*, that his libertie was wrought by an other meane. There was great doubt least the *Venetians*, either for the hate they bare him, or for the suspicion they had of him, would not hold him a perpetuall prisoner: and therefore after they had bene vsed in vaine manie trials and remedies, it was determined in the Councell of *Mantua*, to haue recourse to *Baiazet* Prince of the Turkes, whose amitie the Marquis had entertained manie yeares, by visiting him oftentimes with manie presents and other offices of good-

good will and honour. As soone as he vnderstood the calamitie of the Marquis, he sent for the Gouvernour of the *Venetian* Marchaunts lying at *Constantinople*, and commaunded him to make him promise that the Marquis should be deliuered. The Gouvernour answered, that it was not reasonable he should promise that which was not in his power to performe, onely he offered to write to the state of *Venice*, who he doubted not would set downe a resolution conformable to his desire. But *Baiazet* speaking in the person and authoritie of a tyrant, replied proudly, that it was his will that he should make an absolute promise, whereunto he was constrained to condescend, obeying the will of the tyrant as a law forced and vnrighteous, which he signified with expedition to the state of *Venice*, who considering that it was not now time to stirre vp so mightie a Prince, determined to set him at libertie. But he, to hide his dishonour, and to reape some fruite of his deuile, inclined to the desire of the Pope, by whose meane being concluded (but secretly) that to assure the *Venetians* that the Marquis should not moue against them, his eldest sonne should be put into the Popes hands. The Marquis was conueyed to *Bologna*, where after he had deliuered ouer his sonne to the Agents of the Pope, he went to *Mantua*, excusing himselfe both to *Caesar* and the French king by the necessitie he had to go redresse his owne estate, that he visited not their armies to do them seruice, as freeholder to the one and souldier to the other (the French king holding him alwayes in the number of his Pensioners) notwithstanding his intention indeede was to remaine a newter.

The ill successe of things no lesse rashly attempted then vainely profecuted, had nothing diminished the hopes of the Pope, who promising himselfe more then euer of the mutations of *Genes*, determined to assaile it of new: by reason whereof the *Venetians* following him more by necessitie, then that they allowed of his furious dealing, augmented their Nauie which was at *Ciuita Vecchio* by foure great ships, to the which after the Pope had ioyned one of his Gallies with other vessels, and perswading that by the publication and authoritie of his name, the *Genowayes* would be the more easie induced to rebell, he gaue publike benediction to his banners with ceremonies Pontificall, as though in that manner of celebration were power either to worke effect to his intentions, or to make better his fortune. It was maruelled that now that his thoughts were made manifest and discouered, and that within *Genes* were many souldiers, and a strong Nauie within the hauen, how he could hope to obtaine that which he was not able to winne when the hauen was disarmed, the garrison varie weake within the Citie, and when there was no doubt at all of him. But as nothing can satisfie the ambition of man, so the minde that hath malice mixed with the desire of glorie, is alwayes made more apt to hope for honour, then able to get it. To the armies at sea which were followed with the banished faction, and also with the Bishop of *Genes* sonne of *Obietto de Fiesquo*, were to be ioyned the forces of the land: for *Federike* Archbishop of *Salerne* brother to *Octavian Fregosa*, leauied with the Popes money companies of footmen and horsemen, *Iohn de Sasatelle* & *Remold de Saffere* his Captaines hauing commaundement to be readie with their regiments at *Bagno*, to make an approach to *Genes* as occasion should require. The warning of a mischiefe brings with it his remedy, & the harme that is looked for before hurte little when it cometh: for in that Citie had bene made mightie provisions both by sea and land, in so much as at the first brute that the Nauie of the enemy approached wherein were fiftene light galleys, three great galleys, one galcasse, and three *Biscain* ships, the French Nauie lanching out of the hauen of *Genes* with xxij. light galleys, went proudly to meete them at *Portouenere*: The diuersitie of vessels was to them a suretie, for that being inferior to the enemies being vnited together in one strength, but at least equall with him in force touching galleys, they might alwayes find safetie in their swiftnesse, and by dispersing, they might make an easie euasion from the ships. The two Nauies approached one another about *Portouenere* within daunger of artillerie, & after they had exchanged betweene them certaine vollies of shot, they brake off, the Popes Nauie going to *Sestrie* which is in the coast of *Leuant*, from whence they presented themselues afore the port of *Genes*, (*Iohn Fregosa* entring within the port with a Brigantine) but the town being so straitly garded that the contrary faction could not rise, & the artillerie of the towre of *Godisa* thundring without ceassing, they were constrained to retire, their fortune being inferior to their valour. Afterwards they sailed to *Portouenere*, where they spent certaine houres afore it without commendation, vnlesse they fought prayse in an actiō, whereunto they had no possibilitie of power to preuaile: and so beginning to expresse a manifest dispaire of the

The Pope determines to
assaile Genes.

successes of the whole enterprise, they returned to *Cintra Vecchia*, from whence the *Venetian* vessels departing with the Popes consent to returne into their owne seas, they fell distressed at *Far de Messina* with such a furious tempest, that five of their galleis being lost, the others were cast vpon the coast of *Barbarie*, from whence, being brused and broken, they fell at last with many harmes with the hauens of the *Venetians*. The forces that should haue come by land, were not concurrant in this action, for that the companies that were leauied in the countrey of *Lunigano*, stirred not, iudging it an enterprise full of perill to enter the coast of *Leuant*, for the preparations which the French had made: And such as were ready at *Bagno* making excuse by the *Florentins* that would not suffer them to passe, marched no further: but entring into the mountaine of *Modena* which yet obeyed the Duke of *Ferrara*, they assailed the towne of *Fauana*, which though they found difficult to obtaine at the beginning, yet they compelled it in the end to come to rendering (the mountaine men bearing no mindes to expresse further faith to their Duke, in whom they saw so small apparence or hope of succours.)

Thus till this day did nothing succcede to the Pope of all that he had attempted against the French king: for, neither was there any mutation at *Genes* as he did assuredly promise himself, neither did the *Venetians* after they had in vaine assayed to take *Verona*, hope for any aduancement on that side: neither did the *Swissers* accomplish any thing, their action being rather in demonstration and shewes then in matter and effect. And touching *Ferrara*, what by the ready succours which the French had sent, and the oportunitie of the winter already come on, there was no apparence of any daunger: only he had taken *Modena*, which was no recompence worthy of so great a mouing. But such is the nature of hope, rather to prolong then to satisfie, and guiding a minde vaine & glorious, it nourisheth him in infinite expectatiōs. And touching this Pope (disappointed of so many hopes) we may lay him in comparison with that which is written by the Poets, of *Anteus*, that being tamed by the forces of *Hercules*, as often as he was throwen to the ground, so often did appeare in him a greater strength and courage: Such weening had the Pope amid his aduersities, for when he seemed most abased and oppressed, it was then that he did most lift vp himselfe with a spirite more constant and resolute, promising better of his fortune then euer: and yet he had almost no other foundations then of himselfe, and he would openly say, that albeit he was made naked of valiant and loyall armes, hauing no other assured friends then the *Venetians*, yet for that his enterprises moued not of any particular interest, but of an onely franke desire to set *Italie* at libertie, he doubted not with the ayde of God to manage them to an issue honorable, happie, and commendable. He could not hope much of the *Venetians*, for that they were already drained of money, and oppressed with many difficulties and afflictions. And touching the king Catholike, he seemed rather to counsell him secretly, then to ayde him openly, vsing his ordinarie subteltie, to keepe entertained on the other side *Maximilian* with the French king. And albeit he made him many promises, yet he held them suspended with many conditions and impediments: And for the trauell he had vsed to separate *Cesar* from the French king, and to make him agreed with the *Venetians*, it seemed euery day no lesse doubtfull then vnprofitable: for that *Cesar*, at such time as the Pope had sent out an armie against the Duke of *Ferrara*, had sent an Herald to charge him not to molest him: & *Constantin de Macedonie*, being gone in the Popes name to sollicite an accord betweene him & the *Venetians*, he did not only refuse to heare him, but also giuing to know that he would more firmly knit with the French king, he determined to send into *France* the Bishop of *Gurci* to negotiate with him of all their affaires. Also the Electours of the Empire, notwithstanding they bare great inclination to the name of the Pope, and to the deuotion of the sea Apostolike, would not heare speake of the expences: in so much as being addicted only to the affaires of *Germany*, they were not to do him any great seruice in those actiōs. And lastly, it seemed he could not hope much more of the king of *England*, notwithstanding he was young and desirous of inuasiōs, and had made profession to affect the greatnesse of the Church, and heard his Embassadors not without some inclination of minde: for that being so farre remoued from *Italie* as well by land as sea, he was not able of himselfe to embase the French king, hauing withall ratified the peace with him, and by a solemne Embassage sent to that end, receiued the full confirmation. Surely there is no man building vpon so weake foundations, and encountering so many great impediments and aduersities, who would not haue abated and restrained his courage, seeing withall he had meane to obtaine peace with the French king with such conditions as a conquerour could not

not in reason desire greater: for the king consented to abandon the protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, though not directly (in regard of his honour) yet indirectly to satisfy the Pope, referring it to the arbitration of the law, but vnder the authoritie of such iudges as would haue pronounced according to the Popes will. And albeit he was certaine that he might obtaine this forme of peace to his quiet and honour, yet he added that ouer and besides these, he would haue the king to leaue *Genes* in full libertie, proceeding in these actions with such an implacable obstinacie, that not one of his dearest familiars durst once aduise him to the contrarie: yea the Embassadour of *Florence* offering to sound him according to the kings commaundement, purchased by his labour more displeasure then profite: his resolution that way could suffer no counsell to the contrarie, for a messenger whom the Duke of *Sauoy* had sent to him about other affaires, offering that his Prince (if it so liked him) would interpose in the working of the peace, he cryed out that he was sent to espie, and not to negotiate, committing the messenger to prison, and to be examined with torments: his singular courage carying him euery day into higher weenings, made him also consumed in the difficulties that appeared, that not respecting the impediments nor daungers, & determining to lay aside all his other thoughts sauing such as tended to the taking of *Ferrara*, he resolved to go in person to *Bologna*, both to hasten things by his presence, to giue more authoritie to his affaires, and to increase the courage of his Captaines, whose valour seemed farre inferiour to his furie: he assured himself that to take *Ferrara* his owne forces sufficed ioyned with the *Venetians*, who laboured to sedde him in that perswasion, for feare least in the end losing all hope of good successe, he came to accord with the French king.

On the other side, the French king, being now made certaine by so many experiences of the affection and intencion of the Pope, and seeing how necessarie it was to prouide against other daungers that might happen to his estates, determined to defend the Duke of *Ferrara*, and keeping established the amitie he had with the king of *Romaines*, he resolved to persecute (by his consent) the Pope with armes spirituall, and in the meane while to entertaine and support things vntill the spring, when he would passe into *Italie* with a puissant armie both by sea and land, to make warre either vpon the *Venetians*, or against the Pope, as the estate of affaires should require. He perswaded the king of *Romaines* that he would enter into action against the *Venetians*, not onely as he was wont to do, but also to ayde him (knowing well his auncient desire) to occupie *Rome* together with the whole estate of the Church as appertaineth of right to the Emperie: and likewise to dispose all *Italie* except the states of *Millan*, *Genes*, *Florence*, and *Ferrara*. By these allurements he ranged him easily to his opinion, but specially that by their authoritie, ioyning with them the consent of the nations of *Fraunce* and *Almain*, they might call a generall Councell, wherein they hoped would be concurrant the *Spanish* regions and the king of *Aragon*, not daring to do any thing against their will. To these was added another most great foundation, that many Cardinals of *Italie* and beyond the Mounts, hauing minds ambitious and stirring, promised to make open profession to be the authours of the Councell. The king for the better direction of these things, expected with no small desire the comming of the Bishop of *Gurci*, whom *Cesar* had determined to send to him. And in the meane while, to lay a beginning to the institution of the Councell, and to remoue presently from the Pope the obedience of his kingdome, he made summons to all the Prelates of *Fraunce* to assemble at *Orleans* in the middest of September. Such were the resolutions and preparations of the French king, not altogether approued by the wise men of his Councell and his Court, who seeing how vnprofitable it would be to giue leasure to the enemy, perswaded him not to deferre the mouing of armes to a new time, whose counsell if it had bene followed, the Pope had bene easily brought to such necessitie, and his affaires so confused, that he had not bene able with that fortune and facilitie to stirre vp against him so many Princes as he did after. But such was the destinie of those affaires, that the counsell of wisemen were of lesse credit with the king then his owne opinion, who seemed to stand confirmed either through couetousnesse which ouerruled him, or by feare that other Princes would be iealous of his greatnesse if he onely made warre against the Pope: or perhaps he abhorred such an action as contrary to the surname of *Right Christian*, & vnworthy of that profession to defend the Church, wherewith his predecessours had bene honoured of long time.

*The Pope made his entry into *Bologna* vpon the end of September, with resolution to invade *Ferrara* as well by water as by land, vsing onely his owne forces & the supplies of the *Venetians*.

tians: who at his request sent out two fleets armed against *Ferrara* and they entring to the river of *Paw*, the one by *Fornaci*, & the other by the port of *Primaro*, began to do many damages to the people of *Ferrara*, as did also at the same instant the Popes companies, who overranne & pillaged the whole countrey, but not coming neare to *Ferrara*, in which citie was strength of two hundred & fiftie French Launces, besides the Dukes garrisons: for albeit the campe, &c. he was payed for eight hundred men at armes, six hundred light horsemen, and six thousand footemen, yet, besides that they were bodies vntained and taken vp at randon, the numbers were faire lesse, (the Popes hauing by custome to be very ill serued in warres:) Besides *Monsieur Chaumont* hauing sent, after the losse of *Modena*, to *Regge* and *Rubiero* two hundred and fiftie Launces, and two thousand footemen: *Marke Anth. Collonno* and *Iohn Vitelli* were departed from the armie by the Popes commaundement with two hundred men at armes and three hundred footemen, to go to *Modena*. For these reasons the Pope made instance that of the *Venetian* armie, which now that the forces of *Cesar* were so diminished at *Verona* & euery where, had without great difficultie recovered almost all *Friul*, he might passe one part of it vpon the countrey of *Ferrara*, where they had newly recovered *Polesina de Ronigno*, left abandoned by the necessitie of the affaires which the Duke had about *Ferrara*. The Pope also expected three hundred Launces *Spaniards*, who the king of *Aragon* should send to him vnder the leading of *Fabricio Colono* whensoever he would demand the, according to the bond & contract of the inuestiture. As soone as they should arrive in his armie, he made his purpose to set vpon *Ferrara* on his side, & the *Venetians* to do the like on their part. He perswaded himselfe that as soone as the people of *Ferrara* saw the armie approach the wals, they would take armes against the Duke, notwithstanding his Captaines told him that the garrison within was both able to defend the Citie, and keepe the people contained, what disposition soeuer they had to run into tumult. Neuerthelesse his desire raging about all reason or counsell, he forbore not to leaue with an incredible care in many places, many bands of footmen: but the *Venetians* were more slow in coming forward then either the Pope expected, or stood agreeable with the plots he had layd, for that hauing brought by water vpon the marches of *Mantua* many barkes to make a bridge, the Duke of *Ferrara* charging them vpon the sudden with certaine French bands, did not onely take them from them and defeate their passage, but also within certaine Creekes of *Polesina* tooke many barkes and others vessels, together with the treasurer of the *Venetian* armie. About this time vpon the disclosing of an intelligence which the *Venetians* practised within *Brescia* to make it rebell against the French king, the Count *Iohn Maria de Martignano* was committed to iustice, & payed the price of the practise with the losse of his head. But far more slow in marching were the companies of the *Spaniards*, who being arrived vpon the frontiers of the kingdome of *Naples*, refused, according to the direction of their king, to passe the river of *Tronto*, vnlesse he would first deliuer to his Embassadour the Bull of inuestiture which had bin promised: The Pope on the other side would not present the Bull, but at such time as the bands of souldiers were come to *Bologna*, doubting least after he had dispossessed himselfe of it, the companies that were promised would not be sent at all: and yet, neither for any declaration that his Captaines could make to him, neither for the present difficulties, did his hope diminish that he was able to carrie *Ferrara* with his owne strength onely: but as one whose priuate desire was stronger then all the reasonable perswasions that could be made, he looked into all the expeditions of warre with a wonderfull trauell and affection, notwithstanding that at the same time he fell into a great maladie, which (gouerning his bodie contrarie to the counsell of Physicians) he despised no lesse then the other difficulties, promising no lesse to overcome that, then he assured himselfe of the victorie of the warre, hauing this firme perswasion, that it was the consent and will of God that *Italie* should be restored to libertie by his meane: Such was the greatnesse of his minde, and so much respected his authoritie, that it was dangerous to giue him counsell against his will and liking, and that which in other men might be called furie and rashnesse, was vnder the tetrour of his authoritie holden for temperance and wise proceeding. He brought to passe likewise, that the Marquis of *Mantua*, whom he had called to *Bologna* & honoured him with the title of *Gonsalomier* of the Church, should take pay of the *Venetians* vnder the name of their Captaine general (the Pope participating for an hundred men at armes, and xij. hundred footemen. This matter was kept secret vpon the request of the Marquis, for this reason, that it was necessarie that he provided first for the stay & order of his own countrey, to the end to withstand the harmes of the French.

Frenchmen. But in trueth this was his meaning, that taking this charge vpon him, not of good will, but by necessitie of the promises he had made, he sought to deferre the execution, the better to deliuer himselfe of it by some occasion or helpe of the time.

The great desire which the Pope had to offend others, was turned into a necessitie to giue defence to his owne things: and this desire had bene yet both more readie and more greater, if new accidents had not contrained *Chaumont* to deferre his purposes: for after the *Venetian* armie was broken vp from before *Verona*, *Chaumont* being comen as farre as *Pesquero* to march to the reskew of that citie, determined to returne speedily, and imploy his armie in the recouerie of *Modena*: in which quarter, his bands that were at *Rubiero* had taken by assault the towne of *Formingo*: if he had gone forward in this action; it was thought he might haue easily obtained it, both for that the garrison was slender, the towne not fortified, and the inhabitants nothing brooking the iurisdiction of the Church. But it hapned as he thought to go his way, that the *Almaine* footemen that were within *Verona* began to draw into tumult; for that they were ill paid of *Cesar*, by reason whereof, least that Citie should remaine abandoned, *Chaumont* was constrained to abide there till he had reassured them, distributing nine thousand duckets for their present pay, and promising the residue the moneth following. In warre one misfortune draweth on another, for he had no sooner giuen order to these disorders, then there hapned an other accident, for that the *Venetian* bands being retired towards *Padoa*, and *Grotto* the gouernor of *Leguagno* thinking now that the occasion offred to sacke the towne of *Montagnana*, he caused to march thither all his men at armes and foure hundred footemen: against whome, whilest they of the towne (who could not be without feare of a sacking) made defence, many troupes of the *Venetian* light horfmen, finding them in disorder, brake them easily to their great harmes, for that the meane to flie was taken from them by the enimie that had battered & beaten down a bridge. By this aduerture *Leguagno* being almost made naked of men, it is without doubt that if the *Venetian* bands had put diligence to their fortune, they had made it a glorie of their valour, and a reward of their victorie. But as in all worldly things, so chiefly in actions of warre, fortune continueth not all one: this oportunitie passed away forthwith, for that *Chaumont* being aduertised of all that was hapned, dispatched thither in great diligence other bands, preserving that by his pollicie, which the enimie had missed to take by their vertue. But by these impediments he lost the occasion to recouer *Modena*, into the which in this respite of time, were entered many footebands, and many fortifications had bene made with great deuise and studie: and yet for his comming to *Rubiero*, the Pope was compelled to adresse to *Modena* that armie that was appointed to go against the Duke of *Ferrara*: there all his forces being assembled vnder the Duke of *Vrbino* Captaine generall, and the Cardinall of *Pavia* his Legate, and vnder *Iohn Paule Bailion*, *M. Anth. Colonne*, and *Iohn Vitelli*, all Captaines of name and authoritie, he made request to giue battell to the enimies: a matter which all his captaines did impugne, as knowing that the forces of the French were without all comparison both greater in numbers, & more approued in yalour: both for that the footemen of the Church had bene leuied in hast, and in the armie was no such obedience and discipline as appertained: and betweene the Duke of *Vrbino* & the Cardinall of *Pavia* a manifest emulation and discord, the same extending so farre, that the Duke accusing him of infidelitie to the Pope, led him prisoner to *Bologna*, either of his proper authoritie, or by the Popes commaundement. But the Pope estiones holding him purged from all crimes and imputation of crimes, held him in better degree of fauour and authoritie then before. Whilest the two armies lay one right against the other, *Chaumont* lying with his horfmen at *Rubiero*, and his footemen at *Marsaglio*, and on the other side, the Ecclesiastikes keeping at *Modena* in the suburbs of *Rubiero*, many skirmishes and enterchange of feates martiall passing betweene them. The Duke of *Ferrara*, who a litle before had recovered without resistance *Palisena de Ronigno*, ioyning to him the Lord *Chastillon* and the French launces, recovered without impediment *Finale*, and from thence entring into the towne of *Cenio* (which the Pope had taken before) by the Castell that held for him, he sacked it and burned it, preparing himselfe to go ioyne with *Chaumont*. The Church armies fearing much by these behauiours, retired within *Modena*, bestowing one part of their footemen in the suburbe that is toward the mountaine. But such is the variation of warre, not caried alwaies with one fortune: the Duke was no sooner remoued then he was constrained estiones to abide for the defence of his owne, for that the

Venetians containing three hundred men at armes, manie light horsemen, & foure thousand footmen, to winne the passage of *Paw*, and so to ioynt with the Popes armie, were encamped before *Fiqueroles*, which is a litle & weake borough vpon *Paw*, but of great renowme, both for the long time that *Robert of S. Senerm* was before it in the warre which the *Venetians* had with *Hercules Duke of Ferrara*, and also for the defence made by *Federike Duke of Verbin*, capitaines of great valour in that time. The *Venetians* tooke it by composition, and afterwards forced the towne of *Stellate* which is vpon the shore opposite: and commaunding in that sort the passage of *Paw*, there rested no more to march ouer but to cast the bridge, which *Alfonso* after the losse of *Stellate* being come with his armie to *Bondin*, hindred with his artillerie, which he had planted vpon a point of the land from whence he beat easily that place, and besides that skowred the whole riuer of *Paw* with two gallies, which retired immediatly, for the *Venetian* flecte, who in the beginning could not enter *Paw*, the mouthes of the riuer being garded by the ordinance of the Duke, found entring now, being come vp by *Adice* against the streame, inso much as the countrey of *Ferrara* suffered many damages by the presence of two flectes of the *Venetians*. But those harmes ceased forthwith together with the feares of the peoples, for that the Duke issuing out of *Ferrara*, set vpon that flecte which was entred by *Primaro* & come vp to *Adria*, with two gallies, two foystes, and many small barks: and hauing repulsd them with an easie fortune and no great hazard, he came to the other, which being compounded but of foystes and other small vessels, was entred by *Fornacei* and come vp to *Puisella*: and as they would haue entred within *Adice* by a riuer neare it, they found impediment by the shallownesse of the water: in so much as standing open to perill without any apparance of succors, and being continually beaten with the artilleries of the enemy, they left their vessels abandoned, seeking their safetie in those meanes which their present fortune provided for them.

In these stirres of temporall armes, the spirituall thunderbolts began to make noise on all parts: for the Pope loyning authoritie to his furie, excommunicated *Alfonso d'Este*, and all such as either were come or would come to his succors, but particularly *Monsieur Chaumont* with all the principals of the French armie: and in *Fraunce* the assembly of Prelates that had bene transported from *Orleans* to *Tours*, had consented (notwithstanding more not to oppose against the will of their king assisting oftentimes their assembly, then of their proper will or iudgement, to many articles propounded against the Pope, with this onely modification, that before they went from his obedience, there should be Embassadors addressed to him, both to communicate such articles as were agreed vpon by the clergie of *Fraunce*, and also to admonish him that hereafter he should obserue them, and in case of impugning or resisting he should be cited to the Councell, wherein request solemne should be made to all Princes of Christendome to be concourant in the action. There was also agreed to leaue a great impost of money vpon the Churches of *Fraunce*. And a litle after in an other session of the xxvij. of September, they published the Councell to begin at *Lyon* in the beginning of March next. The same day the Bishop of *Gurce* entred into *Tours*, where he was receiued with so rare and incredible honor, that vpon the excessive pompes that were vsed to him, was sufficiently exprest with what long and great desire his coming had bene expected: besides, now began to be disclosed the diuision of the Cardinals against the Pope, for that the Cardinals of *S. Crosse* and *Coseno*, Spanish, and the Cardinals of *Baieux* and *S. Mallo*, French, together with the Cardinall *S. Senerm*, leaving the Pope going to *Bologna* by the way of *Romagnia*, and visiting in his iourney the temple of our Lady of *Loretta*, very notable by many miracles, they tooke with his leaue their way through *Tuskane*: but being come to *Florence*, and obtaining of the *Florentines* safe conduit, not for any time determined, but vntill they reuoked it, and fiftene dayes after the reuocation should be signified to them, they delayed with many excuses to passe further. Their long abyding gaue cause of suspicion to the Pope, who after many generall requests to haue them to go to *Bologna*, wrote privately to the Cardinales of *S. Mallo*, *Baieux*, and *S. Senerm* to come to the Court vpon payne of his indignation: and proceeding more gently with the Cardinals *Coseno* and *S. Crosse*, a Cardinall of marke, both for his nobilitie, his knowledge, and his other merites, and also very notable for the great and weightie embassages which he had managed for the sea Apostolike, he dealt with them by perswasions & inducements of friendship to returne to the court. But they not disposed to obey him whom they did not loue, tooke the way to

Millan by *Lunigiana*, after they had in vaine solicited the *Florentines*, to giue not onely to them, but also to all the Cardinals that would come thither, an assured safeconduit for a long time.

In this meane while *Chaumont* deuising to recouer *Carpy*, which had bene taken before by the souldiers of the Church, sent thither *Albert Pio* and *Monsieur Palisso* with foure hundred launces and foure thousand footmen, *Albert Pio* going before with a trumpet, and accompanied with a small troupe of horsemen, the towne that loued well his name, hearing of his coming, began to tumult: for feare of which perill the Ecclesiastikes lying there in garrison to a number of xl. light horsemen, and fiue hundred footmen, forooke their charge and tooke the way to *Modena*: but being pursued by the French which came soone after, they were broke & put to flight in the medow of *Cartille*, which is almost in the halfe way betweene *Carpy* and *Modena*. The horsemen found safetie in the swiftnesse of their horses, but most part of their footemen fell into the last calamities of warre, which was slaughter & imprisonment. *Chaumont* esteemed it the best policie, and to better purpose for the present warre, to set vpon the enimie afore the arriual of the Spanish launces, whom to aduance and hasten the more, the Pope had deliuered into the hands of Cardinall *Regine* the bull of inuestiture: He iudged it also very conuenient to go to the charge afore the *Venetian* companies ioyned with them, who hauing raysed certaine rampiers against the artilleries of *Alonso*, hoped speedily to haue cast downe their bridge. In this minde, he drewe neare to *Modena*, where after was spent a long time in skirmishing betweene both partes, the Ecclesiastiks looking into their weaknesse, would neuer issue out with all their forces, not seeking perill by separation, where they were assured of safetie keeping together in one strength. This hope being lost, he determined to put in execution that wherunto many of his brauest captaines, & namely the *Bentiuoleis*, did perswade him with sundry offers: they aduised him not to consume time vnprofitably about matters of so small respect, that the difficulties were farre greater then the profites: but raising his minde equall to the offers of his fortune: that they wold him to set vpon the body of the warre, and the principal head from whom proceeded so many perilles and troubles: They alleaged that he had nowe a good occasion, for that within *Bologna* were very fewe forraine souldiers, and amongst the people many mindes that fauoured the *Bentiuoleis*, the most parte of the residue being inclined rather to expect the issue of things, then to take armes to sowe the seedes of newe dangers, and reape the fruite of newe hatreds and harmes: That if the attempt were not nowe giuen, the present occasion passing, fortune would also vanish and make vaine the exploit hereafter: for that comming the bandes of the *Venetians* and *Spaniards* that were expected, there was no hope to do that with an armie mighty, which now the occasion and time made easie with farre lesse forces.

Thus the whole armie being assembled which the *Bentiuoleis* followed with certain horsemen and a thousand footmen of their owne pay, tooke the way betweene the mountaine and the high way, and assaulted *Spilimberto*, which is a borough of the *Counts Rangons*, wherein was a garrison of foure hundred footmen sent thither by the Pope. They had no sooner begun to batter it, then they had it by composition, the valour of the souldiers doing nothing to helpe the weake situation and plot of the place. The next day *Frankcastle* rendred vpon conditions more easie then honorable, sauing that the fortune of the victors did somewhat defend their dishonour: And from thence they marched and incamped at *Cresplano* a village tenne miles from *Bologna*, with intention to present them selues the day after afore the gates of the Citie, wherein, what by the comming of the armie, and what by the report that the *Bentiuoleis* were in it, all things were full of confusion and tumult, and the Nobles no lesse then the Commons expressed an vniuersall disposition to change, the one parte fearing, and the other parte desiring the retorne of the familie of *Bentiuoley*. But greater confusions and feares occupied the mindes of the Prelates and Courtiers, better acquainted with the delights of *Rome*, then accustomed to the dangers of warre: The Cardinals full of timorous passions ranne to the Pope, complaining that he had put himselfe the se a Apostolike, and them in so great perill: their timorous condition tooke away the reason that in cases of daunger is wont to rule wise men, & the same feare that moued their confusion, suppressed in them all respect and reuerence to the dignitie of the place and person, but pushed on with those passions which they were not able to moderate, they besought him with great importunities, either to make some sufficient provision for their

*Chaumont be-
sieged the
Pope within
Bologna.*

defence (which in such a shortnesse of time they held impossible) or at least to seeme to appease and reasssure things by composition vnder such conditions as the necessitie of their estate required, whereunto they supposed the enemy would incline, or at least that he would make his departure out of *Bologna* together with them, and to consider, that if his particular daunger touched him not, of what importance it would be for the *Séa Apostolike*, and for all Christian religion, if there happened any inconuenience to his person. His dearest fauorites and most acceptable ministers and seruants did communicate in these complaints, and hauing all one feare they followed all one sute, like men that neuer feeling but securitie, had least rule ouer their passions when they saw perill and danger at hand. But he onely, amidst so great a tumult and disorder of things, no lesse vncertaine of the fidelitie of the people, then ill contented with the slow comming on of the *Venetians*, made obstinate resistance against all these aduersities, neither amased with the perils that he sawe, nor once moued with the perplexities of his Cardinales, and ioyning to these afflictions the maladie that had much weakened his bodie, they had all no abilitie to bend the greatnesse of his minde. At the beginning he had caused to come thither *M. Authon. Colonno* with one part of the soldiers that were within *Modona*, and likewise had sent for *Ierome d' Onato* Embassadour to the *Venetians*, to whome he complained with bitter exclamations, that for the long delaying of the aides which had bene so many times promised him, his person and his estate were in manifest daunger, not onely with an ingratitude abhominable towards him that had begun the warre chiefly for their safetie, and who with his great expences and dangers hauing brought the whole empire and the French king to be his enemies, had bene the cause of the preseruacion of their libertie till that day, but also with an incredible indiscretion for the regard of themselves, seeing if he should either be vanquished, or constrained to yeeld to any composition, there could be no hope of their safetie, and lesse expectation of good degree for their common weale: he lastly protested with wordes and action full of furie and resolution, that he would fall to agreement with the French if the next daie past ouer and no succours of their people which lay at *Stellata* entred into *Bologna*; hauing this difficultie to build a bridge and to passe the riuer vpon barkes and other vessels. He assembled the gouernment and Colledges of *Bologna*, with whom he occupied perswasions of great grauitie, that remembring the miseries of their tyrannie past, and how hurtfull and daungerous would be the returne of tyrants after they were expulsed, they would lift vp them selues to the defence of the iurisdiction of the Church, which they had found so easie and tractable: and to induce them to a more readinesse, besides the fauours he had graunted them before, he gaue them exemption of the moytie of all the impostes exacted vpon the victuals that entred into *Bologna* for the vse of man, with promise to gratifie them hereafter in greater benefites: he caused to publish these fauours by proclamation, the better to moue the people to take armes for the defence of the estate Ecclesiastike: but as his purpose was corrupt, so his labour was without fruite, for that not one body stirred, not one hand was holden vp, nor any signe made in his fauour. These cold affections of the people considered, with other causes and shewes, brought him at last to looke into the daunger wherein he stood, and pitying withall the importunities and plaints of so many peoples, ioyned to the perpetuall intercession and labour of the Embassadors of *Cesar*, the king Catholike, and the king of *England* set on by the Cardinals, he consented to send to *Monsieur Chaumont*, to suffer *Iohn Fran. Piqua* Count of *Mirandola* to go to him in safetie in the Popes name. And not manie houres after he dispatched to him one of his chamber, to require him to send to him *Alberi de Carpy*, not knowing but that he was in the armie. And in the action of these things, to the end that in all aduentures the most precious Reliques of the Pontificacie might be in safetie, he sent *Laur. Pucci* his *Datario* with the *Regno* (so they call the principall Myter) wonderfully garnished with precious stones, to be kept in the famous Monasterie of the *Murato* of *Florence*. *Chaumont* by consideration of the requestes that were made to him, hoped that the Pope would incline to peace, which he did so much the more desire, by how much he knewe it was agreeable to the intencion and minde of the king: and therefore, not to trouble such a disposition, the day following he retained the armie in their lodgings, suffering notwithstanding the *Bentinioles* with manie horsemen of their friends and followers, to runne euen to the walles of *Bologna*, hauing marching a good space after them

an hundred and fiftie French launces: at whose coming notwithstanding *Harmer*, one of the brothers both youngest and most resolute, presented himselfe on that side of the gate, yet there was no mutinie made within, the expectation of peace that was then in action preuailing more to containe the people, then any affection or obedience they bare to the Pope. *Chaimont* gave gracious audience to *Frau. de Mirandola*, and returned him the same day to *Bologna*, to signify to the Pope the conditions wherein he was content to accord: that the Pope should absolue *Alfonso d'Este* of all accursings and paines, together with all those whose euer, which for any occasion were parties to the defending or offending of the estate Ecclesiastike: and likewise he should acquite the *Bentiuoleis* of all paines and censures; and make them repossessed of the goods which manifestly appertained to them; referring to arbitration and iudgement such as they were possessed of afore their exile: that it should be lawfull for them to dwell in what place they would, so farre forth as they came not neare to *Bologna* by fourescore miles: that touching the *Venetians* there should be nothing done contrarie to that which had bene agreed vpon in the confederation of *Cambray*: that betwene the Pope and *Alfonso d'Este* should be a surceasing of armes at the least for fixe months, euerie one retaining all that hee possessed: in which respite of time their controuersies should be decided by Iudges assigned by common accord, reseruing to *Cesar* the order of the things of *Modona*, which Citie should be incontinent depoled into his hands: that *Cotignole* should be restored to the French king: that the Cardinall of *Acha* should be deliuered: that the Cardinales that were absent should be pardoned: and that the collation of benefices through all the dominions of the French king should be disposed according to his nomination. With this answer *Mirandola* returned to the Pope, not without hope that *Monsieur Chaumont* would not continue so seuerely in all those conditions. The Pope contrarie to his custome heard the report with patience, together with the petitions of the Cardinals, who besought him with an incredible affection that he would haue regard to the estate of the time and their vniuersall calamities, not refusing the composition that was offered; if he could obtaine no better: they tolde him that he stood in condition to accept, and not to expect more then was offered; his owne fortune and the felicitie of his enemy struing against him. But on the other part, he complained of the too bitter conditions that were offered, and mingling all his speeches with complaints against the *Venetians*, he consumed all that day without expressing what was his resolution, not shewing so much doubt of the perill he was in, as hauing regard to the sorowes of the Cardinals & others that stood before him: at the last he tooke hope for that *Chappin Vitelly* in the euening entred into *Bologna* with sixe hundred light horsemen *Venetians*, and an esquadron of *Turkes* payed by them: he departed by night from *Stellato*, and coming vpon the spurre all the way, arriued at *Bologna* in the euening, being charged by the Governour of *Venice* to omit no diligence to reskue the Popes dangers. The morning following *Chaumont* encamped with his whole armie at the bridge of *Renay*, which is three miles from *Bologna*, where the Secretories of the Embassadours of the king of *Romains*, the king of *Aragon*, and the king of *England* went to him, and soone after the Embassadours themselves: who, together with *Albert Pio*, which now was come from *Carpy*, returned many times that day betwene the Pope and *Monsieur Chaumont*: but the disposition of both the one and other partie was greatly chaunged: for *Monsieur Chaumont* hauing now no hope by the experience of the day before to be able to raise the people of *Bologna* by meane of the *Bentiuoleis*, and beginning withall to fall into necessitie of victualles which would continually increase vpon him, had great distrust of the victorie: and the Pope taking courage by the affection of the people disclosed in the fauour of the Church, reentred estoones into armes the same day; and because they looked for at *Bologna* before night two hundred other *Venetian* Estradiots, two hundred light horsemen vnder *Fabricio Colonna*, and one part of the Spanish men at armes, hee did not onely discern that hee was deliuered of daunger, but also returning to his accustomed glorie, hee threatened to assaile the enemies as soone as the Spanish bandes were come, which were not now farre off. This confidence made him giue answer all that day, that hee bare no inclination to peace, vntlesse the French king would be bound to abandon whollie the defence and protection of *Ferrara*.

*Chaumont re-
tireth from bo-
fore Bologna.*

The day after were propounded new conditions, and during the negotiation, the Embassadors made many goings and returnings to *Chaumont*, but such and so many were the difficulties that their labour remained vaine: inasmuch as *Chaumont* distrusting to be able to profit much either by armes or by practising of peace, together that it was hard for him to remain there, both for the want of victuals, and distemperance of the time, winter approaching, he turned the same day to *Franckcastle*, and the day after to *Rubiera*, making shew that what he did, was done at the request of the Embassadors, both to giue time to the Pope to consider of the offers that had bene made, and leasure to himselfe to expect the further will & direction of his king: at that time many accused the resolution of *M. Chaumont* to be vndiscreet, and the execution negligent: for that not hauing forces sufficient to take *Bologna* (in his armie there were but three thousand foot men) it was a counsell ill debated to stirre and moue at the perswasions of men banished, whose hopes being measured more by desire then with reasons, become for the most part fallible and vaine: at the least, if he desired to embrace this enterprize, he ought first to haue restored and repaired the weaknesse of his forces: but of the contrarie they vrged that he had abused and corrupted the oportunitie by his too much tarying, for that since the commoditie he had to depart from *Pesquero*, he had vnprofitably lost three or foure dayes, and in the meane while considering the weaknesse of his armie, he was in doubt whether he should assay any thing of himselfe, or expect the bands of the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Lord *Chastillon* with the French launces: and be it that that might be defended, yet what excuse can be made that *Franckcastle* being takē, he made not sodaine approches to the gates of *Bologna*, and not to giue leasure to a citie to take breath, wherein not one succour was yet entred, the people hanging in suspence, and as it hapneth in sodeine things, all disposed into feares and confusion? a singular meane (if there be any at all) to make him obtaine either the victorie, or some honorable composition: but perhaps the authoritie of such as reprehend things that haue ill succeeded would be lesse, if at the same time might be knowne what would haue hapned if they had proceeded otherwayes.

After the retiring of *Chaumont*, the Pope bearing a mind inflamed against the French king, began to make his complaints to all Princes Christian, that the French king vsing vniustly & against truth the title and name of right Christian, & despising the confederation solemnly made at *Cambray*; and lastly, no lesse moued with ambition to vsurpe all *Italie*, then wickedly thirsting after the bloud of the Popes of *Rome*, had sent out his army to besiege him with all the Colledge of Cardinals, and the whole estate of Prelats within *Bologna*: and in this disposition of mind, returning eftsoones with a courage redoubled to the thoughts & studies of the warre, he refused to heare speake the Embassadors, who following the solicitation begun by *Chaumont*, offered him the means of peace, if first *Ferrara* were not deliuered to him: yea, such was the violence and furie of the spirit that gouerned him, that notwithstanding by the trauels he had suffered in so great an accident both in body & mind, his malady was made much worse, yet he began to make new leauiues of souldiers, & to stir vp the *Venetians* (who at last had cast a bridge betweene *Ficquero* & *Stellato*) to send vnder the Marquisse of *Manua*, one part of their armie to *Modena* to ioyne with his, and with the other part to vex and molest *Ferrara*, assuring them that within few daies he should haue *Reggio*, *Rubiere*, & *Ferrara*. The ambition of his mind made him apt to hope for all things, and to despaire in nothing; and what seemed vnpossible in reason, art or pollicie, he made no doubt to bring to passe by the benefit of his fortune, which he supposed was of power to remove all the difficulties that could be objected against him. The *Venetian* bands deferred to passe the riuer for the perill they had run into, if the death of the Pope had hapned (as was doubted:) but being in the end compelled to yeeld to his wils, after they had left the other bands vpon the shoare beyond *Pau*; they sent towards *Modena* 500 men at armes, 1600 light horsemen, and 3000 footmen, but not vnder the conduction of the Marquisse of *Manua*, who staying at *Sermudy* to leaue horsemen and footmen to the end to march afterwards to the armie (as he said) notwithstanding the *Venetians* were already entred into suspicion of his long abiding, went to *S. Felix*, a borough belonging to *Modena*: there he receiued aduertisement that the French that were within *Verona*, were entred into the countrie of *Manua* to pillage it, and therefore alleaging the necessitie to go to defend his estate, he returned from thence to *Manua*, hauing the Popes leaue, but not without great complaints of the *Venetians*: for that notwithstanding his promise to make present returne, being already entred into suspicion of his faith, they

they beleueed (all *Italy* almost was partaking in that opinion) that *Chaumont*, to giue him an excuse not to go to the armie, had suffered certaine French bands to make incursions vpon his countrey. This suspicion was increased by a letter which he wrote from *Mantua* to the Pope, that he was not able to march for a sicknesse that was newly befallen him, desiring that his good will might be holden for recommended, hauing his body subiected to his infirmitie. After the bands of the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Spanish launces were reassembled and vnited into one armie about the confines of *Modena*; if they had ioyned diligence to the oportunitie, & marched, it was thought that *Chaumont* had abandoned the citie of *Reggio* and retained the Citadell, hauing vpon his disamping from *Bologna* dismissed all his *Italian* footmen for auoiding of expences: but taking aduantage of their slownesse, and making their negligence a helpe to his fortune, he began of new to leauy bands of footmen, determining only to looke to the gard of *Sassuola*, *Rubiera*, *Reggio* and *Parma*: but as the armie lay vpon the marches of *Modena*, without direction whether they should passe further or turne against *Ferrara*, certaine troupes of the Church which ran vp towards *Reggio*, being put to flight by the French, lost an hundred horses, and *Count de Mateligne* taken prisoner: at which time the Duke of *Ferrara*, together with the Lord of *Chastillon* with the French bands lay encamped vpon the riuer of *Paw*, betweene the hospitall & *Bondin*, on the opposite to the *Venetian* regiments which were beyond *Paw*: whose nauie seeking to retire for the sharpnesse of the season, and for the ill prouision that came from *Venice*, being charged by many Barks of *Ferrara* whose artilleries sunke eight vessels to the bottome, retired with great paine by *Newcastle* vpon *Paw*, into the ditch that falleth into *Tanare* and *Adice*; and there is separate. Immediately after, the Pope gaue order that the army (gouerned by *Fabricio Colonna* for that the Marquisse of *Mantua* was not come) should draw straight to *Ferrara*, leauing the Duke of *Urbino* for the garde of *Modena*: and albeit most of the Captaines blamed this counsell, being both preiudiciall & dangerous, yet he eftsouones reassured them with a hope almost certaine that the people wold draw into tumult, so violent was his desire aboue all reason, aboue all counsell, aboue all pollicy, & aboue all experience; but the minds of men gouerned by desire, are full of variations & subiect to mutability & change; for the same day they departed, they were eftsouones returned by his commandemēt, keeping from the knowledge of euery one the occasion that moued him so sodainly to alter his determination: and leauing there his first deuises & plots, the armie marched and encamped afore the towne of *Sassuola*, whither *Chaumont* had sent 500 *Gascons* footmen: after they had battered it two dayes to the great pleasure and contentment of the Pope, who heard in the same chamber the noise of the artilleries that battred *Sassuola*, wherein not many dayes before he had hard to his great disliking the thüdering of the enemies shot that were about *Spilimberto*: they gaue the assault, which with smal ado succeeded happily to them, for that the footmen that were within fell into disorder: and after, the artillerie being immediately presented before the castle whither they were retired, they yeelded almost without any cōposition, with the same infamie & infelicity of *Iohn Casalo* that was their Captaine, which he had felt and suffered at the sametime that Duke *Valentino* tooke the castle of *Furly*: hee was a man of verie low & base place, but for that in the flower of his age he had bin cōformable to *Lodowike Sforce*, he was now risen to some honorable degree, his fortune and not his vertues preferring him, and the fauor of others more then his proper merits making him able to the opinion & credit that he had. After the taking of *Sassuola*, the armie tooke also *Formingo*: and the Pope appointing by his direction that they should go & take *Montechio*, which is a place of strength & importance, standing betweene the high way and the mountaine, vpon the frontiers of *Parma* and *Reggio*, & part of the territorie of *Parma*, notwithstanding it is holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*: *Fabricio Colonna* refused to execute the direction, alleaging that his king had forbidden him to molest any thing that was vnder the iurisdiction of the Empire. *M. Chaumont* prouided not for these disorders, who hauing left within *Reggio* *M. d' Aubigny* with fise hundred launces and two thousand *Gascons* vnder Captaine *Molard*, was gone himselfe into *Parma*, the king hauing sent him word to abstaine as much as he could frō expences; for, the king perseuering in his deuise to temporize vntill the spring, made no purueyance for the affaires on this side the mounts; by meane wherof his reputation declined in *Italy*, & the courage of his enemies augmented more & more: and the Pope impatient that his armie aduanced no more, not admitting any longer the excuses which his Captaines made vpon the season of the yeare with other difficulties, he assembled them all together

at *Bologna* and told them he would march to encampe afore *Ferrara*: a resolution which was allowed onely by the Embassadors of *Venice*, either not to offend him in gainsaying his deuises, or that by that occasion their souldiers should retorne more neare their frontiers: it was blamed of all the residue of Captaines & nations in the armie, but in vaine, for that he did not consult but command, his authoritie making him tractable to nothing that was not conformable to his liking and will: it was then determined that the armie should march to *Ferrara*, but with this condition, that to let the French for succoring it, they should attempt to take *Mirandola*, if the difficulties were not greater then the aduenture: this Citie together with the towne of *Concorda*, inherited by the sonnes of the Count *Lod. Piccina*, and by *Franncis* their mother and tutor, was kept vnder the deuotion of the French king, following the authoritie of *Ioh. 1a. Triunco* naturall father to *Franncis*, by whose meane his Nephewes obtained the inuestiture of *Cesar*: the Pope had receiued them long time before into his protection as appeared by writing: but now he excused him, that by the conditions of the present times he was constrained so to deale, that those townes should not be holden by persons suspected, offering, if they would willingly put them into his hands, to redeliuer them immediatly after the conquest of *Ferrara*. From that time it was doubted (and the doubt increased much more afterwards) that the Cardinal of *Pania*, who was already suspected to entertaine secret intelligence with the French king, was artificially the author of this counsell: wherein he meant by the enterprise of *Mirandola*, to hinder the besieging of *Ferrara*, the which citie at that time was neither well fortified, nor sufficiently manned: besides, the Frenchmen were made wearie aswell in bodie as mind by their paines and trauels passed, the Duke in great weaknesse, and the king altered to make any more prouisions there.

Whilest the Pope with so great care and diligence managed the expedition of the warre, the French king who was more inclined to practises then to armes, recontinued with the Bishop of *Gurei* the negotiation of things which had bene begun: & they carying in the beginning a shew of great facilitie, proceeded now with greater delays, both for the slownesse of the answers of *Cesar*, and also for the doubt that was conceiued of the king of *Aragon*, *Cesar* and the French king iudged it necessarie to make him ascertained of their intention, aswell in regard of the continuation of the league of *Cambray*, as for the action that was to be done with the Pope, if he still perseuered in the amitie of the *Venetians*, & rested possessed of his ancient ambition & couetousnesse, to get immediatly to the Church the territories of *Ferrara*. The cause of this doubt against the king of *Aragon* was, that besides his other actions, he had newly called home to the kingdome of *Naples* his regiments that were within *Verona*, expressing this colour, that towards *Otranto* the nauie of the Turke was discovered comming with a mind preiudiciall to him & his realme. The king Catholike after certaine daies answered to the demands of *Cesar* & the French king, taking in the same time occasion to purge himselfe of many things wherein *Cesar* and the French king complained against him: that hee had sent the band of 300 launces to the Pope according to the obligation of the inuestiture, respecting only the defence of the state of the Church, and to recouer the things that were the ancient demaines of the same: that he had called backe his men at armes from *Verona*, for that the tearme was expired for the which he had promised them to *Cesar*, and yet he wold not haue reuoked them, had not the feare of the Turke bene greater then other occasion: that at *Bologna* his Embassadour interposed with others to worke the peace with *M. Chaumont*, not to giue time to the succors of the Pope, but to quench and put out so great a fire in Christendome, knowing withall that to entertaine warre with the Church was gneuous to the king: that he continued still in one settled purpose to accomplish all that had bene promised in the league of *Cambray*, and that he would do more hereafter aiding *Cesar* against the *Venetians* with fife hundred launces and two thousand footmen: that this was not his intention to bind himselfe to new bands, nor to be restrained to new capitulations; both for that he saw no vrgent occasion, and also, desiring to keepe himselfe free, the better to make warre vpon the Infidels of *Africa*, he would not increase the dangers and calamities of Christendome, which had need of tranquillity and rest: that he liked well of the counsell and reformation of the Church, if it were vniuersall, and that times did not repugne against it, of which disposition he asked no better a witness then the French king in the speeches they had together at *Saunona*; but now the state of times were much contrarie, seeing that as peace & concord betweene Christians were the foundations of Counsels, and that there could be nothing agreed vpon to the vniuersall

uniuersall benefite without the vnion and consent of wis: so it could not but be vnworthy to begin the Councell at such a time & in such sort, that it might seeme to take beginning more by disdain and desire of reuenge, then for the honour of God, or zeale to the estate of the Christian common weale: he said lastly, but apart to the Embassadour of *Cesar*; that it seemed somewhat intolerable that he should aide him to preferue & keepe his townes, since he disposed them afterwards to the French king for money, meaning expressly *Venona*. Thus the intention of the king Catholike being knowne by this answer, the Bishop of *Gurci* on the one part, in the name of *Cesar* and the French king on the other part in person, delayed no longer to make a new confederation, reseruing place to the Pope to enter into it within two moneths next, and to the king Catholike and the king of *Hungaria*, within foure. And for a necessarie foundation of the couenants that were made, the king bound himselfe to pay to *Cesar* an hundred thousand duckets, part in hand, and the residue at times limited: *Cesar* promised to passe into *Italie* in the spring with three thousand horsemen and ten thousand footemen, against the *Venetians*: In which action the king was bound to send him at his proper charges two hundred Launces, & eight thousand footmen with sufficient prouision of artilleries; and to rigge out by sea, two light gallies, and foure bastard gallies: That they should obserue the league made at *Gambray*, and in both their names require obseruation of the Pope and king Catholike: Whereunto if the Pope were heard to be induced for the regard of *Ferrara*, that the king should be bound to hold himselfe contented with that that should be reasonable, but if the Pope would proue obstinate, & refuse to consent to their request, that then they should prosecute the Councell, & for that cause *Cesar* should assemble the Prelates of *Germanie*, as the French king had done the Clergie of *Fraunce*, to the end to proceede further as they should after be aduised. As soone as these capitulations were published, the Bishop of *Gurci* receiuing many honors and rich gratifications of the king, returned to his Prince: and the king, with whom the five Cardinals that were parties to the calling of a Councell, had presently contracted that neither he without them, nor they without his consent, should capitulate any thing with the Pope, expressed with vehement demonstration in wordes, the forward desire he had to descend into *Italie* in person, leading such a power as should be able for long time afterwarde to assure his affaires: And to the end that afore his marching they fell into no aduersitie or declination, he sent to *Chau-mont* to minister speedie succours to the Duke of *Ferrara*. and at the same instant he added eight hundred Launceknights to the company of two hundred Launces which he had afore sent to the Duke vnder the leading of the Lord of *Chastillon*.

On the other side, the Popes armie, after they had made with great delays, necessarie prouisions, and left *Marke Ansh. Colonna* for the gard of *Modona*, with an hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horsemen and two thousand five hundred footemen, went and incamped before *Concorda*, which they forced the same day the artillerie was planted: and taking immediatly afterwarde the castell by composition, they approched neare to *Mirandola*: it drew now towards the end of September, and haply the season of that yeare was much more sharpe then ordinarily it had wont to be. In which respectes, and that the towne was strong, and being also beleued that the French would not leaue a place so conuenient, the Captaines began to distrust of the victorie, not hauing regard to the felicity of the Pope which made all things fall out well to him, but iudged according to experience & pollicie, which in matters of enterprise ought principally to guide men of warre. Neuerthelesse the Pope promising to himselfe so assuredly the victorie of the whole warre, that sending Cardinall *Smagale* a new Legate into the armie, for the discord that was betweene the Duke of *Urbino* and the Cardinall of *Pauia*, he charged him in the presence of many, that aboue all things whē the armie should enter into *Ferrara* they should looke to the keeping of that Citie. The fourth day after the annie approched neare *Mirandola*, the artillerie began to execute, *Mirandola besieged.* notwithstanding with no lesse trauell then discommoditie, as well for regard of the present season, as for want of victuals which came very sparingly from *Modona*: the reason of this restraint of victuals grew by the impediments that the French gaue, who hauing bestowed fiftie Launces within *Gualtallo*, as many within *Corregia*, and two hundred and fiftie in *Carpie*, & hauing with all cast downe all the bridges and occupied all the passages by the which reliefe might come from *Mantua*, they kept the armie no lesse distressed with want of foode, then the hardnesse of the season hindred their other actions. But as necessitie is mightie to make men resolute, so their extremitie stirred the vp to a deuise that diminished their scarcities, for that deliuering out a false brute

that the armie would come and assaile *Campio*, such as were within being fearefull for that they were not furnished with artillerie, did presently dislodge from the place, leaving the place abandoned, not by compulsion but by feare.

About the end of this yeare there fell upon the person of the Pope some imputation and infamy, as though it was conspired by his private, and consenting that by the means of *Caracul de Medicis*, there was practise with *Maſſe Amb. Colonne* and certaine young Gentlemen of *Florance*, to kill *Re. Soderin Gonſalonner*, by whose working it was supposed that the *Florentines* followed the French faction. This suspicion was aggravated by this coniecture, that the Pope notwithstanding he laboured by all his means & authoritie to winne that common weale, yet he was neuer able to bring that to passe by practise, by pollicie, nor by compulsion, which they refused for want of affection, opinion, and liking. Besides, a little before at the French kings request, and to the Popes discontentment, they were broken off from the truce with the people of *Sienna*, although they had refused to move armes untill six moneths after: a thing which the king desired, to hold the people in feare. And lastly, they had sent to the king two hundred men at armes for the gard of the Duchie of *Aquillan*, a matter demanded by the king by vertue of their confederation, not so much for the importance and necessitie of such a succour, as for desire to make them enemies with the Pope. In this estate of affaires did end the yeare a thousand five hundred and ten.

1511. But the beginning of the new yeare was made notable by a matter not expected according to the time present, nor neuer read of in any the actions or examples of ages past: The Pope was iealous that there was not vsed that diligence in the seruice of *Mirandola* that was either necessarie to such an enterprise, or able to satisfie his desire, wherein taking occasion of their slow proceedings, he interpreted to the ignorance and infidelitie of his Captaines; but chiefly to his Nephew, that which reasonable proceeded of many difficulties. For these respectes together with his ambition which held him altogether subiect, he determined to go thither and aduance things by his presence, preferring the importunitie and violence of his minde afore altogether regards: he considered not how dangerous and vnworthy it was for the maiestie of such a degree, that a Pope of *Rome* should in person leade armies against towncs of Christians, and much lesse was he carefull of the opinion and iudgement that the world would make of him, to giue an apparant colour and almost a manifest iustification to those factions as were in practise, to call a Councell and stirre vp Princes against him, making their suggestion that his gouernement was hurtfull to the Church, and his vices infamous and incorrigible. Such speeches ranne through the Court: such coniectures were made; some marvelled at his furie: some blamed his intemperance: some feared the thing they durst not viter: and euery one comparing his actions with the importance of his place and calling, accused his indiscretion, wherein the *Venetian* Embassadors were no lesse forward then the residue: the Cardinals besought him with great instance: his fauorites made reasons to perswade, but durst not displease him: and his whole Court objected against the vnworthinesse of the iourney, but his obstinate resolution made vayne all their labours and deuises: his singular passion was inuincible against all reason: in which disposition he parted from *Bologna* the second of Ianuarie, accompanied with three Cardinals, and being come to the campe, the necessitie of the place compelled him to be lodged in a little countrey cottage subiect and open to the artilleries of the enemies, for that it was no further from the wals of *Mirandola* then a common crosbow will shoot at twise: There he dispensed with no trauell of his body nor forbore any care or studie of minde, there he was no lesse prodigall of his authoritie, then of his presence, and riding continually through and about the campe, he had almost finished the planting of the artillerie, whereof till that day the lesser part could not be employed for the impediments which the vnseasonable time and snowes gaue to all actions of war. Besides, the pioners and labourers could not do their office, who the more they were vrged and put forward, the more they shrunke and gaue backe, the daunger of the shot that came out of the towne being greater then their vertue. And for this reason being thought necessarie to raise new rampiers in the places where the artilleries were to be planted, and to refurbish the campe with new pioners, the Pope, in that respite of time, withdrew himself to *Concorda*, somewhat to eschue the incommodities of the armie. At this place *Chaumont* addressed vnto him *Albert Pio* to make many offers and means of accord, which, (notwithstanding the many labours and meetings of the one and other side) grew to no resolution or effect, either for his accustomed hardnesse and obli-

The Pope in person at the campe afore *Mirandola*.

obstinacie, or else for the infidelitie of *Albert*, who was more and more suspected not to negotiate with that sinceritie that appertained. The Pope remained not long at *Córdoba*, the same impaciencie & violence of mind causing him to returne, which first procured him to come to the campe: neither was his furie any thing abated by the hurtfull howes that continually fell from heauē whilest he was in the field, nor his rigour the more restrained by the sharpe cold, whose bitternesse the souldiers could not endure but with great paine: he was lodged in a little Church neare to his artilleries, but somewhat nearer the wals then was his former lodging: and being discontented with all things that either were already done, or stood to be done, he complained with bitter wordes against all his Captaines, except onely *Mark Anth. Colonne* who he had newly sent for from *Modona*: he trauelled with great impaciencie about the armie, enforcing him to perswade a diligence in the men in whose slownesse he tooke grieffe, he accomplished both in words & action the office of a Captaine, promising the souldiers for the reward of their valours the spoile of *Mirandola*, which he sayd he would not take to composition, but leaue it to their libertie to rā sack or ransome to their owne profit. In this action he forbore nothing which he thought might aduaunce his desire, not sparing to make that lawfull to the souldiers by his graunt and proper administration, which of itself was iniurious, impious, & of example hatefull. This proueth that there is nothing more unworthy then to adde to a naturall crueltie, a great authoritie, and that which we call choller in priuate men, deserueth the name of furie in him that exerciseth publike charge. Truly it was a thing notable, and to the eyes of men straunge and new, that a French king, a Prince secular, in an age and disposition flourishing, trayned from his first yeares in warres, should take his rest in his Court and Chamber at home, and administer by Captaines a warre that was made against his abroad: and on the other side to see a soueraigne Bishop, a supreme Pastour, a Vicar of Christ in earth bearing a body diseased, aged and delected, and nourished in a calling contrary to armes and war, to go in person to a warre stirred vp by himself against Christian Princes, and to lye in campe afore a place of little name, where submitting himselfe as a leader of souldiers to paines and daungers, he retained no other thing of the Pope then the habite & the name. By his extreame diligēce and labour, by his complaints and threats, and by his offers and promises all things were more aduaunced then otherwise they would haue bene: and yet, for the resistance of many difficulties, they had but slow proceeding, both for the small numbers of pyoners, and also for that the campe bare no great proportion of artilleries, and withall the wetnesse of the season was an impediment to the powder to do his office. They that were within, made a valiant defence, hauing for their gouernour *Alexander Triunlce* with foure hundred footemen forreiners: and they supported all daungers with so much the more valour and resolution, by how much they had hope in the succours promised by *M. Chaumont*, who, being commaunded from his king not to suffer the Pope to take that towne, had sent for all the bands of *Spanish* footmen that were at *Verona*, and making continuall leaues of men from all parts, wherein was concurrant with him the Duke of *Ferrara*, he promised to set vpō the enemies in their campe before the twentieth day of Ianuary. But these difficulties made that promise both hard and daungerous, the little time he had to make so great provisions, the leasure giuen to the enemies to fortifie their campe, the much ado to conuey the artilleries, munitions, and victuals in a season so hurtfull, by wayes so troublesome, and through so great snowes as had not bene seene of long time: lastly, by him were augmented the difficulties, in who was expectation to diminish them by recompēcing the time lost with a new diligence: for, *Chaumont* vpō the suddē made a posting journey to *Milla*, promising that the cause of his going thither was to make prouision of money & other things necessarie for the warre: but it was beleueed that some amorous passion towards a Lady of *Milla* caried him more then any other regard. This halty journey (notwithstanding his returne was speedy) abated greatly the courages of the souldiers, & no lesse diminished the hopes of such as defended *Mirandola*: amongst whom as their opiniōs were diuerse touching the delayes he vsed, so some were bold to vse this libertie of iudgemēt, that no lesse did hurt the negligence of *Chaumont* then the hate he bare to *John Iacques Triunlce*, in which regard, inclining more to his proper passion, then to the profit of his king, they supposed it was not disagreeable to him that the Nephewes of *Triunlce* should be deprived of *Mirandola*.

And on the other side the Pope dispenced with nothing that might be made a furtherer of his victorie, wherein his furie was so much the more renewed, by how much the Cannon from within the towne slue two of his men in his kitchen: for which daunger forsaking that lodging, and

*Mirandola
yeldeth to the
Pope.*

effsoones returning thither againe being crierd with his intemperances, he was likewise constrained by new perils to take the lodging of the Cardinall of *Regina*, against the which, they within the towne (haply suspecting that he was there arrived) braked a great peece not without the danger of his life. At the last, the defendants standing desperate to be succoured on all sides, and seeing what great execution the artillerie of the enemy had made, and fearing withall that by the hard frozen ditch being able to beare the souldiers, they should not be able to resist the assault that was to be giuen within two dayes, sent, the selfe same day that *Chauumont* had promised to succour them, Embassadours to the Pope, to yeeld themselues, their goods and liues saued. To whom albeit the Pope made answer in the beginning that he would not be bound to saue the liues of the souldiers, yet in the end he suffered himselfe to be wonne by the petitions of his Court, and accepted the towne vnder such conditions as were offered, sauing that *Alexander Trunice* with certaine other Captaines of footemen, should remaine his prisoners, and the towne to pay a certaine rate of money, to redeeme the spoyle which he had promised to the souldiers: and yet the souldiers seeming to vrge that as due which was promised, and which by their valour they had won, the Pope had much to do to satisfie the souldiers and keepe the towne from sacking. By the example of the towne, the castell also yelded, with this permission to suffer the Countesse to depart with all her goods, one fortune at one instant subiecting both the towne and the castell, as the glorie of one man reuerfed with one kinde of calamitie a whole estate and familie of great antiquitie. The Pope restored *Mirandola* to *Count Iohn Francisquo*, and indued him with all the rights of the sonnes of *Count Lodowike*, as gotten by him in iust warres: he receiued of him bond, and for performance the person of his sonne, to pay within a certaine time for all defrayments, twentie thousand duckets: and, not to lose that by negligence, which had bin won with so great paine and perill, but chiefly to keepe the French from reconquering it after the armie was retired, he left within it a strength of five hundred footemen *Spaniards*, and three hundred *Italians*: from *Mirandola* he went to *Sermidie*, a borough vpon the limites of *Mantua* standing neare the riuer of *Pan*, and being by the victorie of *Mirandola* puffed vp into assured hopes to haue *Ferrara*, he gaue resolute answer to *Albert Pio*, that he would heare no more of any offers or speeches of peace, if, for the first condition, he were not made possessed of *Ferrara*.

*A new deliberation of the
French according to the
kings direction.*

But those thoughts were chaunged by a new deliberation of the French: for, the king considering how much the losse of *Mirandola* had diminished his reputation, and now fully displaying that the minde of the Pope would be raunged to counsels payfible, addressed present direction to *Monsieur Chauumont* not onely to looke well to the defending of *Ferrara*, but also not to forbear vpon conuenient occasion, to offend the state of the Church. According to which commission, he made present leauies of men from all partes, and so really entred into the action, that the Pope by the counsell of his Captaines, retired to *Bologna*, and abiding there but very few dayes, either for feare, or to aduance (as he sayd) more speedily the battring of the bastillion of *Geniuola*, against the which he determined to send certaine bands of souldiers which he had in *Romania*, he came to *Lugo*, and from thence lastly to *Rauenna*, thinking perhaps that so small an expedition was not worthy his presence. The *Venetia* armie, who, for the nearenesse of the enemies, could not well be employed in the siege of *Ferrara*, were stayed at *Bondin*, as the *Spanish* & Ecclesiastikes remained distributed betweene *Cento* and *Fmalo*: They, notwithstanding the terme of three moneths was past, surceassed at the request of the Pope.

On the other side, *Monsieur Chauumont*, hauing assembled his armie which was aboute his enemies in footemen, and farre aboute them as touching the valour of the horsemen, but inferiour in numbers & multitudes, tookē counsel with his Captaines what were best to be done. The French Captaines perswaded that the companies of the Duke of *Ferrara* being ioyned to the armie, it were best to march directly to seeke the enemies, who notwithstanding were lodged in places strong and sure, yet there was hope that with the vertue of armes and importunitie of the artilleries, they would be driuen to dislodge & retire: a matter that would not onely make *Ferrara* deliuered and acquired of daunger, but also in this expedition would be won againe the reputation that had bin lost till that day. They alleaged also for the same opinion, that the army passing by the marches of *Mantua*, they should take from the Marquis all the excuses and impediments for the which he professed to be retained to take armes as Feodater of *Caesar*, and souldier to the king, and that it was a thing profitable for the suretie of *Ferrara*, that he should come in and declare lastly,

lastly, that he being declared, the enimie would find many discommodities in this warre, both for restraint of victuals, and annoyances of bridges and passages of riuers which thereby should be taken away from the *Venetian* armies, and also the Marquise should reuoke immediatly the souldiers which he had in the campe of the Church. But *Trinulco* being returned out of *France* about the same time that *Mirandola* was lost, gaue counsell to the contrarie: he declared what danger it were to go seeke the enemies and set vpon them in their campe, and how hurtfull it would be to be referred and gouerned by necessitie, to proceed day by day according to the proceedings and doings of the enimie: that it was far more profitable and better assured, to turne the armie to *Modona* or to *Bologna*, for that, if the enemies remoued for feare to lose the one of those two townes, then were wonne the way that was sought to deliuer *Ferrara* from the war: and if they did not stirre, there was yet this benefite in the counsell, that the one or the other of those two townes would be easily caried: in which case as a great necessitie would draw them out to defend their owne, so in leauing their place of strength, the armie should be subiect to many occasions to obtaine an honorable victorie. This was the perswasion of *Trinulco*, and these were the reasons he occupied, such, as for their grauitie expressed his great wisdome, but for secret enuie and partiality, were neither embraced nor followed: for, the other opinion was allowed. *Chaumont* and the other French Captaines bearing an inclination to diminish his authoritie; *Alfonso d'Este* being also concurrant for hope that the enemies would be constrained to dissolue, or at least retire from his estate, which being so afflicted and consumed, he said was vnable any longer to susteine so heauie burthens: he feared, that if the Frenchmen went away, the enemies would make entrie vpon *Polisena de Ferrara*, a thing which would so much haue increased the calamities of that citie deprived of all hope and spirit, that there remained no more comfort nor remedie: so the French armie marched by the way of *Lusero* and *Gonsagno*, to encampe at *Rassonla* and at *Moia*, where they remained three dayes for the ill weather that fell, reiecting the counsell of such as perswaded to go assaile *Mirandola*, both for the incommodity to incampe in the fields, and also that at the Popes going away, the suburbs were burnt and all the houses about: they supposed it in like sort neither conuenient nor honorable to charge vpon *Concorda* five miles from them, holding it but lost time to entertaine action in a matter of so small importance: the armie therefore came to *Quistello*, and making passage ouer the riuer of *Secchia* vpon a bridge of boates, they lodged the day after at *Rouera* vpon the riuer of *Paw*: the same being the cause that *Andre Gritti*, who hauing afore, recouered *Polisena Rouigno*, and left one part of the *Venetian* souldiers at *Montagnana* vnder *Bernardin Montono*, to make resistance against the garrisons that kept *Verona*, was withdrawne to *Montagnana* with three hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsmen, & a thousand footmen: these were already drawne neare the riuer of *Paw* to ioine with the armie of the Church, hauing afore sacked the towne of *Guaftallo*: from *Rouera* the Frenchmen went to *Sermidy*, and dispersed themselues in good order in the vilages thereabouts: from thence *M. Chaumont* accompanied with certaine Captaines (but not with *Trinulco*) went to the towne of *Stellata*, being there expected by *Alfonso d'Este*, to take counsell in what maner they were to proceed against their enemies, who were now lodged altogether at *Finalo*: it was there agreed that the bands of *Alfonso* should be ioined with the French army about *Bondin*, and so to march altogether and encampe in certaine vilages three miles from *Finalo*, to proceed afterwards according to the nature of places, and occasions offered by the enemies: but as *Chaumont* was returned to *Sermidy*, it was told him how hard it was to go to that place, both for the impediment of waters, whereof the country was full about *Finalo*, and also that by necessity, he was to take the high way along the risings of the canall, which the enemy had cut off in many places, and bestowed gard to hinder passage: a matter also which seemed so much the more hard and troublesome, by how much the ill weather and season was ioined to the other impediments: the consideration of these perils bringing *Chaumont* into no small doubt, *Alfonso* that had about him certaine discouersers and men knowing the country, and by the well informed of the situation and disposition of places, laboured to perswade the contrarie, assuring him that with the force of artillerie, such as manned the passages that were cut off, would be compelled to them abandoned, by which meane it would be verie easie to cast bridges for passage in any place where it should be necessarie. These reasons being brought by *Chaumont* into counsel & debated, the opinion of *Alfonso* was approued, to whom *Trinulco* was rather not contrary the

consenting, his silence leauing to the companie a more occasion of murmure, then if he had directly impugned the deuise: for, what with the greatnesse of the difficulties, which still augmented, and authoritie of that capitaine carying long experience, and had alwayes reproued that expedition, it was thought that the harmes and inconueniences hapning, the king would lay the blame vpon the authors of that opinion: in which respect *M. Chaumont* assembling another day the Councell for the same matter, desired *Triulce*, that not with silence as he did before, but frankly and simply as appertained to him, he would expresse his opinion, which he deliuered in this sort, hauing no lesse regard to the grauitie and importāce of such a Councell, then to the great desire and expectation of the assistants so well disposed to heare him.

Triulce reasometh.

I vsed silence yesterday, not bearing a mind preiudiciall to the present businesse, and much lesse to arrogate to my selfe any singularity of counsell; and yet if my opinion had found imitation in the beginning, we had not now stood possessed with doubts, nor this gallant armie had spent so many dayes in vaine, which might haue bene employed with more profit: and I could yet continue in silence, if, suppressing all other respects, I were not spurred on with the importance of the matter, being now vpon termes to set vpon one incertaine cast of a die, both this flourishing armie, the state of *Ferrara*, and the Duchie of *Millan*, matters too great to be put all to aduventure without retaining some part from chaunce and fortune. Besides, one reason that moues me to speake, is an opinion I haue that *M. Chaumont* desireth that I may be he that in this action shall giue the first counsell: a matter which as he beginneth now to find good by reason, so it is no new thing to me, for that heretofore I haue proued by experience that my counsels haue bin lesse reiected when was question to retract any thing not sufficiently deliberated, then when the first deliberations were debated: & as true counsell consisteth not only in telling what must be done, but also what will be the end & successe of things; so, for my part, I make bold thus far to enable my selfe, that the man of obseruation by the experiences he hath made, giues oftentimes better counsell then the man of learning by all the rules he hath read: we debate to go seeke the enemy to fight with him, & I haue alwayes seene great capitaines hold this as a firme principle, not to attempt the fortune of a battel, vnlesse there be offer of speciall aduantage, or compulsion by great necessity: the lawes & rules of warre giue it to the enemies that be the invaders, & haue taken the field to conquer *Ferrara*, to seeke to assaile & charge vs: but to vs to whom it is sufficient to defend our selues, it cannot but be impertinent to obtrude into the action, contrarie to all directions & disciplines of warre. Such as resist iniuries and fight for their owne safeties, are of more merit & valour then they that enter into armes to oppresse others: but let vs examine the aduantages and necessities that may draw vs: I am of opinion, which hope is confirmed by euident reason, that there is no possibility to execute the deuise of the Duke of *Ferrara*, but to our great harmes and disadvantage, since we cannot go to their campe, but by a hill side, a straight & narrow way, where all our forces cannot be employed, and yet they with small numbers may make resistance, hauing the oportunity of the place fauourable to their vertues: we must march by the rising of the hill, one horse after another, neither haue we anie other way to draw our artilleries, our baggage, our carts, and bridges, but by the strait of the hill: and who doubteth that in a way so narrow and comberous, euerie artillerie, euerie cart, or euerie wheele that shall breake, will not stay a whole armie for an houre at the least, by which impediments euerie contrarie accident may easily put vs into disorder. The enemies are lodged in cosfert, provided of victuals and forrages: and we must encampe all bare and naked, not carrying with vs that should serue for our necessities, but must expect the things to come after, which in reason ought to go with vs. It belongeth not to vs to be credulous in brutes, and much lesse to be caried with the reports and opinions of the countrey men that know the countrey, since warres are managed with the weapons of souldiers, & with the counsels of Capitaines; they are determined by the execution of the sword, and not by such plots as are presented in paper by people ignorant in warre, bearing no other knowledge then according to the instruction of their rude nature. To attempt new enterprises whereof the victorie is lesse certaine then the perill, is contrarie to the grauitie and reputation of a leader: and in actions of warre, those enterprises are put to aduventure, that are done by will and not by reason. For my part I neither suppose our enemies too weake, nor their campe in such disorder: and much lesse that in their incamping they haue bene so negligent to take the oportunity of the waters and other situations, that it can be in our power to assaile them, though

though our fortune bring vs in safety to the place where we seeme so desirous to expresse our valours. Many difficulties may cōpel vs to make our abode there two or three dayes;lea the snowes and raines ioynd to the crabbedness of the season may suffice to detaine vs: how shall we then do for victuals and forrages? what shall we be able to do in the warre, wanting the things that should giue vs strength and sustenance? In warre no lesse needful is food & forrage, then the weapon to strike: & be it, we should haue them in our power to assaile them, what is he that can promise anie surety of the victorie, which seldom followeth the multitude of the souldiers that fight, but hath regard to the innocēcie of the cause that is followed? what is he that cōsidereth not how dangerous it is to go seeke the enemy in a strong campe, and to be driuen at one time to fight against them, and against the incommodities of the situation of the place? If we compell them not to abandon their campe, we cannot but be enforced to retire: a matter of verie hard action in a countrey so wholly against vs, and where euerie little disfauour will turne to our great disadvantage. I see no necessitie to put the kings whole estate in a danger so present, since (as I take it) we are entred into armes for no other occasion then to succour the citie of *Ferrara*, which if we do eftsoones refurbish with new garrisons, we may hold our selues in suretie, though we should dissolue our whole armie: and be it that that Citie is so much consumed, that it is impossible that in short time it wil not fall of it self, the enemies remaining at the backe of it, yet we haue meanes to diuert them, which in warre is a most mightie remedie, and with the which we may inforce them to draw backe from *Ferrara* without putting one horse in danger. I haue alwayes perswaded, and stand still firme in this counsell, that we turne either to *Modona* or to *Bologna*, taking the high way, and leauing *Ferrara* well furnished onely for those few dayes it shall be necessarie. This is no flying from the enemy, and yet in warre it is no shame to flie, when the flying profiteth in giuing place to the aduersarie. I hold it best according to the time, that we go to *Modona*, whither also we are called by the Cardinall of *Este*, a personage of name and merite not vnknowne, and by whom we are assured of intelligences able to put it into our hands: & conquering a place of that importance, there resteth no other safetie to the enemies then to retire towards *Bologna*, like as also if our fortune make vs faile of our expectation of *Modona*, yet the feare that the enemies will haue as well of it as of the estate of *Bologna*, will drue them to abandon: a thing which no doubt they had done many dayes since, if this counsell had bene executed from the beginning.

Now did the whole assistance, by the reasons of this graue Captaine, discern the difficulties that were present, which he had found and scene when they were farre off: in which regard his opinion was allowed of euerie one. And *Chaumont* leauing to the Duke of *Ferrara* for his better suretie a greater strength of men, he drew towards *Carpi* by the same way, hauing not yet obtained that the Marquise of *Mantua* should come in, which was one of the principallest reasons that had bene alleaged by thole that gaue counsell against the opinion of *Trinulco*: for the Marquise desiring to stand indifferent, & as a person neuter during the troubles, when the time drew on wherein he had giuen hope to declare himselfe, he solicited with many excuses to be yet deferred for certaine dayes, debating with the Pope the danger of the French armie that threatned him, & beseeching *M. Chaumont* not to take from him the hope he had that the Pope would restore to him his sonnes within a very short time. But the deuise to take *Modona* tooke no good successe, the futtle and secret counsels of the king of *Aragon* giuing greater impediments then the armies of the Pope.

Cesar shewed himselfe ill contented that the Pope vsurped *Modona*, a citie esteemed in all times of the iurisdiction of the Empire, & holden by long continuance by the family of *Este* with priuiledges and inuestitures from the Emperours: and albeit he had made request with many complaints to haue it deliuered to him, yet the Pope, nourishing another opinion touching the rights of that citie, had alwayes refused it, but principally so long as he hoped to be able to take *Ferrara*. But as soone as the French armies began to discouer more manifestly in fauour of them of *Este*: and that he had no abilitie to defend *Modona* without making great expences & defrayments: he began to taste the counsell of the king of *Aragon*, who encouraged him to redeliuer it, both to auoid so many present troubles, and to appease the mind of *Cesar*, and also by that action to kindele some alteration betweene him and the French king: he induced him besides with this comfort, that if he desired to haue it againe in another time more conuenient, it would be a

matter of no great difficulty, contenting *Cesar* with a reasonable summe of money. This debating was prolonged for many dayes, for that, according to the diuersitie of hopes, the deliberation of the Pope chaunged; onely they stucke alwayes vpon this one difficultie, that *Cesar* refused to receiue it, vnlesse in the instrument of assignation it were clearly expressed, that that Citie appertained to the Empire: a matter whereunto albeit the Pope would not consent at the first, yet seeing after the taking of *Mirandola* that *M. Chaumont* was the strongest in the field, and that the wonted expences and difficulties for the defence of *Modona* returned vpon him againe, he left the disputation of words, & consented to haue it set downe in writing, that *Modona* should be restored to *Cesar*, of whose iurisdiction it was. And as *Vitfruch* the Embassador of *Cesar* resident with the Pope had receiued the possession of it, and that he might remaine there in surety by the authoritie of *Cesar*, he dismissed *Mark Anth. Colonne* with the other bands with whom he had it afore in the name of the Church, aduertising *Monsieur Chaumont* that *Modona* was no more the Popes, but was iustly reuerted to the iurisdiction of *Cesar*. This was not beleueed of *Chaumont*, who still continued to worke the Cardinal of *Este* to put in execution the conspiracie and intelligence which he entertained with that Citie: in so much that according to direction, the French bands which *Chaumont* had left in garrison within *Rubiero*, were made out one night, but notwithstanding they marched with as little brute as they could within a mile of *Modona*, they returned the same night to *Rubiero*, either for that the order of their faction within was not correspondent, or else the Frenchmen had presented their time and were come too soone: neuertheless they gaue no place to this ill successe, but made another sallie out of *Rubiero* to come to *Modona*, falling notwithstanding into the same impediments they did before, aggravated now by the depth & rage of the waters to passe the river of *Beckhie* which runneth before *Rubiero*. At last *Vitfruch* became suspicious, and committing to imprisonment certaine of the city, vpon who he imposed an intelligence with the Cardinal of *Este*, he obtained of the Pope that *Mark Anth. Colonne* should estoons returne thither with the garrison that was there before: a matter which had not stayed *M. Chaumont* (being now come to *Carpy*) to march and encampe before it, if the quality & season of the time had not taken from him the drawing of his artillerie along the way betweene *Ruolo* & *Carpy*, a way not more then ten miles from thence, but euen the worst of all the wayes in *Lombardy*, notwithstanding their overflowing with waters and marish natures. Besides all this, *Chaumont* was euery day more & more aduertised, that *Modona* was redelivered to *Cesar* simply & absolutely, which made him make this covenant with *Vitfruch*, not to offend *Modona* nor his territories, receiuing reciprocally his promise, that in the actions betweene the Pope & his king, he should not fauor the one nor the other partie. But such is the destiny and end of all flesh, that all men borne in humane nature, must within time appointed resigne to the earth the life they had of the earth: it hapned not manie dayes after that *Chaumont* fell into a grieuous maladie, & being caried to *Correge*, ended his life within 15 dayes, expressing deuoutly somewhat afore his death, how greatly he was repented and remorded of the vexations he had done to the Church, & besought the Pope by a publike instrument to giue him pardon & absolution, which being granted while he yet liued, could not come to his knowledge by reason of the sodainnesse of his death. He was a captain that in his life bare great authority in *Italy*, both by the singular credit of the Cardinal *Amboise*, & also for that he managed almost absolutely the duchy of *Moden* & all the armies of the king: but touching his ability or valour, it was far interior to so great a burthen, the greatnes of his place carying him into such singularity of mind & weening, that not knowing of himselfe the arte and order of warre, he would not giue faith to such as were able to instruct him: by which it hapned that after the death of his vncke, his insufficiencie being no more supported by countenance and fauour, he fell in his latter dayes almost into the disdaigne of the souldiers, notwithstanding he suffered in them wonderfull insolencies and licentious behaviours to stop them from ill reporting him to the king: in so much as *Triunice*, a Capitaine trained in ancient discipline, would oftentimes protest by oath, that he would neuer go more into the French armies, vnlesse the king marched in person, or at least himselfe commaunded as chiefe. Neuertheless the king was determined afore to send for his successor, *Monsieur Longueville*, descended of the blood royall, but a bastard borne, and not so much esteemed for his vertue, as for his descending and riches. By the death of *Chaumont*, *John la. Triunice* remained gouernor of the army by the prerogative that he was one of the 4 Marshalls of

Fraunce, to whom, the Generall being dead, the rule of the armie appertaineth by the statutes of *Fraunce* vntill the king do otherwise dispose of it. And albeit, not knowing how long he should be continued in that gouernement, he durst not attempt any matter of consequence: yet he returned with the armie to *Sarmidi* to go to the succors of *Genuola*, afore the which the Pope had not onely sent his bands that were in *Romagnia*, but also had procured the *Venetian* fleet, to approach at the same instant, which came thither with thirteen light gallies, and many other vessels of meaner burthen: but he had no necessitie to passe further, for whilest the land-men incamped about it with very litle obedience and order, there was discovered vpon a sudden the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Lord of *Chastillon* with the French souldiers that were ledde out of *Ferrara* in greater numbers then were the enemies: and marching along the brinke of the riuer of *Pan*, and being come vp as farre as the riuer of *Santerno*, they cast the bridge which they had brought with them, and in one moment charged and confused the enemies, who, by reason of their disorder being not able to make resistance, fell into one generall and voluntarie flying, sauing three hundred Spanish footemen which garded the artillerie. In which confusion they lost their ensignes and artilleries, many chieftaines of the horsemen finding more safetie in the fortune and swiftnesse of their horses, then in their proper valours. By reason of this aduersitie the *Venetian* fleet, to auoide the danger that threatned, hoysed saile into the winde, and so retired into the ryuer of *Pan*.

The affayres of the warres had these diuerse proceedings, not expressing any assured token to iudge what would be the issue of it: The thoughts also of Princes were no lesse diuerse, and no lesse incertaine specially the cogitation of *Cesar*, who contrarie to all expectation, determined to send the Bishop of *Gurci* to *Mantua* to negotiate a peace.

It is set downe before that by the working of the Bishop of *Gurci*, it was resolved between *Cesar* and the French king, to make strong warre vpon the *Venetians* in the spring time, and withall, to call a Councell, if the Pope consented not to the obseruation of the league of *Cambray*. To this *Cesar* bearing a very vehement inclination, had since the returning of the Bishop of *Gurci*, sent to all his prelates of his estates patrimoniall to debate in what maner and in what place the Councell should be celebrated. But as he was of naturall condicion variable and inconstant, and an enuier of the greatnesse and name of the French, so making no lesse vaine his proper promises then the expectation that others had of him, he declined afterwards to inconstancie, and listned to the perswasions of the king of *Aragon*, who considering that what by the vnite of *Cesar* with the French king, and the embasing of the *Venetians* by their common armies, and withall the ruine of the Pope by meane of the Councell, the French might rise into a greatnes too ielouse and suspected, laboured to perswade him that an vniuersall peace would fall out better for his purposes, so farreforth as by it he obtained either the whole or the greatest part of those peeces which the *Venetians* vsurped vpon him: he aduised him to send to this effect, some notable personage to *Mantua* with full power, and labouring to induce the French king to do the like, he promised that he would also send thither, by which examples he alleaged that the Pope could not refuse to ioyne in the action, and lastly that he would not go against the will of so many great Princes: he told him that vpon the resolution of the Pope, depended all the deliberations of the *Venetians*, in whom was a necessitie, to followe his authoritie, as not being able to stand alone: for which reasons it was to be hoped, that *Cesar* without difficultie, without armes, & without increasing the reputation & might of the French king, should to his perpetuall praise, reobtaine his estate, together with an vniuersall peace. And be it that it brought not forth that successe which reasonably may be expected, yet he should not be deprived of meanes to moue the warre at the time appointed, & with the same comodities & hopes: But being chiefe of all Christian Princes, & protector of the Church, his iustificacions would be the more augmented, as also by such a Councell would come the exaltation of his glory, for that it would appeare to euery one, that as he principally had sought and desired the peace & vnite of Christians, so by the obstinacie & wicked counsels of others he was constrained to make warre. These reasons no lesse by the grauitie of matter they expressed, then by the authoritie of the personage from whom they came, were right acceptable to *Cesar*, who at the same instant addressed letters to the Pope & to the French king: to the Pope, that he had determined to send the bishop of *Gurci* into *Italie*, for that (as appertained to a Prince religious, being protector of the Church,

and chiefe aboute Princes Christian) he was resolved in all that he might, to procure the tranquillitie of the sea Apostolike, and the vniuersall peace of Christendome: summoning him, bearing the office of the high vicar of Christ, to ioyne and proceede with him in the same intention, and to do that which belonged to the place & name of Pope, to the end he were not constrained to haue recourse to other remedies, to establish the peace of Christendome. That he did not allow the practise that was made to depriue the Cardinals that were absent, of their holy dignitie, for that being absent not to any euill ende, nor for hatred they bare to him, neither could they deserue so great a paine, neither was the authoritie of the Pope onely able to impose it vpon them: He told him besides, that it was a matter very vnworthy and vnprofitable, in so great troubles to make creation of new Cardinals, since he was specially forbidden by the capitulations which the Cardinals made with him when he was elected Pope: He desired him to reserue that office till times of better tranquillitie, when he should either haue no necessitie or no cause, to preferre to so great dignities none but persons well allowed of for their discretion, their doctrine, and good life. To the French king he wrote, that according to his vertuous disposition alwayes inclined to embrace a good and assured peace, he was resolved to send to *Alantua* the Bishop of *Gurci* to sollicite a peace vniuersall, wherunto he beleueed (with reasons and foundations nor light nor vaine) that the Pope (whose authoritie the *Venetians* were constrained to follow) would readily incline, the Embassadors of the king of *Aragon* concurring in the action, and promising the like on the behalfe of their king: Therefore he desired him to send thither likewise his Embassadors with full power, and in the generall assembly, the Bishop of *Gurci* should beseech the Pope to do the like, wherunto if he made refusal, the Bishop should denounce the Councell in the names of them all, hauing also giuen order that to make their proceedings more iustificable, and to put ende to all controuersies, the Bishop of *Gurci* should indifferently vnderstand the reasons of euery one: onely in all accidents, that he should hold this for certaine, neuer to make any agreement with the *Venetians*, if at the same time were not resolved the controuersies which he had with the Pope. This solicitation pleased well the Pope, not for any desire he had to peace and concord, but for that he perswaded him selfe to be able to dispose the Senate of *Venice* to compound with *Cesar*, and so deliuering him from necessitie to remaine vnited with the French king: he supposed to separate him from him, and the same easily to be made a cause of confederation of many Princes against him. But the French king stood not a little discontented with these resolutions both new and vnexpected, for that nothing hoping that an vniuersall peace would proceede of them, he iudged that the least euill that might happen, would be a protracting and delaying of the execution of those things which he had agreed with *Cesar*, he feared also that the Pope, promising to help *Cesar* to reconquer the Duchie of *Millin*, & to indue the Bishop of *Gurci* with the dignitie of Cardinall and other graces ecclesiastike, would separate him from him: or at least being the worker of the composition with the *Venetians* to the aduantage of *Cesar*, he might be put into necessitie to accept the peace with conditions dishonest: wherein one thing also that encreased his suspicion, was, that *Cesar* was newly confedered with the *Swissers*, notwithstanding for defence onely. Besides, he occupied in himselfe this perswasion, that the king Catholike had bene the author of this new counsell, of whose intention he doubted much for many reasons: for he was not ignorant that his Embassador resident with *Cesar*, made open trauell and solicitation to establish an accord betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*: he beleueed that he gaue secrete encouragement to the Pope, in whose armie his companies and bands of souldiers had remained a longer time then he was bound vnto by the capitulations made touching the inuestiture of the kingdome of *Naples*: he was not ignorant that to giue impediment to his actions, he objected himselfe manifestly against the conuocation of the Councell, and vnder colour of modestie he blamed apparantly that with armed hand & in a time when *Italie* burned with an vniuersal fire of warre, there should be such negociation of a matter, which without the concord and consent of all Princes, could not bring forth but fruites full of venime and infection. Lastly, he was well aduertised that he prepared a strong armie by sea, with the which, albeit he published a bruite, that he would passe in person into *Affrike*, yet it could not be decided, whether he leauied that force for other ends: wherein he was so much the more suspicious, by how much his words were alwaies full of sweetnesse and affabilitie: for he alwaies besought the king (as it were with a brotherly affection) to make peace with the Pope,

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forfaking (if otherwife it could not be wrought) ſome piece of his owne rights, both, not to ſhew himſelfe a perfecutor of the Church, contrarie to the auuncient pietie and deuotion of the houſe of *Fraunce*: and alſo not to turne him from the warre which he had determined to make vpon *the Turkes in Affrike* for the exaltation of the name of Chriſt. He added laſtly, that albeit it had bene a perpetuall cuſtome amongſt Chriſtian Princes, when they prepared armies againſt infidels to demaund ſuccors of others in a cauſe ſo holy and honorable, yet for his part it ſufficed him not to be hindred, and was content to require no other aide, but that *Italie* might remaine in peace: which words, notwithstanding they were caried to the French king by his Embaſſador, and pronounced by his owne mouth to the French Embaſſador reſident with him, & that with great demonſtration of amitie: yet it ſeemed that they contained a ſecrete proteſtation to take armes in fauor of the Pope: a matter which ſeemed not likely to the king that he durſt do without hope to be able to induce *Ceſar* to the ſame. Theſe things troubled much the kings minde, and filled him full of many ſuſpitions, fearing that to worke the peace by the meane of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, would be a thing no leſſe vaine then preiudiciall vnto him: and yet, not to ſtirre vp *Ceſar*, he determined to ſend to *Mantua* the Biſhop of *Paris*, a Prelate of great authoritie and deepe knowledge in the ſcience of the Lawes. Theſe were the doubts of the one king & the deſeits of the other, the one full of deuifes, and the other not void of diſtruſt: they both open in words, & yet kept both their intentions diſſembled: a matter of familiar cuſtome with Princes to entertaine one another with vaine hopes and artificiall feares.

All this while *Iohn Iacques Trinuſce* remained with the armie at *Sermidi* diſperſed into many places thereabouts for the better commoditie of lodging and victuals. And in this time he receiued ſignification from the king, that it was his will that the warre ſhould be adminiſtered by him, with this limitation, that expecting the comming of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, he ſhould abſtaine from all violent action vpon the ſtate Eccleſiaſtike, the hardneſſe of the ſeaſon being alſo againſt it, by reaſon whereof it was impoſſible to incampe in the field, notwithstanding March was now begun. Therefore *Trinuſce*, both for that he had no occaſion to attempt any other enterpriſe; & for that he was in places ſo verie neare, determined to deuife how he might offend the armie of the enemies, who being diſperſed abroad when *Al. Chaumont* returned from *Sermidi* to *Curpy*, moſt part of their footemen were lodged at *Bondin*, & the horſemen in the townes neare about *Finale*. But aſſoone as he had receiued his commiſſion from the king, he marched the day after to *Stellata*, and the day following ſomewhat further, where he beſtowed the armie abroad in the villages thereabouts, and raiſed a bridge of boates vpon the riuer of *Paw* betweene *Stellata* and *Ficquerolla*, hauing giuen direction to the Duke of *Ferrara*, to make another a mile lower, at the place which is called the point, being that breach or branch of *Paw* which goeth to *Ferrara*, and that alſo he ſhould march with the artillerie to the hoſpitall, a place right ouer againſt *Bondin*. In this meane while *Trinuſce* was aduertised by his eſpials, that many troupes of light horſemen of that part of the *Venetian* armie which lay on the other ſide *Paw*, were the next night to approach *Mirandola* to dreſſe ſome ambuſh: againſt whome he ſent out ſecretly certaine horſemen, who being come vp to *Belar*, a plaine houſe in the countrey of *Mirandola*, found within it *Leonard Napolitain* captaine of the *Venetian* light horſemen, and a man of great place and reputation in the armie: he nothing doubting that his enemies would deſcend ſo farre as to that place, was withdrawne thither onely with fiftie horſe, and there expecting a greater ſtrength that was to follow, he with many, of his were ſlaine, their valour not being able to reſiſt the malice of their fortune, *Alfonſo d' Eſte* came to the Hoſpitall according to his direction, beginning the night following to employ his artillerie againſt *Bondin*: and at the ſame time, not omitting the oportunitie of their felicitie, *Trinuſce* ſent *Guaſton* lord of *Foix* the kings ſiſters ſonne, a man very young and newly come to the armie the yeare before, to runne vp euen to the barres of the enemies campe, with an hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen, and ſiue hundred footmen, with whome he put to flight ſiue hundred footmen appointed to gard that front or part of the campe. By this example, bringing diſtruſt of greater perill, all the reſidue leauing *Bondin* vnder good gard, retired into places of ſtrength on the other ſide the Canall. The counſels of warre & enterpriſe carrie with them for the moſt part a ſuccesse variable & differing from expectation, for that no more in thoſe actions, then in any other mortall cauſes, the deuifes of man can not be ſeparate from their imperfections: not one of the plots of *Trinuſce*

succeeded as was looked for, for that the artillerie planted against *Bondin* made little exploit, both for the distance of the place (*Paw* being betwene them) and also the riuier being swelled, and the rising part cut off by them of *Bondin*, it drowned the countrey, that there was no possibilitie of passage from the front of the French campe to *Bondin* but vpon *Barkes*. In to much as the Captaine despairing estoones to vse the commoditie of that way to distresse the lodging of the enemies, called from *Verona* two thousand Launceknights, giuing also direction to leaue threethousand *Grisons*, the better to draw neare them by the waies of *Saint Felix*, in case the peace proceeded not by the working of the Bishop of *Gurci*, whose comming had bene made somewhat the more slowe and delitorie, for that at *Sale* vpon the lake of *Garde* he had in vaine expected aunswere from the Pope, whome he had prayed by letters to send Embassadors to negotiate. At last he came to *Mantua* accompanied with *Dom Peter de Free* ordinarily resident with *Cesar* for the king of *Aragon*: not many daies after arriued there the Bishop of *Paris*, the French king (who to be more neare the solicitations of peace, and the better to furnish his prouisions for the warre, was now come to *Lyon*) perswading him selfe that the Pope would also send thither and ioyne frankly in the action. But such was his obstinacie against the deuout willes of all these great Princes, that he made great instance to haue the Bishop of *Gurci* to come to him: not so much that he thought it answered the expectation of his dignitie Pontificall, as for that he hoped, that in loading him with honors, ceremonies, and promises, ioyned to the efficacie and authoritie of his presence, he might raunge him, and make him conformable to his will, being now more estranged then euer from peace and agreement; wherein to make the labour more easie, and the successe agreable to his desire, he solicited *Hierome Vich* which was of *Valence* and Embassadour resident for the king Catholike, to go on his behalfe to the Bishop of *Gurci*. The Bishop of *Gurci* refused not to condescend to the Popes will, but he objected, that it were good he would first take order for that that was to be done afterwards, assuring that the difficulties would be more easily dissolued and decided, if the negotiation were first managed at *Mantua*, with intention to go afterwards to the Pope with matters well debated, and almost resolved. He alleaged that this course he was bound to take, no lesse for the necessitie then for the facilitie of things: For, as it could not be conuenient for him to leaue alone the Bishop of *Paris*, whome the French king had sent to *Mantua* at the instance of *Cesar*, so there was no hope he should debate in the affaires of his king, and no lesse inconuenient to require him to go with him to the Pope, seeing that neither it answered his commission, nor the dignitie of his king, to go to the house of the enimie afore their coutrouersies were accorded, or at least verie neare to be resolved. Of the contrarie, the two Embassadors of *Aragon*, declared that the whole hope of peace making, depended vpon the agreement & composing of the affaires of *Ferrara*, for that they being determined, and no more cause remaining to the Pope to sustaine the *Venetians*; they should be constrained to yeeld to peace with such lawes and conditions as *Cesar* would: That the Pope pretended that the sea Apostolike had great & strong rights ouer the ciitie of *Ferrara*, & did esteeme *Alfonso* to haue vsed towards him a great ingratitude, & had done him many vnworthie iniuries: that to abate & qualifie the rigor of his mind which was now full of displeasure, it was more conuenient that the subiect or vassall should implore the clemencie of his Lord, then to come & dispute of his iustice. For which reasons they perswaded that it was not only comly & honest, but also conuenient & necessarie, to go to him, in which iust humilitie and submission they doubted not but he would diminish a great part of his rigour. They thought it not profitable that that diligence, that industrie, that authoritie which was to be employed to dispose the Pope to peace, should be consumed in perswasions tending to endes doubtfull: Lastly, they added with very sweete words, that neither could matters haue their full disputation, nor the quarrels sufficiently searched into, vnlesse all the parties were together in full assistance. And that within *Mantua* was onely but one part, for that *Cesar*, the French king, and the king Catholike, were in such vnitie of leagues, parentages, & amities, that in this action they were to be reputed as brethren, the interests of euery particular being common to them all. What by these perswasions and other respectes more speciall and priuate, the Bishop of *Gurci* suffered himselfe to be wonne to goe thither, with intention that the Bishop of *Paris* should expect at *Parma*, what would be the successe of his voyage. During these actions, the Pope notwithstanding all solicitation made appertaining to the peace, had not yet altered his thoughts from the

the warre, entertaning the one with shewes dissembled, and embracing the other with desires burning and importunate: he supposed to surprize of new the bastillion of *Geninola*, recommending the charge of that enterprize to *Iohn Vitells*: But as well for the small and slow payments that were made, the numbers of footemen were farre inferiour to the appointment, as also that all the countrey thereabouts stood ouerflowed both by the plentie of raynes that fell, and by the cutting of the risings of the riuer of *Paw*, there was nothing aduanced. Besides, *Alphonso d'Este* was the stronger by water, who, with an armie of gallies and brigantines so charged the *Venetian* fleet neare *S. Albert*, that what with the furie of that encounter, and with the feare of another fleet of lesser vessels which they discerned sayling from *Comaccho*, they retired to the port of *Rauenna* with the losse of two fustes, two barbots, & more then fourtie smaller vessels. This accident disappointed the Popes hope to take the bastillion, and therefore he returned those companies to the campe which lodged at *Finale*, very much weakened of the strength of footemen for that the pay was so small. About this time the Pope created eight Cardinals, partly to allure to him the mindes of Princes, and partly to arme him against the threatnings of the Councell. Such as he created were Prelates learned and experienced, & as they bare in the Court of *Rome* a great authoritie, so they were personages of speciall election, such as he reposed most suretie in: of the number of this creation was the Archbishop of *Yorke* Embassadour for the king of *England*, and the Bishop of *Syon*, the one being a man of importance to stirre vp the *Swissers*, and the other being gracious with his king, whom he hoped to kindle against the Frenchmen. And to draw on the Bishop of *Gurci* as it were with an earnest penny certaine of the same dignitie, & with that hope to make him the more tractable to his desire, he reserued to himselfe with the consent of the Consistorie, a power to name another, such a one as he had fashioned already in his minde. After he vnderstood that the Bishop of *Gurci* had consented to come to him, he determined to receiue him with great honour, whereinto expresse more office then the estate of a Bishop of *Gurci* could challenge, and lesse respect then appertained to so supreme a dignitie as a high Bishop of *Rome*, he went from *Rauenna* to *Bologna*, to the end to ioyne the magnificence of the place to the residue of honours he pretended. There he receiued him with pompes and ceremonies equall to the estate and dignitie of any king, the glory of his demonstrations and shewes giuing great detection of his dissembled minde. The Bishop also for his part expressed no lesse pompe and magnificence, for that descending into *Italie* with the title of *Casars* Lieutenant, he came accompanied with a very great trayne of nobilitie, all their bands and followers being sumptuously apparelled. The Embassadour of *Venice* resident with the Pope came to meete him at the gate of the towne, making signes of very great submision: but he, with a wonderfull pride and arrogancie both in his gestures & wordes, shewed himselfe not a litle discontented, that he that represented the enemies of *Cesar*, could not so much bridle his impudencie and boldnesse, as to forbear to come in his presence. With this pompe he went vp to the publike Consistorie, where the person of the Pope attended him with all the Cardinals: there he expressed in short speech, but with very hawtie and proud wordes, that as *Cesar* had sent him into *Italie*, in a desire to obtaine that that appertained to him, more by the way of peace then by the rigour of warre: so neuerthelesse, there was no place or possibilitie for peace, if the *Venetians* made not franke restitution of those things that belonged to him in any sort sooner. After he had declared thus much in publike audience, he deliuered no lesse in priuate to the Pope, nothing abating his hawtinesse: and the day following he accompanied these seuere beginnings with actions no lesse proud & arrogant: for the Pope hauing by his consent appointed three Cardinals to negotiate with him, the Cardinall *S. George*, Cardinall *Regina*, & Cardinall *de Medicis*, who attended him at the houre assigned to meete together: he sent three of his Gentlemen to negotiate with them, excusing himselfe to haue other businesse, holding it indeede a matter of great indignitie to debate with any other then the Pope. This indignitie with many others the Pope swallowed sweetly, the incredible hatred which he bare to the French, surmounting the disposition of his nature. But in the accord betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians* which began first to be drawne into disputation, there were many difficulties: for albeit the Cardinall of *Gurci* who in the beginning had demanded all the townes, consented in the end that *Padoa* and *Trenisa* should remaine to them with all their partes and apertenances, yet he stucke to haue them giue to *Cesar* in recompence a very great quantitie of money, and that they should hold them of him in chiefe, & resigne to him the rights of the other townes. Matters which could neuer be agreed vnto

by the Senate of *Venice*, wherein it was vniuersally concluded, that it was better for their common weale, hauing already so fortified *Padoa* and *Trenisa* that they feared not to loose them, to preserue and keepe their money, for that if euer that tempest passed ouer, there might fall out some occasion to recouer easily all the residue of their dominion. On the other side the Pope nourished an importunate desire to haue them agreed with *Cesar*, hoping to make that an occasion to estrange him from the French king, in which regard he pressed them partly by requestes, and partly by threatens, to accept the conditions that were offered them: but his authoritie was no more so great with them, not so much for that they were not ignorant from whence proceeded so great a desire, as for that they knew that their association and companie was so necessary to him if he were not reconciled with the French king, that they made assured reckonings that he would neuer abandon them. Neuerthelesse, after the trauell of many dayes and much disputation made, the Bishop of *Gurci* abating somewhat of the hard conditions which he offered, and the *Venetians* yielding more to the vehement instance of the Pope then they had determined, and withall the Embassadours of the king of *Aragon* interposing in the action, it seemed they came at last to accord, the *Venetians* (the better to retaine *Padou* and *Trenisa* by the consent of *Cesar*) paying huge summes of money, but referred to long termes. There rested onely a meane to reconcile the Pope and the French king, betweene whom appeared no other difference then for the quarrels of the Duke of *Ferrara*: and to resolute them with the residue of the controuersies (for without that *Cesar* was determined to establish nothing) the Bishop of *Gurci* went to speake with the Pope (to whom he went but seldome) being perswaded by the hopes which the Cardinall of *Pania* and the Catholike kings Embassadours had put him in, that it would be a matter of very easie action: and on the other side he knew, that the French king hauing lesse regard to dignitie then to tranquillitie, was disposed to consent to many things, which bare but little preiudice to the Duke of *Ferrara*. But the Pope on the contrary cutting him off at the first, began to exhort him, that agreeing with the *Venetians*, he should leaue at libertie the matters of *Ferrara*, seeming to be sorie that *Cesar* knew not the occasion that offered, to be reuenged with the forces and money of another; of so many great iniuries done against him by the French: and withall that he tarried to be required in a matter wherein reasonably he should beseech others with great instance. To which things when the Bishop of *Gurci* had replied with many reasons, seeing he was not able to turne him from his opinion, he told him he would depart without giuing other perfection to the peace with the *Venetians*: and at the instant, hauing according to the custome, kissed his feet, he departed the same day (being the fifteenth after his arriual at *Bologna*) to *Modona*, the Pope sending after him in vayne to call him againe, as soone as he was departed the Citie: fro *Modona* he tooke his way towards *Millā*, complaining of the Pope for many things, but specially for that whilest by his comming into *Italy* there was almost a generall surceasing fro armes, the Pope had sent secretly the Bishop of *Vintemille*, sonne to the late Cardinall *Fregosa*, to trouble the state of *Genes*: neuerthelesse the Frenchmen set such good espiall of his iourney, that they tooke him in the countrey of *Monisferat* all disguised and vnknownen as he was, and from thence carried him to *Millan*, where he made manifest detection of the cause of his going, and the whole enterprise: his present perill driuing him to seeke his safetie more by disclosing then by excusing. When the Bishop of *Gurci* departed from *Bologna*, he required the Embassadours of *Aragon* (seeming not a litle discontented with the Popes obstinacie) to see returned to the realme of *Naples* the three hundred *Spanish* Launces: whereunto they condescended readily: a matter which made me to maruell the more, for that at the same time that the general Councell was in negociation, with expectation that the armies of *Fraunce* & *Germanie* accompanied with the presence of their Princes, should be most mighty in *Italy*, the Pope, besides the ill will of the French king, separated *Cesar* from him, and stood deprived of the succours of the king Catholike. Some doubted that in this action (as almost in all others) the counsels of the king of *Aragon* were different fro his demonstrations, & that his Embassadours had practised one thing in publike, & another thing in secret with the Pope: for that hauing prouoked the French king by new offences, & in the same giuen a new memory to ancient wrongs, it seemed he ought to feare least the peace with all others came not to be the cause of great perils against him, the *Venetians* remaining weakened of estate, of money, & reputation, & *Cesar* no more mighty in *Italy*, & more variable & prodigall then euer. Others that discouered more suttelly and deeply of things, made this interpretation, that notwithstanding all protestations that

the king Catholike made to abandon the Pope, yea though he reuoked his bands; yet the Pope dwelt firmly in this confidence, that he would alwayes support and defend him in his greateft necessities, considering that the embracing of him could not but be preiudiciall to the king.

Within foure dayes after the departing of the Bishop of *Guroi*, the Pope sent after him the *Scottish* Embassadour to debate of the peace with the French king, wherein the effect was no lesse frustrate, then the deuise and hope of the Pope were vayne. And as by his departing the hopes of the peace were left troubled, and lesse expectation of agreement in so great a discord of wils: so by his going away also did cease the causes that had so long lingred *Iohn Iacques Triunlice*, who thirsted in an honest ambition to do something worthy his vertue and auncient glorie, and by the which he might induce the king to know, how hurtfull it is to recommede the gouernement of warres (a matter aboue all other humane actions most painefull and hard, and most requiring discretion and experience) not to Captaines able and trayned, but to young men vnexperienced, and of whose vertue there is none other thing to giue testimonie then fauour and countenance. Therefore continuing in his first resolutions, notwithstanding the soft bands of the *Grisons* were not yet arriued (for the Generall of *Normandie*, vpon whom depended the expeditions, had deferred to send men to leaue them, both hoping that the peace would go forward, and also seeking to auoyd expences to the king) he brought the campe afore *Concorda* in the beginning of May, containing a thousand two hundred Launces and seuen thousand footemen: he tooke it the same day he presented his campe afore it, wherein the securitie of the townesmen helped no lesse then his owne valour, for that being made fearefull with the first execution of the artillerie, whilest they sent Embassadours to make their composition with him, the footemen of his armie entred the towne and sacked it, the townesmen being negligent in their gard, by the hope they had in their Embassadours that were sent out to capitulate for their safeties. After the taking of *Concorda*, to the end to giue no occasion to such as enuied him to charge him with partialitie, as respecting more his proper profite; then the kings seruice, he left *Mirandola* behind him, and drew towards *Bonport* (a village vpon the riuer of *Panaro*) to approach so neare the enemy, as either to constrain them to dislodge, or to fight out of their strength, and by the same meane to cut off their victuals and prouisions. As he was entred into the countrey of *Modona* and lodged in the Village of *Causeffe*, he sent *Gaston de Foix* with three hundred footemen and fiue hundred horsemen, to do an enterprise vpon *Iohn Paule Mansfron*, that lay at *Massa* neare to *Finale* with three hundred light horsemen of the *Venetians*, who hearing of their coming put himselfe in battell array vpon a bridge: but the valour of his souldiers not answering his vertue and courage, he was made prisoner, being abandoned both of his fortune and faith of his people. After this the armie drawing neare to *Bonport*, *Triunlice* had an intention to cast a bridge there where the channell which is drawne from aboue *Modona* out of the riuer of *Panaro*, entred into the riuer: but the enemy, to giue impediment to his passage ouer the riuer, was already incamped in a place so neare, that they distressed him with their artilleries, where with Captaine *Perault* a *Spaniard* & commaunder within the Church army, was killed, as he walked along the rising of the riuer. In that place the banke is very high, by which helpe as it was easie to the enemy to distress him: so *Triunlice*, meeting with these impediments by a new counsell, cast his bridge somewhat higher, a myle onely aboue the channell: and hauing passed the channell he drew towards *Modona*, marching along the rising of *Panaro*, and seeking out a place where he might more easly cast his bridge. But because he saw alwayes afore him, bands of horsemen & footmen of his enemies, who were incamped neare to *Frankcastell* vpon the way of *Romagnia* (but their lodgings all enuironed with bankes and waters) he came by the same way to the bridge of *Fossalto* two myles neare to *Modona*, and there turning on the left hand towards the mountaine, he passed without impediment the foord of *Panaro*, which in that place hath his channell very large & without banks: fro thence he encamped in a place called the beach of *Panaro* three myles from the army Ecclesiastike. The day after he drew towards *Plumacce*, being refurnished with victuals fro them of *Modona* by the consent of *Vitfuch*. And likewise the same day the army Ecclesiastike, which durst not present theselues in plaine field, supposing it very necessary to draw neare to *Bologna*, the better to preuent all mutinies & stirres in that citie, the rather for that the family of the *Beriuoleis* followed the French army, went & incaped at the bridge of *Casalecquo* three myles aboue *Bologna*, a place very strong & sure, hauing his situation betweene the riuer of *Rene* and the

chanell & by the commoditie of the mountaine at his backe, it defendes *Bologna* frō all priuation of the reliefe of the channell, which cōming from the riuer, passeth into that Citie: this is that place wherein in the dayes of our auncestours *Iohn Galeas Viscount* the mightie Duke of *Mislan*, obtained a most great victorie against the *Florētines*, the *Bolognians* and other states confedered, his numbers farre exceeding the enemies. The day following *Frankcastell* was rendred to *Triunlce*, who, after he had remained three dayes in the lodging of *Plumatce*, both for the impediment of the raines that fell, and also to reuictuall his people being then in great necessitie, he came to incampe vpon the high way betweene *Samoggia* and *Frankcastell*, where he stood in great doubt what he were best to do for many difficulties that appeared to him in all deliberations: for, he knew well enough that it would be to no purpose to execute any thing against *Bologna*, if the people made no tumult within: and if he should draw neare to it vnder hope of popular emōtiōs, he feared he should be compelled to retire as *Chaumont* did, not without diminution of his reputation: and he knew that it would be a matter of greater perill and indiscretion, to go fight with the enemies incamped in places of strength and of aduantage: and to make his approach to *Bologna* on that side below, there was no other hope, sauing that haply the enemies might remoue for feare least he assailed *Romagnia*, in which might be offered some occasiō, either to him to fight, or to the people of *Bologna* to make some tumult. Neuerthelesse in the end after he had resolved to make triall, if either the vniuersall disposition of the Citie, or the particular intelligēces of the *Bentinoleis*, would stand him in any steed, he led the armie, the vaungard guided by *Theodore Triunlce*, the maine battell by himselfe, and the rearegard by *Gaston de Foix*, to incampe at the bridge of *Laine*, which is a place vpon the high way fīue myles from *Bologna*, and bearing a perpetuall renoume for the memorie of the enteriuew of *Lepidus*, *Marke Ant.* & *Octauius*, who, by the testimonie of histories, vnder the name of *Triumvirat*, established in that place the tyrannie of *Rome*, together with that proscription which can neuer be blamed and detested enough. The Pope was now at this time at *Bologna*; but since the departure of the Bishop of *Curci* being perplexed in varietie of thoughts and counsels; sometimes courage and sometimes feare bearing dominion in him, as soone as he heard *Triunlce* began to march (notwithstanding the *Spanish* Launces were gone) he went from *Bologna* to the armie, to the end by his presence to encourage the Captaines to giue battell to the enemies, to the which he could neuer dispose them, either by his letters, or labour of his Embassadors: he departed with intētiō to lodge the first day at *Cente*, but he was compelled to lodge within the towne of *Pienna*, for that a thousand of his footemen which were entred within *Cente*, refused to depart till they were satisfied of their payes: whereupon, being either made angry with this contempt, or haply looking more deeply into the present daunger, he altered his resolution, returning estloones to *Bologna*, where his feares so redoubled vpon him by the approaching of *Triunlce*, that being determined to go to *Rauenna*, he sent for the Magistrates, to whom he occupied these perswasions: That by the benefite of the sea Apostolike, & by his meane & labour, they had shaken off a yoke of most grieuous tyrannie, and had obtained libertie with many exemptiōs, besides many graces both publike & priuate which they had receiued & were to receiue of him in particular: by which meane, in place where before they were holden oppressed with most hard seruitude, & so embased and troden down by tyrants, that in other parts of *Italy* there was no reputation of them, now they were raised into honour & riches, their Citie replenished with all sortes of trades & marchandises, & some of the established in right worthy & high dignities. In so much as now, their fortune being changed; they bare an vniuersall reputation in euery place, they stood free of themselves, absolute Lords of *Bologna*, & the whole territorie, the offices & honors being in their hands, & the publike reuenues of their citie, in their free distributiō: onely the Church hath but the name, & keepeth there for signe of superioritie a Legat or gouernour, who much lesse than without the can deliberate of any matter of importance, seeing that for such causes as are referred to his arbitration, he comunicateth ordinarily with them, subjecting himselfe to their aduise and wils: That if for these benefites & prosperities, there remained in them any desire to defend their proper libertie, they should receiue of him no worse succour, comfort, and protection, then he would minister to the Citie of *Rome*, standing in the like necessitie: That though the importāce of the present affaires cōtrained him to go to *Rome*, yet, he neither did nor would forget to prouide for the suretie & safetie of *Bologna*: That for that regard, he had giue direction, that the *Venetian* bands which lay on the other side *Pau* with *Andrew Gruti*, & to that

that end cast the bridge at *Sermida*, should come to ioyne with the armie : That albeit his prouisions were very able and sufficient to defend them, yet he could not rest contented, nor satisfied, if withall he left them not deliuered from the troubles of the warre. In which respect, to driue the Frenchmen into necessitie to defend their owne things, there were already leauied ten thousand *Swissers* to descend vpon the Duchie of *Millan* : and for their better prouision and expedition, he had sent twenty thousand ducats to *Venice*, the *Venetians* preparing the like summe. Neuerthelesse if they had rather returne vnder the seruitude of the *Bentiuoleis*, then to enioy the sweetenesse of the libertie of the Church, he desired them to expresse frankly what minds they bare, for that he would make himselfe conformable to their likings : onely he told them that if they had any resolution to defend themselves, the time now was very conuenient not onely to expresse their vertue, but also to make bound to them for euer, the sea Apostolike, himselfe, and all the succession of Popes that should come after him. To this forme of perswasion pronounced (according to his custome) with more seruency then eloquence, after they had debated amongst themselves in counsell, the President of the gouernement made answer in the name of the whole, not forgetting with words of great boasting to magnifie their faith, their thankfulness to benefits, and their perpetuall and infinit deuotion of his holinesse and name: That they were not ignorant of the happy estate wherein they stood, and how much, since the expulsi-
 sing of Tyrants, their wealth had bene augmented, together with the worship of their city: That where before their liues and hauiors were miserably subiected to the commandement of others, now by the benefit of peace and tranquillitie they liue in suretie, their liues without feare, and their goods without perill of execution, their persons pertaking in the gouernement and in the reuenues: That there was not one amongst them who had not particularly receiued of him many graces & honors: That they sawe renewed in their citie the dignity of Cardinalship, and many of their Citizens furnished with the principall officer of the Court of *Rome*. In recompence of which singular benefits, they bare minds disposed to consume all their goods, to weare and wast their proper liues, and to put in perill the honor & safety of their wiues & children, rather then to fall any iote from the deuotion of the sea Apostolike. Therefore they desired him to depart, no lesse happy then glad, nourishing neither feare nor ielousie touching the things of *Bologna*, for that he should sooner heare that all the channell should swim with the bloud of the people of *Bologna*, then that city should call vpon other name or obey other Lord then Pope *Iulio*. The man, that aspi-
 reth is credulous in all things that are conformable to his hope, yea sometimes his ambition makes him belecue contrary to reason or wisdom. These words protested more in glory, then with good meaning, gaue to the Pope a greater hope then was conuenient : and leauing there the Cardinall of *Pania*, he went to *Rauenna*, not by the high way, although he was accom-
 panied with the Spanish lances which returned to the realme of *Naples*, but for feare of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he tooke the way of *Furly*, which further about, he went from *Bologna* better satis-
 fied then well assured, and could not but expect of them fidelitie and confidence whom he had vndiscretely left to their liberty and discretion. After *Trinulce* was come to the bridge of *Laine*, the city of *Bologna* began to declare an vniuersall murmure, the minds of men being replenished with diuerse impressions and thoughts : some accustomed to the liberty of tyrannie, and to liue of the goods of the states of others, desired vehemently the returne of *Bentiuoleis*, hating already the gouernement Ecclesiastike: some, at well for the harmes they had already receiued, as for the feare of further hurts, seeing two such armies vpon their lands and ready to cut downe their har-
 uest, desired all things by the which they might be deliuered from such ruines: others, affore whose eyes stood yet the memory of the french insolencies, executed in their city vnder *Monsieur Cham-
 mont*, and fearing now least by their well speeding, the city drawing into tumult, might come to be sacked, seemed not to care into what gouernement or iurisdiction they fell, so that in it they might be assured to be deliuered from such daungers. There were very few that affore had declared themselves enemies to the familie of *Bentiuoleis*, which now fauored the iurisdiction of the Church, and that more in shew then in good meaning. In so much that the whole being drawne into armes, some for desire of innouation and change, and some for their proper surety; all things were full of feare and confusion: the Cardinall of *Pania* and Legat resident in *Bolog-
 na*, had neither courage nor counsell sufficient for such a daunger. Besides, in a city so great and populous, he haying no more but two hundred light horsemen and a thousand footemen, and be-
 ing at that time more then euer at variance with the Duke of *Vrbryn*, who lay with the army at

Casalecqua, he had either at aduerture or by destinie leauyed and payed fifteene Captaines of the Citizens, to whom, together with their companies and with the people, he had committed the gard of the towne: it seemed he vsed no great regard in the election of these Captaines, for that the most part of them were of the faction of the *Bentinoleis*, but principally *Lawrence Ariosto*, who, being first imprisoned and racked at *Rome* for suspition of conspiracie with the familie of *Bentinoleis*, suffered afterwards a long imprisonment in the castle of *S. Ange*. The people after they had once their weapons in their hands, began to draw to assemblies, & make secret conuenticles, spreading through the towne new slanders: Their manifest rebellion began to make the *Legat* see too late into his owne indiscretion, and to auoide the perill whereunto he had brought himselfe, he appointed that the new Captaines with their bands should go to the army, sayning too late that the Duke of *Vrbino* would it so: but they answering that it was not reasonable they should abandon the gard of their towne, he proued to bring in Captaine *Ramassore* with a thousand footmen, which the people would not suffer. These manifest contempts made the Cardinal both a coward & desperate, being vnable by perswasion & pollicie to releue the perill which he had put vpon himselfe, not by fortune, but by negligence. Therefore remembring how hateful his gouernement was to the people, and himselfe no lesse detested of the Nobles, for that not long afore vnder the Popes comandement, & power royall as he sayd, he had cut off the heads of three honourable Citizens: he stole out of the pallace by a secret way and in disguised habits, and so suddenly withdrew himselfe into the Citadell, that he forgot to cary with him his Jewels & monney, which he sent for in haste after, and so went out by the gate towards *Ymola*, accompanied with a band of horsmen led by *Guido Vaine* who had married his sister, and was Captaine of the horsmen appointed for his gard. A litle after him went out of the Citadell *Olla Fregosa* without other company then a guide, they both suffering one fortune as they were both followers of one cause. The flying of the *Legat* was no sooner knowne in the towne, then throughout the whole city the name of the people was cried and called vpon with great tumult and emotion: an occasion which *Ariosto* not willing to lose, together with *Frauncis Riucci* one of the fifteene Captaines, & affected to the *Bentinoleis*, they tooke many of their followers and faction, and ran to the gates of *S. Felix* and *Lama* most conuenient for the campe of the Frenchmen, which they brake open with barres and hatchets, and being possessed of them they sent inmediately to call the *Bentinoleis*: and they receiuing of *Trinulce*, many French horsmen to auoid the high way of the bridge of *Rene* which was garded by *Raphaell de Passi* one of the Captaines of the Church, they passed the riuier more low, and approching the gate of *Lama* were let in, their gladnesse being nothing inferior to their fortune. To this rebellion of *Bologna* was added the breaking & flying away of the army: for, about three of the clocke in the night, the Duke of *Vrbino* whose bands of souldiers stretched out from the bridge of *Casalecqua* vntill the gate of *Saragosse*, hearing of the flying of the *Legat* and mutinies of the people, left the most part of his tents and pavilions pitched, and in great hast went away with the whole armie, except those that being appointed for the gard of the campe, were on that side the riuier towards the Frenchmen, to whom his haste would not suffer him to giue knowledge of his disamping: it is seldome scene that one aduersity commeth alone, and it is found in all ages and times then when illes begin to fall, they thunder all at once. For, the *Bentinoleis* being now entred the towne, hearing of the breaking vp of the campe, gaue present aduertisement to *Trinulce*, & sent out of the towne a part of the people to distresse them: by whom and by the multitudes of paynants which descended on all parts with rude cries and brutes, their campe that passed along the wals was assailed, their artilleries & munitions taken from them, and the most part of their baggage spoyled: notwithstanding the French that by this time were come to the medley tooke from the people & paynants by force & violence, the things they had rauished from others with the perill of their liues. By this time also *Theoder Trinulce* with the vaunt guard was arriued at the bridge of *Rene*, where *Raphaell Passi* with singular valour made head long time against his enemies, but being ouercharged both with numbers and fortune, he was at last taken prisoner, hauing giuen by the resistance he made, a notable oportunitie to the Church souldiers to saue themselves. But the *Venetian* companies & the bands of *Rassore* which lay vpo the hill aboue *S. Luke*, hauing but very late knowledge of the flying of the Duke of *Vrbino*, sought their safeties by the waies of the mountaines, by the which notwithstanding they receiued great harmes, they got at last into *Romagna*. In this victory won without fighting, were taken 15 peeces of great artillery, & many of lesser sort, belonging both to the

Pope and to the *Venetians*: certaine men at armes of the Church spoiled and stripped together with an hundred and fiftie of the *Venetians*, and almost all the footemen of both the one & the other armie disperſed. There remained priſoners *Vrſin de Mugnano*, *Iulia Manfron*, with many other Captaines of meane condition: within *Bologna* there was not a man ſlaine, nor any violence done either to the Nobles or to the Commons, onely there were made priſoners, the Biſhop of *Cluſo* together with many other Prelats, Secretaries, and officers which were about the Cardinall and remained ſtill in his paſſage, for that he had kept from them his departing. The ſame night and the day following the people fell vpon an image of braſſe being the Popes picture, which they trailed along the market place in great ſcorne and mockery, vſing no more reuerence to the Image, then they bare affectiō to the perſon that it represented: the cauſe of this inſolencie was referred either to the ſouldiers of *Bentiuole* who could not be gouerned, or elſe to the humour of the people, who bearing a nature vnthankfull & deſirous of new things, and no leſſe weary with the trauels and harmes of the warre, bare hatred to the name and memorie of him that had bene the cauſe of the libertie and felicitie of their countrey. The day after which was the xxij of May *Trynulce* ſtayed in his lodging, and the day following, leauing *Bologna* behind him, he drew to the riuer of *Adice*, & afterward ſtayed at the borough of *S. Peter* which is a frontier vpon the territories of *Bologna*, expecting before he marched further, what would be the intention of the French king, whether he would execute any further action vpon the ſtate of the Pope, or elſe contenting him ſelfe to haue reſſured *Ferrara*, and taken from the Church the citie of *Bologna* which he had gotten by his meanes, he would eſtabliſh there the courſe of this victorie. By reaſon of this temporizing, although *Saffatella* the Popes Captaine, and who hauing chaſed out of *Ymola* the faction *Gibeline*, commaunded that citie as chiefe of the *Guelfes*, made him ſecret offers to put into his hands the citie of *Ymola*, yet he reſuſed to accept it till he had the kings aunſwere. There reſted onely the Citadell of *Bologna*, wherein was the Biſhop of *Vitella*, a Citadell large and ſtrong, but manned and furniſhed according to the cuſtome of the fortrefſes of the Church, containing but a verie ſlender ſtrength of footmen, verie ſmall prouiſion of victuals, and almoſt no munitions at all. Whileſt it was holden beſieged, *Uitruch*, being certified of the ſucceſſe of *Bologna*, was come from *Modona* by night to perſwade the Biſhop with great promiſes and offers to deliuer it to *Ceſar*: but the Biſhop, hauing the ſix day compounded with them of *Bologna*, that the liues and goods of ſuch as were within ſhould be ſaued, and receiued obligation that within a time certaine they ſhould pay him three thouſand duckets, deliuered it vp into their hands: and they were no ſooner poſſeſſed of it, then they ranne by heapes to diſmantle and reuerſe it, the *Bentiuoleis* ſtirring them to the action, not ſo much to winne fauour with the citizens, as for feare leaſt the French king would withhold it, ſome of his Captaines being already of a counſell to demaund it: but *Trynulce* would neuer giue his conſent, for that he thought it would be a thing contrarie to the kings profit to giue occaſion to thinke that he had deſire to make him ſelfe Lord of *Bologna*. By the occaſion of this victorie, the Duke of *Ferrara* recouered beſides *Cento* and *Piena*, *Cotignuola*, *Lugo* and the other townes of *Romagnia*, expulſing at the ſame time *Albert Pie* who poſſeſſed them in common with him.

It was reaſonable, that the Pope ſhould receiue great diſcontentments for the loſſe of *Bologna*, not onely for that the Citie of moſt importance through the whole ſtate Eccleſiaſtike next to *Rome*, was taken from him, wherein he ſuffered priuation of that glorie which he had gotten in conquering it, which was no leſſe great towards men, then moſt principall and great in his owne conceit: but alſo for feare leaſt the ſame fortune & felicitie which in that action had made his enimie happie, would not eſtſoones allure him to purſue his victorie further: ſuch be the variations of mindes poſſeſſed with doubts and feare, and ſuch the motions and ſuggeſtions of a conſcience troubled and infected. He knew if the armie ſhould proſecute the courſe of their victorie, there was in him no abilitie of reſiſtance: and ſeeking to remoue all occaſions that might prouoke them to paſſe further, he ſolicited that the remainders of the *Venetian* ſouldiers already reuoked by the Senat, ſhould embarke at the port of *Ceſena*, and for the ſame cauſe he ſent to haue reſtored to him the xx. thouſand duckets, which remained yet in *Venice*, being ſent thither afore to ſtirre vp the *Swiſſers*. Moreouer he gaue order, that the Cardinall of *Nants a Britton* by nation, ſhould as it were of him ſelf, ſolicite *Trynulce* to peace, perſwading that the time was

then conuenient to worke it: but the Cardinall made aunswere that it was not conuenient to proceede in that generalitie, but rather to come expressely to particularities: he told him that when the king desired peace, he did offer the conditions, and that it was now no lesse necessary for the Pope to do the like, the estate of the affaires so requiring, and his present fortune nothing impugning. The Pope vsed this maner of proceeding, more to auoid the present danger, then for any desire he had to haue peace, struiuing in him at one time feare, obstinacy, hatred, and disdain: and with these passions was concurrant at the same time another accident that hapned, redoubling in him his sorrowes, and making him suspect and feare further: there were brought to him many accusations against the Cardinall of *Pavia*, some charged him with infidelity, some imposed vpon him cowardise, and some blamed him of negligence, euery one thinking to make his fault the greater by the varietie of their imputations: he came to *Rauenna* to make his owne iustification, and sent to the Pope to signifie his comming, and to haue assignation for audience: to whom the Pope, whose gladnesse for his comming, was nothing inferior to the affection he bare him, made answer that he should come to dine with him. But as he was going to the Popes palace, being accompanied *Guido Vaine* & the gard of his horsemen, the Duke of *Vrbjn*, both for an auncient hatred he bare him, and also for a suspition that the reuolt of *Bologna* hapned through his fault, by which occasion followed the flying of the army, followed him with a small traine, and thrusting in amongst his gard of horsemen who for reuerence sake made him place, he slue the Cardinall with his owne hands: he might haply seeme worthy for the degree he held, vpo whō violent hands should not be layed, but touching his infinit vices, he deserued most cruell punishment, his faults being farre greater then the opinion that went on them, & his vertues farre lesse then were conuenient for such a profession. As soone as the report of his death was brought to the Pope, he began to lament with miserable cries and complaynings, being not a little moued for the losse of a Cardinall so deare to him, but much more touched that such a hoiey dignity fell into violation almost euen afore his eyes, by the hands of his owne Nephew, & with an example not vsed: a matter so much the more greuous to him, by how much he made profession to preserue & exalt the authority Ecclesiastike. These sorrowes he was not able to beare, and much lesse to temper his furie, in which respect, as also with the presence of the place to pretermitt the memory of the fact, he departed the same day from *Rauenna* to returne to *Rome*: and, to the end that at one time he were enuironed on all parts with infinit calamities, he was no sooner arriued at *Rimini*, then he had aduertisement that within *Modona*, within *Bologna*, and in many other cities, there were fixed and set vp many placards in publike places, by the which was denounced to him the conuocation of the Councill, with citation to go thither in person.

For, as the Bishop of *Gurcy*, after he was gone from *Modona*, had trauelled certaine dayes by easie iorneis, expecting the answer of the *Scottish* Embassador, who went from him to *Bologna* for affayres which the Pope himselfe had propounded: so, he being eftsoones returned with answers very vncertaine, the Bishop of *Gurcy* dispatched immediatly to *Millan* in the name of *Cesar* three Proctors, who, ioyning with the Cardinals and with the Proctors of the French king, published the councill to be celebrated the first day of September next in the city of *Pisa*. The Cardinals made choise of *Pisa*, as a place no lesse conuenient for the oportunity of the sea, for those that were there to assemble, then of speciall surety for the confidence the french king had in the *Florentins*: And withall, for that many other places, which though they might haue bin capable of such an assembly, yet they were either inconuenient or suspected, or at least the Pope might refuse them with iust colour: There had bene no conueniencie to assenble it in *Fraunce* or in other place of the kings obedience, and *Cōstance* one of the free townes of *Germany* recommended by *Cesar*, seemed for this action to beare no indifferencie, notwithstanding it had bene made, notable by that worthy Councel, wherein three Popes were deposed, & the schisme confounded that had continued for fortie yeares in the Church: And in *Thurin* was more matter of suspition to both parties, for the neighbourhood of the *Swissers* and the estates of *Fraunce*: *Bologna* affore it was out of the obedience of the Church was not sure for the Cardinals: and, now it stands in the like case for the regard of the Pope. Moreouer in the election of the towne of *Pisa* was partly respected the felicitie of an example past touching the memorie of two Councils which had beene there right happily celebrated: the one, when almost all the Cardinals who abandoned *Gregorie* the twelfth, and *Benet* the thirteenth, quarelling together for the Pope.

Popedome, chole Pope *Alexander* the fift, celebrating the Councell in that Citie : and the other which was long time before celebrated in the same place about the yere 1136, by *Innocent* the second, at such time as *Peter Leon Antipape* of *Rome* was condemned, who making himself be called *Anacletus* the second, with such a schisme had not only much troubled *Innocent*, but also all the regions of Christendome. The *Florentins* had afore accorded *Pysa* to the French king, who required it of them, giuing them to vnderstand that *Cesar*, no lesse then he, was the author of the conuocation of the Councell, the king of *Aragon* also consenting and concurring in it. In this action the *Florentins* deserue to be praised, more perhaps for their silence, then for their wisdom or constancie : for, either not hauing the courage to denie the king the thing that was grievous to them, or not considering how many difficulties and dangers might grow vpon them by a Coucell which was celebrated against the Popes wil, they held so secret that deliberatio that was made in an assemblee or Councell of more then an hundred and fiftie Citizens, that the Cardinals to whom the French king gaue hope of their conformitie, were neuer assured that they had accorded, neither had the Pope any knowledge of it. The Cardinals pretended that the Councell might be iudicially called by them, without the authority of the Pope, for the present necessity (as they said) that the Church had, to be reformed, not only in her members, but also in her head, meaning the person of the Pope : they published him to be so hardned in Simony, and corrupted with maners infamous and damnable, both vnfit to gouerne the Papacie ; and author of so many vniust warres, that he was incorrigible, to the vniuersall slaunder of all Christendome, for the safetie and preseruacion of whom, there was no other medicine sufficient, then the conuocation of a Councell : whereof seeing the Pope made no care, they alleaged that the full and legitimate power of conuocation was diuolued to them, specially the authority of the elect Emperour being adioyned, and the consent of the right Christian king, together with the Clergie of *Germanie* and *Fraunce* concurring : they perswaded, that to vse often this medicine, was a meane not only profitable but necessarie for the diseased bodie of the Church, both to roote out the old errors, and to resist such others as would of new bud vp : to explaine and interpret the doubts which dayly happened, and to correct things which though in the beginning were found and well ordered, yet in that triall they appeared pernicious by experience : that for these reasons the ancient Fathers in the Councell of *Constance* had wholsomly enacted and provided, that for alwayes afterwards the Councell should be celebrated from ten yeares to ten yeares : the Popes had no other bridle then this, to hold them from going out of the right way : and without this, weighing with the naturall frailtie of men, the manie entisements which nature breeds in vs to do euill during our life, what surety could remaine to kingdoms and regions, if he that tooke to himselfe all libertie and licence, might stand exempted from all authoritie, and were assured that he should neuer come to giue a reckening of himselfe. On the other side, many occupied these reasons, partaking more with the doctrine of the Diuines, then of the Canonists, that the authoritie to call Councels was inuested only in the person of the Pope : yea, though he were infected with all vices, if onely he were not suspected of heresies : that if the holie authoritie were otherwise interpreted, it would rest in the power of a few, either for ambition or for particular hatreds, couering their wicked intentions with false colours, to alter and change daylie the peaceable estate of the Church : a matter which ought not to be consented, no lesse for the preiudice, then for the ill example it brought : they alleaged that be it that all medicines were wholsome, yet if they were not ministred with due proportions, & in times conuenient, they bare more of poison then of medicine : by which reasons condemning all those that had other opinions, they called this assemblee not a Councell, but matter to deuide and separate the vnitie of the Sea Apostolike, a beginning of schisme in the Church of God and a counselling of diuels.

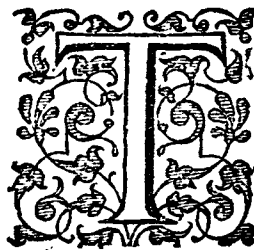
The end of the ninth booke.



THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

After the taking of Bologna, the French armie returneth to the Duchy of Millan. The Councell that was to be holden at Pisa against the Pope, is transferred to Millan, where many stirs happen. The Popes armie besiegeth Bologna. The Frenchmen take Bressia. The battell is giuen at Rauenna. The Pope publisheth the Councell at Rome. And afterwards the affaires of the French begin to decline.



THE successe of the victorie hapning vpon the French king, drew all Christendome, but principally the vniuersall regions of *Italy*, to expect (in great doubt of mind) what he wold further deliberate of his fortunes: for, euerie one gaue this iudgemēt, that it was in his power to make himselfe Lord of *Rome* and the whole state Ecclesiastlike, both for that all the Popes regiments together with the *Venetians* were dispersed and almost dissolued, and also there remained not in *Italy* other armies able to make resistance against the furie of the victor: & as for the Pope, seeming only to be defended with the name and maiesty of the place, he stood in all other regards reduced to the discretion of fortune, his resolution of mind only remaining to support the aduersitie of his estate: neuerthelesse the French king, either the reuerence which he bare to religion retaining him, or the feare to stirre vp other Princes against him driuing him to vse a moderation in his fortune, determined not to vse the occasion of his victory, but with a counsell perhaps more religious then profitable, he addressed his commandements to *Ioh. Iac. Triunlce*, to returne with the armie to the Duchy of *Millan*, leauing *Bologna* to the *Bentiuoleis*, and making restitution of all other peeces which he occupied of the Church. To these actions so gracious and affable, he added words and demonstrations no lesse acceptable and full of pietie: for, he forbad throughout his realmes to make any publike signes of gladnesse; and protested oftentimes in the ptesence of manie, that notwithstanding he had nothing committed against the Sea Apostolike, nor against the person of the Pope, and muchlesse done any thing but by prouocation and constraint: yet, he would come to humilitie with the Pope, and for the reuerence and deuotion he bare to that Sea, he would sue for pardon where he had done no offence: he perswaded himselfe that the Pope, knowing by experience what were the difficulties of his conceits, and being reassured of the suspition which he had of him without occasion, wold with all his hart come to desire peace, the practise & negociation wherof had not bene altogether giuen ouer, seeing the Pope, since he parted from afore *Bologna*, had for that occasion sent to the king the Embassadour of the king of *Scotland*, continuing to solicit the same points, which by the same bishop had bene begun to be debated with the Bishop of *Gurci*. In this disposition to peace ioyned also the family of the *Bentiuoleis*, who notwithstanding they followed the authoritie of the king, yet they signified to the Pope, that much lesse they would expresse contumacie and rebellion to the Church, seeing they laid themselves downe with ready and franke minds to liue & die in that subiection, wherein their fathers had continued so many yeares: and in token thereof they did not onely set at libertie the Bishop of *Cluse*, but according to the ancient vsage, they lodged him in the Pallace as Lieutenant to the Sea Apostolike.

*The French
armie returneth
to the Duchie
of Millan.*

Triunlce departed with the armie and drew neare to *Mirandola* to recouer it, notwithstanding at the request of *Iohan. Fran. Piqua*, *Vitfruch* was entred vnder colour to hold it in the name of *Cesar*, and by protestation had sent to require *Triunlce*, that because it was of the iurisdiction

of the Empire, he should abstaine from all violent action: but finding in the end that his vaine authority was not sufficient, he went his way, *Triuulce* giuing him onely certaine promises more honorable for *Cesar* in shew then in effect: the like did *Iohn Fran.* after he had safeconduit for goods and life; and *Triuulce* hauing to follow no other expedition, sent to the gard of *Verona* five hundred Launces and a thousand three hundred launce-knights vnder Captaine *Iacob*: and reseruing to himselfe two thousand five hundred *Gascoins* vnder the regiment of Captaine *Molard* and *Mangiron*, which, with the companies of the men at armes, he sent disperfed into the townes of the Duchy of *Millan*, he gaue leaue and dismissed all the other bands of footmen: but to the desire and hope of the king was nothing agreeable the disposition of the Pope, who rising into a new courage by the reuoking of the armie, and being euerie day made more hard and obstinate by the things that indeed should haue made him more easie and tractable, seeing withall that at *Rimini* where he yet remained, he lay tormented with the gowt. In the midst of so many perplexities he set downe more in the person of a Victor then one that was vanquished, & that by the meane and working of the same *Scottish* Embassadour, that the Duke of *Ferrara* should pay to him hereafter the tributes which he was wont to pay before the diminution which had bene made by Pope *Alexander*: that the Church should hold a *Visedomino* in *Ferrara*, as the *Venetians* did before: and that there should be rendred to him *Lugo*, with the other townes which *Alonso d'Este* possessed in *Romagnia*. These conditions notwithstanding they seemed to the king no lesse grievous, then to hold too much of iniquitie, yet the desire to haue peace with the Pope preuailing aboue all other respects, he made answer that he was contented to consent to all those demaunds, so farre forth as *Cesar* might also condescend and concurre in them: but the Pope being now returned to *Rome*, seemed with the place to chaunge both counsell and will, the perswasions of the king of *Aragon* helping no lesse then his naturall lightnesse and mutabilitie: for, the king of *Aragon*, whom the late victorie of the French king had confirmed in verie great suspition, had sodainly laid aside all the great preparations which he had made to passe in person into *Affrica*, where he maintained continuall warres with the *Moors*: and hauing called home from thence *Peter* of *Navarre* with three thousand Spanish footmen, he sent him to the realme of *Naples*, both to the end to assure at one time his owne estates, and to giue courage to the Pope to be so much the more estranged from the peace: in so much that by these encouragements conformable to his owne variable disposition, the Pope made answer that he would not heare of peace, vnlesse the *Venetians* might be accorded with *Cesar*: vnlesse *Alonso d'Este* ouer and besides the first demaunds, made him satisfied of all the expences which he had defrayed in the warre: and lastly, vnlesse the king were bound not to hinder him in the recouerie of *Bologna*: which citie, as a rebell to the Church, he had already put vnder Ecclesiasticall interdiction: and to make a spoile of the corne of their countrey, he had sent into *Romagnia* *Mar. Antho. Colonne* and *Ramassote*, who notwithstanding were easilie chased by the people, being scarcely entred into the frontiers. Notwithstanding this answer, the Pope, what by the petitions of the Cardinals, and for other priuate respects, as soone as he came to *Rome*, consented to the deliuerie of the Cardinall of *Achx*, hauing bene till that day kept prisoner within the castle of *S. Angelo*: but to his libertie he ioyned this condition, that he should not go out of the Pallace of *Vatican* till all the Prelats and officers that were taken within *Bologna* were set at libertie, and afterwards that he should depart from *Rome* vnder paine of fortie thousand duckets, for the which he was to put in sufficient surety: and yet not long after he suffered him to retorne into *Fraunce* with charge not to be at the Councell, vpon the like paine.

The Popes answer moued so much the more the mind of the king, by how much he was perswaded that he should consent to the conditions which he himselfe had offered: and therefore determining to withstand him in the recouerie of *Bologna*, he sent thither immediatly a new strength of 400 launces, and not long after he tooke into his protection the citie with all the familie of the *Beniuoleis*, without receiuing of him any couenant to minister either men or mony: and knowing that the alliance of *Cesar* was now more necessarie to him then euer, in place where afore he bare some inclination not to giue him those supplies of men which he had promised him in the capitulation made with the Bishop of *Gurci*, so farre forth as he passed in person into *Italie* (that being the couenant and condition of his promise,) he gaue present order that

The French king takes Bologna into his protection.

from the Duchie of *Millan* the bands that had bene promised should march thither vnder the gouernement of *Monsieur de la Palisse*, for that *Trunche* whom *Cesar* had required, refused the journey.

By this time *Cesar* was come to *Yspruch*, nourishing on the one side a great desire to make warre vpon the *Venetians*, and on the other side, he found himselfe confused with many thoughts and perplexities: for, considering that all that he should do, would make vp no matter of substance if he tooke not *Padoa*, and to that enterprise were required so great forces & so mighty preparations, as it was almost impossible to gather together: sometimes he suffered himselfe to be carried with a desire to agree with the *Venetians*, wherunto the king Catholike vrged him much: and sometimes he stood ouer-ruled with his owne conceits, thinking to march to *Rome* in person with his armie, to occupie according to his ancient desire all the estate of the Church: wherein he laid his plot to leade thither a mightie armie of *Almains*, besides the French companies: but what by his disabilities & by disorders, the execution of things was so far inferiour to the imagination, that he consumed the time without putting any to action, sometimes promising to come in person, & sometimes giuing a naked hope to send men. By these vncertainties it seemed grieuous to the king to take vpon him to sustaine alone the whole burthen of the war: a reason, which hauing conformity with his nature, being sparing and holding, could do more in him for the most part, than the wise persuasions that many made to the contrarie, that if *Cesar* were not mightily succoured by him, he would at last ioyne with his enemies, by which it would happen, that besides his necessity to be at a greater charge, yet his estates in *Italie* could not but fall into right manifest daungers. Amid these doubts and difficulties, the tumults of the temporal armes began to grow cold, but the fire of the spirituall armes kindled into greater flames, as well on the part of the Cardinals, authors of the Councell, as on the Popes side, who laboured altogether to oppresse such an euill afore it became greater.

The Pope
makes ouerture
of a new Coun-
cell to breake
the Councell, of
Pisa.

You haue heard heretofore how the Councell was denounced and signified vnder the authority of the king of *Romains* and the French king, the voices of the Cardinals of *S. Cresse*, *S. Mallo*, *Baix*, and *Coseno* being interposed, the Cardinall also of *S. Seuerin* consenting manifestly, & successiuelly, the Proctors of both the one and other king did assist the counsels and deliberations that were made. Moreouer, and to giue it a greater authoritie, the fiue Cardinals, authors of this pestilence, added by the way of intimation the names of other Cardinals, of whom Cardinall *Albert* a Frenchman durst not disobey the commandements of his king, being innocent in all things sauing in the compulsion that was vsed to him to subscribe his consent: and for the other Cardinals named by them, Cardinall *Adrian* and Cardinall *Finalo* protested openly that the matter was wrought wholly without their priuite and consent: so that more then sixe Cardinals were not manifestly declared of this faction: whom, for that the Pope hoped to draw them to a voluntarie renouncing of the matter, he entertained with them continuall practise, offering to pardon the errors that had bene committed, and that with such suretie that they should not need to feare any violence or displeasure to happen to them: wherunto the Cardinals gaue a dissembled care, beleeuing the Popes promises no further then they saw the confirmed with good means of their safeties: but the Pope could not for all this abstaine from most mighty and extreame remedies, in so much as following the counsell of *Antho. du Mont saint Sansouyn*, one of the Cardinals of his last creation at *Raenna*, seeking to purge himself of negligence, assigned an vniuersal Councell in the towne of *Rome* within the Church of *S. Iohn de Latran* for the first day of May next comming: by which conuocation he pretended that the Councell called by his aduersaries was broken, and that in that which he had published was iudicially contained the power and authoritie of all, notwithstanding that the Cardinals alleaged, that it was true in the beginning, yet seeing they had preuented it, the Councell that had bene instituted and called by the ought to haue place. The Councell being published, & the Pope reposing more then euer in his right, and with all dispaire to be able to reconcile the Cardinall of *S. Cresse* who through ambition to be Pope had bin in effect the mouer of this alteration: and likewise doubting to reclaim the Cardinals *S. Mallo* & *Coseno*, for touching the others he was not without hope to reduce them to his obedience: he published against those three a threatening monition vnder paine of priuation of the dignitie of Cardinall and all Church rights and benefits, if within threescore and fiue dayes they made not their appearance afore him: and the better to dispose them to the Popes will, the

Colledge of Cardinals sent them an Auditor *de la Rote* to perswade and pray them, that leauing their priuate contentions, they should as soones returne into the vnion of the Church, offering to giue them such forme of securitie as they desired.

In this time also the Pope, either for that he was irresolute, or laboured with some other passion of worse nature, hearkned continually after the practise of peace with the French king, the which was solicited in his owne Court by the kings Embassadours, and in the French Court by the Embassadour of *Scotland* and the Bishop of *Tiuoli* the *Nuncio* Apostolike: and on the other side he laboured to make with the king of *Arago* and the *Venetians* a new confederation against the Frenchmen, making all things lawfull & seemely, that he supposed might turne to the aduantage of his affaires. About this time also, the Pope sought to render *Montpulcian* to the *Florentines*, not for any good he wished to them, but for feare least the truce which they had with *Sienna* being expired, they would call into *Tuskane* the French bands, to the end to haue a greater strength to recouer that towne. And albeit it was grieuous to the Pope that the *Florentines* should recouer *Montpulcian*, and that to hinder them he had already sent to *Sienna* *Iohn Vitelli* entertained with an hundred men at armes by the *Siennesis*, and *Guido Vaino* with an hundred light horsemen leauied and payed by him: yet afterwarde considering better, that by how much the difficultie appeared great, by so much more would the *Florentines* be induced to call the, he determined, to the end to take from the king all occasiōs to send armed bands into a place so neare *Rome*, to provide for this daunger by a way contrarie, *Pandolfe Petrucci* consenting to it, who the *Florentines* nourished artificially in the same suspicion. The matter was debated many dayes, for that (small things oftentimes haue no lesse difficulties, nor are no lesse hard to be resolved, then such as be of a greater nature) *Pādolfe* to auoyd the hatred of the people of *Sienna*, would the proceeding should be such, that it might seeme there was no other remedie to assure him from the war, & not to alienate the Popes mind. Moreouer the Pope and he would that at the same time should be made betweene the *Florentines* and the *Siennesis* a confederation for the defence of their estates: and yet they feared on the other side, that they of *Montpulcian* espying what was meant and practised, would preuent them in rendering themselves voluntarily, winning by that meane the fauour of the *Florentines*, who atchieuing their intention, might afterwards refuse to make the confederation. For this cause *Iohn Vitelli* was sent to remaine within *Montpulcian*, & the Pope sent thither *Iames Simonet*, Auditor *de la Rote*, called certaine yeares after to be Cardinall, to the end that by his working, the affaires of *Montpulcian* might be raunged & brought to conformitie. In the end, there was made at one time, a confederation for fiew and twentie yeares, betweene the *Florentines* and the *Siennesis*: & *Montpulcian* returned into the handes of the *Florentines*, *Simonet* interposing for the pardon and confirmation of the auncient exemptions and priuiledges.

For certaine moneths, the war and actions of hostilitie were more easie and tollerable betweene the king of *Romaines* and the *Venetians*, then had wont to be: for that the *Almaines* being neither strong in men, nor provided of money, thought they did a seruice of no small importance, if they kept *Verona*. And the *Venetian* armie wanting sufficient forces to take that Citie, were retired betweene *Soane* and *Louigno*, from whence they made a sally one night, and burnt both on this side and beyond the riuer of *Adice*, a great quantitie of the fruits of the inhabitants of *Verona*, losing notwithstanding in the action three hundred footemen as they retired, the greatnesse of their praying impediments to their valour for the defence of their proper liues. But as soone as they heard that *Monsieur Palissa* was comming to *Verona* with twelue hundred Launces & eight thousand footmen, their armie retired betweene *Vincenza* and *Leguaguo* into a place of strength, bearing almost the forme and situation of an Iland, by reason of certaine waters and trenches that had bene there cut vp. Neuerthelesse they taried not in this place many dayes, for that *Monsieur Palissa* arriuing at *Verona* with a great part of his armie, and without expecting the residue taking the field presently together with the *Almaines*, they retired almost in flying to *Louigno*, and afterwarde with the same feare abandoning *Vincenza* and all the other townes, together with *Polisena* *Ronissne*, which sometimes was pillaged by the *Venetians*, and sometimes prayed by the Duke of *Ferrara*, they withdrew to *Padoa* and *Trenisa*, their feare enforcing them to follow those meanes for safetie and refuge, which were not so conuenient for their honour and reputation. For the better defence of these Cities, many of the youth and nobility of *Venice* came thither with mindes resolved to share and communicate with the fortunes of those two Cities: holding it a iust office in

Citizens and countrey men to oppose their liues against the perils and iniuries done to their countrey. The armie of the French and *Almains* sacked *Louigne*: and *Vincenza* which was become a miserable pray to those that were the strongest in the field, rendred it selfe. But all these enterprises and conquestes were of small consequence for the substance of the warre, so farforth as the *Venetians* held *Padoa* and *Trensa*: for that by the oportunitie of those Cities, as soone as the French succours were deuied from the *Almains*, they reconquered without difficultie, the peeces they had lost: by reason whereof, after these proceedings and aduancements, the armie stayed many dayes at the bridge of *Barberano*, expecting there either the arriuall or the resolution of *Cesar*, who being come betweene *Trent* and *Roniero*, deuising at one time how to follow his pleasures in hunting wild beasts according to his custome, and to send bands of footemen to the armie, promised to come to *Montagnana*, sometimes pretending to embrace the enterprise of *Padoa*, sometimes to execute vpon *Trensa*, and sometimes to go take *Rome*, casting in his minde those plots and deuises of enterprise, whereunto his naturall mutabilitie would suffer him to giue no action. But besides his disposition frayle and variable, and which had not lesse communitt with any thing then with constancie & resolution, he found difficulties in these actions for his extreme pouertie and want, and no lesse in the attempt of *Rome* then in the other enterprises: for that to march thither with those forces of the French, seemed to him an action both against his dignitie and suretie: and the feare least in the absence of that armie, the *Venetians* would assaile *Verona*, cōpelled him to leaue there a strong garrison. Besides the French king made difficultie to separate his people from the Duchie of *Millan* by so great a distance and space of countreys, for the small hope he had to haue accord with the *Swissers*: who besides the inclinations they exprest to the desires of the Pope, spake openly to the Embassadour of the French king, that the peoples of their Nation were not a little grieued with the ruines of the *Venetians*, for the communitt that their common weales had together. At last the plots, conceptions, and great discourses of *Cesar* came, according to his custome, to resolute into effects vnworthy his reputation: for that on the one side, hauing increased the armie with three hundred men at armes *Almains*, and on the other side, giuen familiar audience to the *Venetian* Embassadours, with whom he debated continually, and had caused *Monsieur Palissa* to come first to *Lungaro* neare *Vincenza*, and afterwarde to *S. Croffe*, he solicited him to go take *Newcastell*, which is a passage below *Escalo* drawing to *Friul*, within twentie myles of *Felire*, and all to make his descending more easie on that side: By this direction *Monsieur Palissa* marched to *Mombellono* ten myles from *Trensa*, from whence, hauing sent fife hundred horsemen and two thousand footmen to open the passage of *Newcastell*, they went to *Escalo*. About which time the light horsemen of the *Venetians*, who ouerranne all the countrey without impediment, ouerthrew neare to *Morossiqua*, about seuen hundred footemen and many horsemen both French and Italian: who, to passe in surety where the armie was, went from *Verona* to *Soane*, to ioyne with three hundred French Launces, who being come after *Monsieur Palissa*, expected in that place his direction. And albeit in the beginning, things succeeded well with the Frenchmen and *Almains*, and that *Count Guido Rangon* leader of the *Venetians* was taken, his fortune being far inferiour to his valour: yet many paylants descending in fauour of the *Venetians*, & many occasions rising to their aduantage, they remained in the end victorious, foure hundred of the French footemen being left dead, and their Captaines *Mangiron* and *Chemato* detained prisoners: Such is the ordinarie variation of war, and such the naturall infirmitie of humaine causes, not certaine in their owne condition, but subiected to those endes whereunto they haue bene ordained from the beginning. The resolutions which before had bene debated and set downe, grew more and more to declining & diminution, both for that the French king seeing the preparations of *Cesar* answered nothing his promises and offers, to the end he would draw further off from *Italie*, returned from *Dauphine* where he had remained many dayes, to *Bloys*. And also *Cesar*, being now retired from *Trent*, with a minde to go no more to the armie, in place to reconquer all the *Venetians* held in the firme land, or to impatronise himselfe vpon *Rome* and the whole estate Ecclesiastike, gaue direction that the *Almains* should enter into *Friul*, & vpon the peeces of *Trensan*, not so much to vex the *Venetians*, as to constraîne the townes of the countrey to giue him money to preserue them from sacke & pillage. And to the end his people should not be hindered, he appointed the French men to passe further, bestowing two hundred Launces within *Verona* where the plague raged with great daunger. His reason in this appointment was, for that

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(having an intention to assaile *Friull*) there could not be assigned to that service other of his bands, then such as were reserved for the gard of the Castels. *Palissa* consented to all these appointments, with whom being ioyned *Monsieur d'Aubigny* Captaine of three hundred Launces which were at *Sgaue*, he went and incamped vpon the riuer of *Piava*. Besides this, for a greater suretie of *Verona*, the *Almains* left two hundred horsemen within *Soane*, who lying there in great disorder & negligence, vsing neither watch nor ward, suffered a smarting paine of their securitie, being one night almost all slaine or taken by foure hundred light horsemen and foure hundred footmen of the *Venetians*. During all this yeare there fell diuerse ordinary accidents & stirres in the countrey of *Friull*, in *Istria*, and in the quarters of *Trieſte* and *Fiume*, sometime by land with incursions & inuasions, & sometimes by sea with little vessels, those wretched countreys enduring afflictions & calamities by both the armies, sometimes ioyntly, & sometimes seuerally. Afterwards the armie of the *Almains* entred into *Friull*, & as soone as they made their approches before *Vadina* the principall place of that prouince, and where the *Venetian* Magistrates make their residencie: the layd Magistrates preferring feare before honour, fled with that cowardise which makes men of service dishonoured: by whose feares not onely the towne was yeelded, but also *Friull* taken as by one course of victorie all the countrey of *Friull* did the like, eury towne being taxed to a gaine by the *Almains*. proportion of money according to their abilities: there remained onely *Gradisqua* situated vpon the riuer of *Lisance*, wherein was *Louis Mossenigo* treasurer of *Friull* with three hundred horsemen, and many bands of footemen: this was no sooner visited by the artillerie, and onely made defence against the first assault, but it was yeelded vp by the importunitie of the souldiers, the treasurer remaining prisoner. From *Friull* the *Almains* returned to ioine with *Monsieur Palissa* incamping within fife myles of *Trenisfa*, to which Citie they made their approches altogether, *Cesar* making great request that they would assay to take it: but finding it well fortified on all sides, and wanting in themselfes both the service of pyoners, munitions, with other provisions necessarie, they retired, their wants taking away their hope and possibilitie of good successe. A little after, *Palissa* by the kings direction, departed to returne to the Duchie of *Millan*, for that feare of new confederations and conspiracies of the *Swissers* increased continually. In retiring he had alwayes at his backe the *Venetian* estradiots, who albeit hoped to distresse him at the least at the passage of the riuers of *Brent* and *Adice*, yet his valour made his passage assured, and committed to spoyle two hundred horsemen of the *Venetians* which were incamped without *Padoa*, of whom *Peter de Lungaro* their Captaine remained prisoner: his departing left the *Almains* not a little confused, for that not obtaining that three hundred other Frésh Launces should remaine for the gard of *Verona*, they were constrained to retire thither, leauing in pray to the enemies all that they had gayned that sommer. By which occasion the *Venetian* armie whereof *John The Venetians Paule Baillon* was gouernour by the death of *Luke Maluazzo*, recovered immediatly *Vincenza*: recover *Friull*, and entring afterwards into *Friull*, they razed *Cremonsa*, and recovered the whole countrey, except *Gradisqua*, which they knew they could not take, notwithstanding a few dayes after certaine bands of footmen leauied in the countrey of *Tyrol*, tooke *Codora*, and sacked in like sort *Bellona*.

In this sort, with light effects, were determined (for the present sommer) the actions and enterprises of armes, with lesse profit then ignominie to the name of *Cesar*, but with speciall reputation to the *Venetians*, who by the space of two yeares, inuaded by the armies of *Cesar* & the Frésh king, came at last to retaine their owne forces and their owne iurisdiction: Matters which albeit were directly against *Cesar*, yet they brought much more harmes to the French king: for, whilst he did not minifter to *Cesar* such proportions of succours as might make him able to obtaine the victorie desired, either fearing haply the too great prosperitie and greatnesse of *Cesar*, or being carried with false counsels & foundations, and lesse looking into the daungers that were at hand, or haply wisdom being blinded with couetousnesse, he gaue him occasion, yea he brought him almost into necessitie to open his eares to such as ceased not to perswade him to separation from him, preserving at one time the *Venetians* in such estate that they were able with greater forces to knit with those that desired to embase his power. In so much that men began euen now to discern, that both in the mind of *Cesar*, new thoughts began to kindle, specially for the regard of the Councel, and also his plots and deuises were abated, chiefly since the publication of the Councell of *Latran*: for neither did send thither according to his many promises any *Almain* Prelates in the name of *Germanie*, nor any Proctors to assist in his name: neither did he once stirre for the

example of the French king, who had giuen order that in the cōmon name of the French Churches, foure and twentie Bishops should go to *Pisa*, and all the other Prelates of his Realme should either go thither in person, or else returnish the action by assistance and deputation: yet neuertheless, either to excuse these delays, or that such was his desire indeede, he began in that time to make instance, that aswell for a greater commoditie of the Prelates of *Germanie*, as for that he promised to be there in person, the Councell that had bene denounced at *Pisa*, might be transferred to *Mantua*, to *Verona*, or to *Trent*. This demaunde was grieuous to all the other for many causes, and onely agreeable to the Cardinall of *S. Crosse*, who burning in glorious ambition to mount vp to the Popedom (to which end he had sowed all those discords) hoped that with the fauour and countenance of *Cesar*, he might easily be raised to that seate. Notwithstanding for that the cause of the Councell would stand much weakened, and almost without the authoritie of *Cesar*, they sent by common consent the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*, both to beseech him that he would send away the Prelates and Proctours which he had so often promised, and also to giue him faith on their behalfe, that assoone as they had giuen beginning to the Councell at *Pisa*, they would transferre it to the place which he should thinke good: which (say they) if we should do afore, it could not but be very preiudiciall to the common cause, specially it importing greatly to preuent the Conuocation which the Pope had published. *Galeas* the brother of *S. Seuerin*, whom with a felicitie farre different from the infelicitie of *Lodowike Sforce* his first Lord, the king had honoured with the office of the Maister of his horse, went also in this expedition to make the same instance to *Cesar* on the kings behalfe: but the king sent him principally of purpose to confirme with new offers and plots, the minde of *Cesar*, for whose inconstancie he liued in no little doubt and suspition, notwithstanding at the same time he was not without hope to conclude the peace with the Pope. That peace, being disputed at *Rome* by the Cardinall of *Nants*, and by the Cardinall of *Strigonia*, and prosecuted in *Fraunce* by the *Scottish* Bishop and the Bishop of *Tinoly*, was drawne into such termes, that almost all the conditions being accorded, the Pope had espoues ioyned to the Bishop of *Tinoly* a further power to giue it full perfectiō: neuertheless there were inserted in this new power, certaine limitations, which gaue no small occasion to men to thinke that his will and intention were farre otherwise then were his wordes and protestations, specially for that it was discerned, that at the same time he had to do with many potēates in matters altogether contrarie to this, not sparing to embrace all occasions and oportunities, though they brought with them matter of ill opinion and murmure.

The Pope holden for dead.

In this great doubt and suspition of things, there lacked not much that an accident falling vpon the Popes person, brake not all the practises and beginnings of euils that lay in preparation: for falling into a new fit of his sicknesse the seuēteenth of August, the fourth day after there tooke him such a qualme; that for certaine houres such as were about him held him for dead: and the brutē being no lesse quicke, then the accident was mortall, many of the Cardinals that were absent put themselves vpon the way to come to *Rome*, together also with some of those that had conuocated the Councell. Within *Rome* the people made no lesse stirre and mouings, then they haue bene wont to do at the death of Popes, yea, there appeared signes and tokens of farre greater tumults, for that *Pompey Colonna* Bishop of *Reato*, and *Anthonye Sanello*, young men of the Romaine nobilitie full of sedition and faction, assembling the commons in the Capitoll, perswaded them with words seditious to put themselves in libertie. But during the action, and as they laboured with a very vehement ambition, to stirre vp the people of *Rome* to publike rebellio, the Pope reuiued from his dangerous qualme: & albeit there was as yet greater feare then hope of his life, yet, the day following, in the presence of the Cardinals which were assembled in forme of a Cōsistorie, he gaue absolution to his nephew of the murder he had committed vpon the Cardinall of *Pania*, not by ordinarie way of iustice as he had bin aduised before, (the shortnesse of the time impugning) but by grace & Apostolike remission, as to a person penitent. In the same Consistorie he solicited that the election of his successour should be made Canonically: and seeking to barre others from climbing to so high a degree, by the meanes which rayed him to it, he caused to be published a Bull, full of horrible paines against those that should aspire to that election, either by money or by other recompence, both declaring as nothing all election that should be made by symonie, and giuing an entry and meane verie easie to any Cardinall to impugne it. This constitution he had pronounced from the time he was within *Bologna*, standing then discōrented with

with certaine Cardinals who laboured opely to purchase the promises of other Cardinals, to possess the Papacie after his death. He began now to grow better & better, either by his strong and able complexion, or else for that by destinie he was reserved to be the author & principal occasiō of more great & long calamities : for it was not reasonable to attribute the recovery of his health to the vertue or remedy of medicines, for that he obeyed neither rule nor order, eating in the greatest perill of his maladie, raw apples and things contrary to the prescription of Physicke.

The Pope was no sooner deliuered from danger of death, then he returned estloons to his old deuises and cogitations, continuing at one time to sollicite a peace with the French king, and a confederation with the king of *Aragon* and the Senate of *Venice* against the Frenchmen : such was his desire to chase out of *Italy* all dominion and imperie of the French. And albeit his will was more inclined to warre then to peace, yet he seemed oftentimes drawne with variety of fancies, and for manie reasons followed sometimes one opinion, and sometimes another, not being able to settle in mind and iudgement, hauing his thoughts wandring, and reaching to ends farre aboue his power. The thing that caried his inclination to the warre, besides his ancient hatred against the French, and that he was not able to obtaine all the conditions of peace which he desired, were the vehement & importunate perswasions of the king of *Aragon*, who feared now more then euer, least the French king being once at peace with the Pope, would execute vpon the realme of *Naples* vpon the first occasion. Wherein to the end his counsels might carie a greater authority, besides the armie at sea which was afore repassed out of *Affrica* into *Italy* vnder *Peter Nauarre*, he had sent newly out of *Spaine* another sea armie, containing fife hundred men at armes, sixe hundred horsemen mounted vpon Iennets, and three thousand footmen : neuertheless this king proceeding vnderhand with his accustomed suttleties, made shew that he desired more then euer the warre against the *Moores*, from which his owne profit or particular interest did not draw him, but only a holy deuotion which he had alwayes borne to the Sea Apostolike: only he alleaged, that being not able of himselfe to entertaine his souldiers, it was necessary that the Pope and the estate of *Venice* should minister to him; whereunto, to the end they might condescend more easily, his bands that were all descended into the Ile of *Capri* neare to *Naples*, made shewes as though they prepared to passe into *Affrica*. But his inmoderate demands much amazing the Pope, and his suttleties pleasing him nothing at all, he entred into many suspitions, well knowing that that king ceased not to giue to the French king hopes all contrarie : he knew the *Venetians* would not willingly be drawne from his will and purposes: euen so he was not ignorant that for the greatnesse of such a warre wherein they were, they were no longer able to beare out the burthen and charges as before: and that time had brought the Senate now to seeke more to defend their owne, then to take in hand a new warre, which could not be continued without intollerable expences : he hoped that the *Swissers*, by a common inclination of those countrey men, would declare themselues against the French king, but hauing no certainty thereof, he seemed to hold it vndiscreet to oppose himselfe to so great daungers for a hope so ill assured, not being ignorant, that as yet were not reiected and cut off their practises with the French king, and manie of their Chieftaines and principals, to whom reuerted not small profits by the French amities, labored all they might that in the assembly which was presently to be holden, their alliance might be renewed with the king. Touching the will and intention of *Caesar*, notwithstanding he had many inclinations by the king Catholike, & of his owne nature a sworne enemy to the French name, yet his hope of him was lesse then his feare, knowing the great offers that were made to him of new aswel against the *Venetians*, as against him, to the which the French king was able to giue more high state and perfection then to any others that could be made to him : he saw that if *Caesar* should ioyne with the French king, he had greatly to feare the counsell by reason of his authoritie : and also his owne power ioyned in good faith and meaning with the forces and treasures of the Crowne of *Fraunce*, and with the oportunitie of the estates of the both the Pope could not in reason haue any hope of the victorie, which he found verie hard to obtaine against the French king alone. But that which gaue him the greatest stomacke, was a hope he had that the king of *England* would be wonto raise warre against the Crowne of *France*, both by the counsels and perswasions of the king Catholike his father in law, and for the authoritie of the Sea Apostolike, which was then great in the Ile of *England*, and in whose name he had with vehement petitions implored his succours against the French king, as against an vsurper

The Pope pursueth his enterprise to chase the French out of Italy.

The hopes of the Pope.

and oppressor of the Church : to these inducements was joined also the naturall hatred as well of that king as of the people of *Englād* to the French nation, much helping in this actiō the forwardnesse of the kings youth and great abundance of treasure left to him by his father, which was supposed to amount to a wonderfull quantitie. These were proper instruments to kinde fire in the mind of this young king, and hauing neuer experienced in his kingdom but fortunes happie and plausible, he was also pushed forward by an honorable desire to renew the glory of his ancestors, who intituling themselues kings of *Fraunce*, and at sundrie times vexing that kingdom with great warres, had not only holden for many yeares *Guienne* and *Normandie* (rich & mightie prouinces of that Crowne) and taken in a battell neare to *Poytiers* the French king with two of his sons and manie of his Nobility: but also, had occupied together with the most part of the kingdom the cite of *Paris* the capitall cite of the kingdome: lastly their valours and fortunes haue bin so terrible to the Frenchmen, that if *Henrie* the fift then king of *England* had not exchanged this life in the flower of his age and glorious course of his victories, it was beleeued he had made an absolute conquest of the whole realme of *Fraunce*, and brought subiected to himselfe the Crowne & imperie of that nation. The memorie of these honorable victories working with the youth & disposition of the king, were not of litle force to draw him to action, notwithstanding his father vpon his dying had expressly aduised him about all other things to entertaine peace with the French nation, as the only mean for the kings of *Englād* to raigne surely & happily. It was not to be doubted, but the war of the English against the French king (being also assailed in other places) was of right great consequence, for that in that action the very intrals of the kingdome were charged, the Frenchmen redoubting much the name of the English, by the memorie of victories and conquests passed. Notwithstanding all these the Pope for the incertainty of the faith of strangers, and for the farre distance of those countries so farre remoued, could not establish or repose his counsels vpon those fauours. These were the hopes of the Pope, and thus were they limited and layd out in condition and proportion.

*The thoughts
of the French
King.*

On the other side the French king, to whom nothing was lesse pleasing then to be in warre against the Church, was greatlie desirous to haue peace, by meane whereof as he was to shake off the ill will of the Pope, so also he was to be deliuered of the importunate demaunds and necessities of *Cesar*: two respects which troubled him not a litle, the one offending his conscience, being too much addicted, and the other consuming his treasures whereof he had made manie prodigalities: he made no difficultie to breake the Councell of *Pisa*, which he had introduced only to make the Pope condescend to peace by that feare, so farre forth as there might be pardon and remission to the Cardinals and others that had bene partakers either in counsell or in action: but on the contrarie, the demaund for the restoring of *Bologna* kept him in suspence: a cite by reason of his situation, most conuenient to molest him: he feared the peace was not sincerely accepted by the Pope, nor with a mind disposed to obserue it if occasions returned, but onlie to deliuer himselfe presently from the daunger of the Councell, and from the warre, of whose successe he had no small ieaousie. And yet he hoped to confirme the mind of *Cesar*, with the greatnesse of his offers, and therefore negotiating of common occurrants as with a confederate, he perswaded him vehemently among other things not to consent that *Bologna* a Citie of so great importance, should estoones returne vnder the iurisdiction of the Pope: and touching the kings of *Aragon* and of *England*, he did not together distrust them, notwithstanding the maner of proceeding of the one was already manifest, and the brute of the intention of the other no lesse publike and generall: and notwithstanding their Embassadors jointly had perswaded him, first with words of modestie, bearing a pretence of office and amitie, and afterwards pressed him with importunities to command that both the Cardinals and Prelates of his kingdom should be at the Councell of *Latran*, and also to suffer and see that the Church were estoones repossessed of the Citie of *Bologna*, one of her members not in the least degree. The reason of this confidence touching the English, was, that they made shew to haue desire to perseuer in the confederation which they had with him, and many of his counsell giuing him surtie of the same, he beleeued they wold attēpt nothing against him: & for the king of *Aragon*, his sleights & suttile apparances were such, that the king gaue a lesse faith to his doings then to his speeches, wherein he alwayes assured him neuer to enter into action of armes against him: with which opinion he suffered himselfe somewhat to be perswaded, that that king would neuer ioyne in armes so manifestly with
his

his enemies, as he professed by his counsels and secret deliberations: he beguiled himself so much in these opinions, that notwithstanding he had hope giuen by those that were of his faction in *Switzerland*, that he might yet reconcile that nation if he would consent to their demaunds for increasing their pensions, ye he estoons refused it with no lesse obstinacie then before, alleaging that it were no equitie to yeeld himselfe to be taxed by them: and vsing sharpe remedies, where easie meanes had bene more necessarie, he made restraint that they should haue no reliefe of vitualls out of the Duchie of *Millan*, thinking that by their vniuersall scarcities, redoubled by the sterilitie of their countrey, he should in the end bring them to agree to the renouation of the alliance according to the ancient conditions.

By this time was come the first day of September, which had bene afore set downe for the beginning of the Councell of *Pisa*, at which day the Proctors of the Cardinals being come to *Pisa*, celebrated in their names the acts appertaining to the expressing of the same. At this the Pope did not a litle storme, specially against the *Florentines*, for that they had consented that the Councell of diuels (for so did he alwayes call it) tooke beginning vpon their estates, for which transgression he declared that the cities of *Florence* and *Pisa* stood subiect to the interdictio Ecclesiastike, by vertue of the Bull of the Councell which he had caused to be published: wherein it was set downe in an expresse article, that whosoever he were that fauored the diuellish assembly at *Pisa*, stood excommunicated, interdicted, and subiect to all paines seuerely ordained by the lawes against schismatices and heretikes: and threatning to inuade the with armes, he elected the Cardinall of *Medicis*, Legate of *Perousa*: and not long after, the Cardinall *Regina* Legate of *Tologna* being dead, he bestowed him in his place, to the end that he who enuied their estate, being vpon their marches with so great authoritie, his presence might make them fall amongst the elues into suspition & confusion: a thing which he hoped might easily succeed for the state & reputatio wherein he stood at that time in that citie: for, besides the affections of certaine particulars desiring the returne of the *Medices*, discordes and diuisions (the ancient maladie of that citie) raigned amongst the generall number of Citizens of greatest apparace. These diuisions bred at that time by the greatnesse and authority of the Magistrate which they call *Gonfalonnier*, which some for ambition and enuy could not suffer, & others stood ill contented, for that iudging him to intrude more into the deliberation of things then appertained to his place, they thought he left not to the that part of authoritie which their estates and conditions deserued: they complained, that in the gouernment of the Citie ordained and contained in two extremities, that is to say, the publike Magistrate, and the counsell popular, was manifest error touching the true institution of common weales: for a Senate duly ordained, by the which besides that it should be as a reasonable temperature betweene the one and other extremitie, the principals and best qualified Citizens should obtaine in the common weale a degree more honourable: but the *Gonfalonnier* did the contrary, either by ambition, or by vaine suspition, being notwithstanding principally chosen for the redresse and order of that. The thing which they desired in this action notwithstanding it was reasonable, and yet not of that importance as to turne their minds to diuisions, for that without it they were both honorably raised and aduanced, and withall there was no forme of disposing of the publike affaires without them, was the verie originall & principall cause of the great calamities which fell afterwards vpon that citie. The factions & diuisions amongst the citizens, being grounded therupon, & the enemies of the *Gonfalonnier* suspecting him with the Cardinall of *Volterre* his brother to be at the deuotion of the French king, and to repose altogether in his amitie: opposed as much as they could against the deliberations that were to be made in fauour of that king, desiring that all might be transferred to the Pope. By this also it came to passe, that the name of the family of *Medicis* began to be lesse hatefull in that citie then before, for that those chiefeft and mightiest Citizens who earst denied their returne, were now no more concurrant to persecute them, & much lesse to hinder the community and conuersation of others with them. The malice they bare to the *Gonfalonnier* wrought this alteration and change of their affection, and the more to abate his authoritie, they sturke not to expresse by many tokens, how litle that familie was estranged from their fauor and amitie, not forbearing also to giue shadow to others to desire their returne & greatnesse: & of this it hapned that not only those that were their assured and perfect friends (in whom was no great power) entred into hopes of innouation and new things, but also many of the Nobilitie and youth of the Citie, pushed on either by their

Cardinal Me-
dicis who af-
terwards was
Pope Leo the
tenth.

great prodigalities and expences, or by certaine particular discaires, or at least by ambitious de-
sires to surpass others in dignities, expected a mutation of that estate by the means of their re-
turning (that disposition having bene nourished and increased many yeares by the Cardinall *Medi-*
cis with great sleight and fittletie) for euer since the death of his brother *Peter*, whose name was
both feared and hated, he had made no shew to entermiddle in the affaires of *Florence*, nor to
haue any desire to aspire to the ancient greatnesse of his familie: and to omit no office which
might either make him merit the more, or insinuate further, he forgot not with great humanitie
and fauours to welcome & receiue all the seuerall people of *Florence* that had recourse to *Rome*,
offering himselfe a ready instrument for the dispatch of their affaires, wherein disposing his fauor
no lesse to such that had bene manifest enemies against his brother, then to others whom he held
indifferent, he vsed in his behauiour and speech to lay all the fault vpon his brother, as though the
faults with the memorie and hate thereof, were determined together with his death. This form
and maner of behauiour he continued many yeares, which, accompanied with the opinion that
went of him in the Court of *Rome*, to be by disposition liberall, affable and gracious to all men,
brought him in the end to be acceptable to manie at *Florence*: in which respect the Pope that
desired not a litle the alteration of that gouernment, preferred him with great foresight to that
Legation.

The *Florentines* appealed from the interdiction, & to commit the lesse offence in the apellation,
they called it not the Councell of *Pisa*, but named it the sacred Councell of the Church vni-
uersall: and as though by the appellation the effect of the interdiction had bene suspended, the
priests of the foure principall Churches were compelled by commandement of the supreme ma-
gistrate to make publike celebration of all diuine offices, the same disclosing more and more the
diuision of the Citizens, and left in the discretion of euery one either to obserue or contemne the
interdict. For this reason, the Embassadors of the kings of *England* and *Aragon* made new instance
to the French king, offering him peace with the Pope, so farre forth as he wold see *Bologna* ren-
dered to the Church, & that the Cardinals might make a presence at the Councell of *Latan*, whe
they offered that the Pope should receiue them all to pardon. But the regard and consideration
of *Bologna* holding him from consenting to the peace, he made answer, that as he did not defend
a citie in contumacie and rebellion against the Church, vnder whose iurisdiction and obedience it
was gouerned in the same forme & estate of pollicy wherein it had bin ruled many years afore the
Pontificacy of *Innocent*, to who it belonged not to demaund a greater authority then had bin requir-
ed & practised by his predecessors: so also touching the Councell of *Pisa*, it had bin introduced
in a most honourable & holy purpose, to reforme the notorious and intollerable disorders of the
Church, wherunto would be easily reduced her ancient vertue & brightnesse, and that without
perill of schisme or diuision, if the Pope would agree to assist that Councell, the reason being no
lesse iust, then the action conuenient for him, managing the supreme place: he added lastly, that his
vnquietnesse together with his inflamed mind addicted to wars & troubles, had chiefly induced
him to bind himselfe to the protection of *Bologna*, which for his honor he would defend with no
lesse care & study, then he would see to the protection of his towne of *Paris*. The Pope then shak-
ing off all his cogitations & thoughts to the peace, no lesse for his ancient hatreds & couetousnes,
then for feare of the Councell & his desire to *Bologna*, & finally suspecting, that if he deferred any
longer to deliberate & resolue, he should be left abandoned of euery one, the *Spanish* souldiers be-
ginning now to embarke at *Carpy*, making as though they would passe into *Africa*: he determin-
ed to finish the confederation negotiated with the king Catholike & the Senate of *Venice*, which
was solemnly published the fift of October in the Church of *S. Maria de populo*, the Pope and all
the Cardinals assisting. This confederation bare that they should principally preserue the vnyty of
the Church, and the better to defend her from present schisme, to reuerse and dissolue the as-
sembly of *Pisa*: to recouer the Citie of *Bologna* appertaining immediatly to the Sea Aposto-
like, together with all other peeces & places which directly or indirectly beloged to the Church,
Ferrara being comprehended vnder that fence: that against all such that should oppose against
anie of these things, or labour to throw any impediments (these words signified the French
king) they should proceede to chase them out of *Italie* with a mightie armie, wherein the
Pope was to maintaine foure hundred men at armes, fise hundred light horsmen, and sixe thou-
sand footmen: the Senate of *Venice* should furnish eight hundred men at armes, a thousand
light.

The Pope
makes league
with the Ve-
netians & the
king Catholike.

light horsemen, and eight thousand footmen: and to the king of *Aragon* were allotted twelue hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and ten thousand footmen, for the enter-
tainment of whom the Pope should pay during the warre eight thousand duckets euerie mo-
neth, and the *Venetians* as much, furnishing presently a pay for two moneths, within which time
they were bound to march into *Romagnia* or to other place where the confederates should be:
That the king of *Aragon* should arme twelue gallies, and the *Venetians* fourteene, which at the
same time should make war vpon the French king in *Lombardy*. That *Dom Raimond* of *Cardona*
then Viceroy in the realme of *Naples*, should be Captaine generall of the army: That if in this war
there were conquered any townes in *Lombardy* which had bene the *Venetians*, that in that case
should be obserued the declaration of the Pope, who forthwith in a writing apart and seueral, pro-
nounced that they should be rendred to the *Venetians*: There was reserued for *Cesar* liberty to
enter into the confederation, and likewise to the king of *England*, bearing to the one an vncer-
taine hope to be able in the end to separate him from the French king: and for the other was left a
time by the expresse consent of the Cardinall of *York*, who did alwayes assist & communicate in
the treatise of the league. As this confederation was fully resolved & established, *Ierome Donato*
the *Venetian* Embassador died, who for his singular wisdom and ability being very deare to the
Pope, had in this actiō & other affaires during his legatiō, done many great seruices to his cōtreie.

This confederation made by the Pope vnder colour to deliuer *Italy* from the inpery of stran-
gers, drew the minds of men to diuerse interpretations according to the diuersity of their iudge-
ments and passions: for many beguiled with the respect and magnificence of the title, set out
with great merites and prayes so diuine and high an enterprise: sayd it was an action right wor-
thy the maiestie of his place, and that the greatnesse of his mind could not haue chosen an enter-
prise more gracious, nor lesse full of discretion then of magnanimitie, stirring vp by his industry
one stranger against another: in such sort that the bloud of forrainers more then of naturall *Itali-
ans* being spilt vpon the Frenchmē, not only the liues of *Italians* were spared & reserued, but also
after one of the parties should be expulsed, it would be easie with the naturall armies of the coun-
treie to chase out the other, being already weakened and out of breath. Others on the other side,
in whom perhaps were setled more deepe impressions and considerations of the substance of
things, reposing litle in the deluding shewes of a title magnificall, feared that the warres that were
begun with intention to deliuer *Italy* from forreine powers, would grow more to hurt the vitall
spirites of that body, then other warres that had bene begun with a manifest profession and reso-
lute intention to subdue it: They sayd, it was no lesse vaine then ill aduised, to hope that the armies
of *Italy* deprivied of vertue, of discipline, of reputation, of Captaines, of authority, and the wils of
their Princes not conformed, should be mighty inough to driue out of *Italy* him that is already
possessed of conquest and victory, in whom albeit all other remedies should faile, at least he could
neuer faile of the meane to be reunited with those that he had vanquished to the common ruine
of all the states and regions of *Italy*: They foresaw that there was more reason to feare that in
these new stirres were not occasion to make pillage of *Italy* by new nations, then to hope that
by the vnion of the Pope and the *Venetians*, there should be any ability to vanquish the French-
men and the Spaniards: They sayd that as it was to be wished that the disagreement and ill dis-
gested counsels of their Princes had not opened the way to forraine armies to enter into the
maine body of *Italy*: so notwithstanding, since by their infelicity, two of the most worthy mem-
bers of that body were occupied by the French and Spanish kings, it was to be esteemed a farre
lesse calamity, that they both continued there vntill either the goodnesse of God, whose rule go-
eth through all, or the fauour of fortune, who ordereth things in time, would minister occasions
better grounded, and ayde them with oportunities more conuenient, for that the one king waigh-
ing in ballance against the other, their mutuall ieaiousies would defend the liberty of such as were
not yet falne into seruitude: then that betweene themselves they should fall into armes, by meane
of which, whilst the warre should last, the parts that yet remained sound would be torne in pec-
ces by pillages, by fyrings, by bloud, and by other miserable accidents which war draweth with
it: And lastly which of them should remaine victor, would assuredly afflict the whole body with a
more hard and heauie seruitude.

But the thoughts of the Pope (in whom was another opinion) being become more violent
& kindled by the new confederation: as soone as the tearme limited in the admonition published

*The opinion
that was con-
cerned of the
league.*

*The Pope de-
prieth the re-
bell Cardinals
of the hat.*

before against those Cardinals that were Authors of the Councell, was passed, he called together the publike Consistory with great solemnity, and sitting in habit pontificall in the hall named the hall of the kings, he declared that the Cardinals of *S. Crosse*, of *S. Mallo*, of *Cosenze*, and of *Bayeux*, were false from the dignity of Cardinals, and had incurred all those paines, wherunto are subiect heretikes and schismatikes: he published also an admonition of the same forme against the Cardinall *S. Senerin*, whom he had not molested till that day: and proceeding in the same heate to the deuises for warre, he solicited continually the comming of the *Spaniards*, hauing an intention afore all other things to bring warre vpon the *Florentins*, both to draw to the deuotion of the confederats that common-weale, restoring to the gouernement the familie of *Medici*: and also to satisfie the infinit malice which he bare to *Peter Soderin Gonsalonnier*, as though it was thorough his authority, that the *Florentins* would neuer be separated from the French king, giuing also a consent afterwards, that the Councell should be holden at *Pisa*.

Of this resolution many signes and relations were brought to *Florence*, where falling into preparations to be able to sustaine the warre, it was propounded amongst other things, that it could not be vnreasonable to resist with the reuenues and goods of the Church, the warre which the Church went about to make vniustly: and therefore it were no offence to equitie or conscience to constrain the Churchmen to contribute some great quantity of money, but vnder these conditions, that they should be bestowed in places of surety, and the money not to be disbursed but in the action of warre, which not hapning, and the feare thereof ceassing, euery portion should be restored to the parties that lent it. To this deuise many of the Citizens spake against, some for feare to incurre the paines imposed by the cannon lawes vpon the defilers of the liberty of the Church: they were the least in number and most inferior in power and authority: but the greater part impugned this proposition, onely to obiect against the will and reasons of the *Gonsalonnier*, of whose authority it was manifest that this counsell did proceede: in so much as the new law ordained hereupon, being already debated in the Councels priuie, no lesse by the diligence of the *Gonsalonnier*, then inclination of many others, and nothing wanting now but the approbation of the great and publike Councell which stood assembled for that purpose, the *Gonsalonnier* reasoned for the law in this maner.

" I hope my Lords, there are none amongst you that reasonably can doubt what haue bene
 " the perpetuall intentions of the Pope against your liberty: wherein if you be not assured by con-
 " sideration of his present dealing subiecting you vniustly to the interdiction, and neither heard
 " your iustifications, which be no lesse true then many in number, nor respected the hope that was
 " giuen him to remoue the Councell from *Pisa* within few dayes: lay your selues downe at least to
 " the coparison and iudgement of his other actions, no lesse malicious in their seuerall working, then
 " contrary to the memory and examples of his Predecessors, and yet by him continued in all sea-
 " sons since his Pontificacie. I will not particulate the seuerall tokens and testimonies of his ill mind
 " towards this estate, and much lesse obiect the sundry effects of his great enuie & malice: such re-
 " petitions bring no fruit where the harmes be already suffered and passed. And it answereth not
 " the modestie that this place expecteth to labor in inuectiues, and make men infamous by imputa-
 " tion: yet, for that the memorie of actions passed, serueth sometime as a warning against acci-
 " dents that may happen, I hold it not inconuenient to the present matter to inferre some, hoping
 " I shall not be interpreted to be the inuenter of the thing through malice, which I deliuer but by
 " relation. None of you can be ignorant, that during our long warres against the *Pisans*, this com-
 " mon-weale neither by supplications, which brought with them their piety and necessitie, nor by
 " the extremity of our estate which oftentimes we humbled at his secte, could obtaine of him any
 " fauour either publike or secret, notwithstanding that both the iustice of our cause deserued it, and
 " also it was an action appertaining to the surety of the Church and tranquillitie of all *Italy*, to seeke
 " to quench such a fire, which not many yeares before had kindled many great calamities and trou-
 " bles: where, of the contrary, as often as they of *Pisa* had recourse to him (a thing which we cou'd
 " not but suspect and were alwayes made more certaine after our victory) he did not onely receiue
 " the complaint of their afflictions with compassion and pity, but also nourished them in their ob-
 " stinacy with diuerse hopes, which was not a new inclination in him, but begun & continued since
 " he was Cardinall: for, after the Frenchmen had leauied their campe from before *Pisa*, he wrought
 " what he could with the French king and the Cardinall of *Amboise*, that *Pisa* should be receiued
 into

into protection, and we left excluded and abandoned : he shadowed the enuie he bare to vs, with a dissembled remorse vpon the necessities of the *Pisans*, and vnder the regard and title of his profession, made vs blind in the property of his disposition : being become Pope, he neuer imparted to our common-weale any one of those graces which the sea Apostolike is wont to minister in great liberality : he would not in so many difficulties and necessities of ours, once consent that we might at any time so much as releue our selues with the reuenues of the Church, contrary to the example of *Alexander* the sixt, who gaue vs that liberty many times, notwithstanding he was a settled enemy to this common-weale ; yea, expressing one will in things inferior, and in matters of greater nature, he forbad vs to leauy money of the Clergy for the entertaining of Doctors and publike studies, notwithstanding that both the summe was litle, and had continued by licence of many Popes, and also it was conuerted to the instruction of youth and aduancement of learning : a worke of singular piety and vertue . Besides, that which was practised in *Rome* by *Barilemew* *Aluiano* with Cardinall *Ascanius*, was not debated without his priuity, wherein as the apparances were publike and manifest ; so the effects had also succeeded, if others of greater power had not withdrawne themselves by the sudden death of the Cardinall : and yet the first foundations failing, he would neuer (at our iust requests) consent, to restraine *Aluiano* to make leauies or waging of souldiers in the territories of *Rome* : only he forbad the families of *Colonna* and *Sauella*, to inuade the lands of such as were prepared to offend vs, by whose helpes we might haue shaken off our dangers with very small charges : That mind cannot be free from suspicion of malice which forbeareth to remedy vniust harmes, forbiddeth all other meanes that are offered, forsaketh the causes of men iustly complaining, and foreseeeth through the deuises of his enuy, the ruines of those whom he is bound to support, though by no other respect of office, yet by the property of his profession and calling. Touching our businesse with *Sienna*, he maintained alwayes against vs *Pandolfe Petrucci*, and compelled vs with threatnings to prolong the truce : and for no other cause did he ioyne with vs for the recouering of *Montpulcian* (for whose defence he had sent men to *Sienna*) then for feare least the army of the French king should be called by vs into *Tuscanie* : he ioyned with vs at times when his feare was greater then our perill, and dealt seuerally when he saw he might do vs harme by too much trusting him : he would not sticke to abuse his authority to apply vs to his will, and was alwayes at hand to serue his purposes of our ready disposition : of the contrary, we did neuer offend him, but sought to proceed in all things with respect and reuerence to the Church, and particularly haue gratified him in all those demands which haue lyen in our power, yea euen to send our men at armes to ayde him in the enterprise of *Bologna*, being neither bound, nor our proper profit respected in the action : but not one of these, not one obedience, not one humilitie, could suffice to appease the seuerity of his minde, whereof, besides many other apparant testimonies and tokens, this is not the least, that he receiued them willingly and gladly that offered to kill me, not for hatred he bare to me that neuer offended him, and in the time of his Cardinalship he had honourably embraced me, but for a burning desire he had to depriue you of your liberty . I am loath to offend the lawes of modestie, and much more to be ouercaried with the memorie of mine owne harmes : but because the thing is true by your proper witnesse and testimony, and in remembering the offence the offender suffreth no iniurie, I hope I shall not be thought too arrogant in speaking, where lesse silence might haue made me suspected of simpleness : he hath alwayes sought to bring this common-weale to cleaue to his immoderate and vniust willes : he hath alwayes wrought to make it a partaker of his expences and dangers : and therefore not hoping but that rash and vndiscreete resolutions might succcede of the moderation and maturity of your counsels, he hath disposed all his deuises to this end, to bring into this City a tyrannie, which depending vpon him, should not be directed and managed according to your profit, but after the importunity of his lustes and couetousnesse, with the which (being drawne from ends excessiue) he thinketh vpon no other thing then to sowe seedes of discord, to bring forth one warre after another, and to nourish and keepe kindled a perpetuall fire in Christendome . And why should we doubt, that at this present he is not possessed of an intention to set vpon vs, hauing two mighty armies ioyned with him, being Lord of *Romagnia*, and the state of *Sienna* subiected to his obedience : it is not hard to draw to action the minde that is so addicted to dominion and imperie . And where we are perswaded is emulation of our greatnesse and glorie, there let vs

" looke for the worst that malice and hatred can do : we haue reason to suspect that he will assay to
 " obtaine that by open force, whereunto he hath so long aspired by secret deuises, his thirst being
 " so much the greater, by how much he seeth vs ill prepared for our defence : a matter which
 " though no other thing would detect and signifie vnto vs, his thoughts and deuises haue suf-
 " ficiently expressed it, by appointing lately for Legate of *Bologna*, the Cardinall of *Medici* in in-
 " tention to preferre him to the army : a Cardinall who had neuer receiued any honourable place of
 " him, neuer gratified with benefits, neuer acceptable to him for seruice, counsell, opinion, trust
 " or confidence : take your considerations of these things, and what else can you iudge, then that
 " giuing authority to march vpon your frontiers, and almost to set his foote vpon your neckes,
 " with such a dignity, such a reputation, and such a terror of armes, the man that only aspireth to
 " be your tyrant, desiring to stirre vp and conspire your Citizens to affect tyrannie more then li-
 " berty, and to draw your subiects to mutinie, to the end to introduce his imperie : It belongs to
 " wise men to foresee a mischiefe afore it happen, and it is the reward of men vnhappy to lament
 " it when it is chaunced : The wise sayler takes his iudgement of the weather by the cloudes and to-
 " kens of the ayre, and men politike turne to their proper warning the signes that are sent from
 " him whom they both suspect and feare. In regard of these reasons it hath bene iudged necessary
 " by this honourable Councell and many other Citizens of respect and merite, that for the defence
 " and protection of this liberty, there should be leauied the same prouisions as if the warre were
 " certaine. And albeit it is very likely that the French king, at least for his proper interest, will ayde
 " vs mightily : yet, we are neither for that hope to leaue off those remedies which be in our power,
 " nor forget that many impediments may easily chaunce, which in some sort may depriue vs of
 " his succours. It may be there be some that will object against this counsell, as being neither neces-
 " sary nor profitable : in such men perhaps is more dominion of passion or other particular hu-
 " mor, then of affection or zeale to the common benefite. Some also alleage, that being vn-
 " certaine of the Popes intention to enter into warre, it is a resolution vnprofitable, such as offen-
 " deth his authority, and by taxing the reuenues of the Church, to giue him iust occasion to be an-
 " gry, and to prouoke him to make warre vpon vs almost by necessitie : as though by so many eu-
 " dent signes and arguments is not manifestly comprehended the substance of his intention, or as
 " though it appertained to wise gouernours of common-weales to deferre preparations till after
 " the beginning of the assault, and first to receiue the blow of the enemy, afore we couer our bodies
 " with armes necessary for our defence : The medicine that is ministred out of time, workes not
 " to the benefit of the patient ; the counsell is without fruit that comes after the fact, and it is too
 " late to apply the remedy after the ill be hapned. Others of vs dwell in this opinion, that not to
 " adde the wrath of God to the anger of the Pope, we must prouide for our safety by some other
 " meane, since we are not yett fallen into that necessitie, without the which secular Princes haue bin
 " alwayes forbidden by the cannon lawes, and that vnder great paines, to impose any charge vpon
 " the persons or goods of the Church. This reason hath bene also considered by vs and others that
 " haue giuen counsell to the publication of this law : but who doubteth that since our publike re-
 " uenues are not sufficient to furnish the expences we must sustaine, and our treasors hauing bene
 " so long time drayned, and our necessities no lesse increasing by the continuation of the warres :
 " who doubteth, I say, that it is not both reasonable and necessary, that the charges we are to su-
 " staine for the defence of a warre vniustly begun by the Church, should not be leauied and sup-
 " ported with the moneyes of the persons of the Church : a matter which many times heretofore
 " hath bene practised by our City, and of no lesse example with other Princes and common-weales :
 " but neuer with greater moderation and respect neither here nor elsewhere, for that there is no
 " intention to employ them in other action, but only to lay them vp in places of suretie, to the end
 " to make repayment to the persons themselves if we find no occasion to feare. So that if the Pope
 " bring not warre vpon vs, as it is reasonable we disburse not the treasors of the Church, and in ef-
 " fect they shall be no way expended : so also if he make no conscience to afflict vs, why should
 " we be curious by all our wayes and meanes possible to defend vs from the iniuries of a war so vn-
 " iust : where tyrants turne their authority to oppresse innocents, to enter into armes for our own safe-
 " ty can be no breach of obedience nor order : it holds sufficiently of equitie to repulse a violence
 " by the same meanes wherewith it is offered : what occasion of displeasure hath he found in this
 " common-

common weale, which by necessitie and not by will, hath suffered the Councell to be assembled „
 at Pisa: shall we for this be interpreted to haue prouoked his anger? faults done by necessitie bring „
 with them a sufficient reason of excuse: is it to prouoke his anger, when we refuse to lay downe „
 our neckes to him that hath vowed to strike them off? it is farre from the imputation of prouoking „
 to prepare and put our selues in order to resist his vniust violence: No, we should the rather pro- „
 uoke him, if we sayled to make conuenient prouisions, for that the hope of the facilitie of the en- „
 terprise would make his fury the greater, raging already with a burning emulation to destroy your „
 libertie euen to the foundations. The feare to offend God neede not retaine you: for, our neces- „
 sitie is so great, and our daunger so manifest, not standing subiect to any thing that may more pre- „
 iudice vs: that it is suffered not onely to serue our turnes with that part of those reuenues which is „
 not conuerted into workes of pietie and charitie, but also it is lawfull to lay hands euen vpon the „
 things sacred: for hat according to the law of nature, the defence and resisting of iniuries is com- „
 men to all men, allowed of God, and approued of all nations, a perpetuall rule to men, and engen- „
 dred together with the world: it will last as long as the world, and is not subiect to derogation by „
 any of the lawes ciuill or cannon, grounded vpon the wils and traditions of men, which being not „
 otherwise recorded, then in paper or other matter frayle & declining, haue no power to derogate „
 a perpetuall law, not made by men or their counsels, but engraued by nature herselfe in the spirits „
 and hearts of all mankind: we must not expect and temporise till we be brought into the last ex- „
 tremitie, for that being once enuironed with oppressions, our recourse to remedies would be „
 too late, and we should stand to lament the harmes which we might haue auoyded: it is too „
 late to prouoke to vomit when the poyson hath pierced to the bones: the souldier serueth no turne „
 that beginneth to march when the battell is done. Besides all this, how can it be denied, that the „
 state and multitude of priuate persons shall suffer great distresse by it, seeing that by the impostes „
 that are layd vpon them, the greatest part of the are constrained to cut off some of those expences „
 without the which they can not liue but with great incommodity and diminution of things neces- „
 sarie to their degree: That is the necessitie which hath bene considered vpon by such as haue made „
 the lawes, by which we are forbidden to expect till our Citizens be brought to the daunger of fa- „
 mine and no longer able to sustaine their families. On the other part, by this taxation, there is no „
 incommodie imposed vpon the Churchmen, for that they do onely disfurnish themselves of that „
 part of their reuenues, which, either they keepe vnprofitable in their coffers, or reserue to expend „
 in prodigalities superfluous, or perhaps some of them (I speake vnder pardon) would lash out in „
 pleasures dishonest. This is a perpetuall resolution of all wise men, that the libertie of Cities and „
 common weales is acceptable to God, for that in them, more then in any other sort of gouerne- „
 ment is preserved the common benefite, iustice administred without acception of persons, the „
 minde of Citizens rayfed more and more to workes of vertue and honour, and more respect & re- „
 uerence borne to religion: And yet you beleue it is an action not a little displeasing to God, that „
 to defend a thing so precious, for the which who sheds his proper blood winneth greatest merite „
 and praise, you employ a little part of the fruits and reuenues of temporall things: which notwith- „
 standing they are dedicated to Churches, yet they are all descended vnto them by almes, by dona- „
 tions, and by inducements of laymen our elders: They are to be no lesse employed for the prefer- „
 uation and safetie of Churches, subiect and exposed in a time of warre, then things secular which „
 are layd downe to the crueltie and couetousnesse of souldiers, neither are they more to be respe- „
 cted in a war made by the Pope, then if there were a persecution by the *Turkes* or the greatest „
 tyrants of the world. Forbeare not whilst you haue time to prouide for the safetie of your coun- „
 trey, be not curious in consciēce to defend your libertie, then the which you can not offer to God „
 a temporall sacrifice more acceptable or worthy: Thinke that to chase the war from your houses, „
 from your temples, from your Monasteries, and from your possessions, there is no better remedie „
 then to make knowne to him that is risen to offend you, that you are determined to forget no- „
 thing that may serue to your defence. That force is iust that is rayfed in a necessary cause, & where „
 you want secular meanes to warrant your liues, to apply the goods of the Church in this propor- „
 tion, can be no breach of equitie nor conscience: nature by prerogatiue makes things lawfull for „
 defence, which the law ceremonially reserueth for other respects.

* The discourse of this graue Magistrate, no lesse reasonable in it selfe, then necessarie for their co-
 mon safetie, wrought such impressiō in the minds of the hearers, that the law proponed was with-

*Pandolfo Pe-
trucci counsell-
eth the Pope.*

out any difficultie approued by the great councell. By reason whereof, notwithstanding the displeasure and discontentment of the Pope increased more and more, taking more hot occasion to dispose the confederats to begin war with the *Florentins*: yet the perswasions of *Pandolfo Petrucci* had power to turne from that opinion aswell the Pope as the Deputies that solicited in *Italie* for the king of *Aragon*: for *Pandolfo* giuing counsell to assaile *Bologna*, blamed much all deuises and enterprises to bring the war into *Tuskane*, alleaging that *Bologna* being vnab'le for her proper weakenesse, to defend her selfe, should be enforced to call in the forces of the French king, and for the *Florentins*, what with their owne power, concurring also the proper profit of the king, he would no lesse see to their defence, then to *Bologna*: That albeit the *Florentins* bare a certaine inclination of minde to the French king, yet neuertheless they were wise and stood alwayes iealous of the preseruatiō of their estate, neuer hauing at his instance offended any with armes during so great stirs: yea they had not ministred to him in any other sort of seruice, but onely furnished him for the defence of the state of *Lombardie* with two hundred men at armes, according to the termes of the capitulation made in cōmon betweene him & the king Catholike: he said there could not be done to the French king a thing more agreeable or profitable, then to constrain the *Florentins* to giue ouer to be Newters, & to ioyn their cause with his: That it would be a matter of great indiscretiō, if his enemies were the cause to make him obtaine that which he could neuer bring to passe by his authoritie, the king hauing in vaine solicited by many prayers & promises to declare them selues for him: That it was discerned of many by many signes, & by him cōprehēded by most certaine knowledge, how grievous it was to the *Florentins*, that the Councell should be celebrated at *Pisa*, whereunto they had not consented for other respect, then that they durst not gainsay the French kings demaundes, made immediatly after the rebellion of *Bologna*: a time when in *Italie* was not seene any armie to oppose against him. Besides, it was a thing certaine, that the authoritie of *Cesar* was concurrant in the Councell, accompanied also with the consent of the king Catholike: That likewise he knew that the *Florentins* were not to suffer the French souldiers to stay vpon their lands: And that it was a matter daungerous to threaten or prouoke them, where, of the contrary it could not be but profitable to deale with the with affabilitie & demonstratiō to admit their excuses: for that proceeding in such maner, either there would be obtained of them with time & occasion, things which the could not be hoped for, or at least, forbearing to constrain the by feare of new resolutions, they might be so entertained that they should do no hurt in times of danger & perill: And in case of victorie & preuailing, it would rest in the power of the confederats to giue to the *Florentins* such forme of gouernment as they should thinke most expediēt. The matter that in this actiō diminished the authoritie of *Pandolfo*, was the knowledg that was had that he desired for his profit particular, that a war of that cōsequence should not begin in *Tuskane*, by meane of which the whole body & parts of the countrey would suffer indifferent destructiō, either by the armies of the enemy, or by the incursiōs of friēds. But what by the efficacie of his reasons, set out so as they resisted all obiectiōs, & by the authoritie of the man, in whō was so small opiniō for matters of counsell, it was easily determined not to assaile the *Florentins*. This cōcell was the better approued by a contention that a few dayes after began to kindle betweene the *Florentins* and the Cardinals.

*A contention
betweene the
Florentins and
the Cardinals
rebels.*

It is set downe before that the presence of the Cardinals was not at the first actes of the Councell: for they taried at the borough of *S. Donyn*, either to expect the Prelats that were to come out of *France*, or to be accompanied with those which *Cesar* had promised to send, or haply lingring for other occasions: and being departed frō thence by sundry wayes, the brute ranne, that the two *Spanish* Cardinals who had taken the way of *Bologna*, would be reconciled to the Pope, being knowne to solicit continually to that end the Embassadour of the king of *Aragon* which lay resident with the Pope. That opinion seemed so much the more credible, by how much they had obtained of the *Florentines* vnder publike faith and promise, that they might remaine in suretie within *Florēce*. But by that time they were come vpon the countrey of *Mugello*, they turned suddenly towards *Lucqua*, either to ioyn with the others, or perhaps their intentiō had bin alwayes so, or else as touching the Cardinal *S. Crosse*, his auncient ambition preuailed more then his new feare, or lastly, receiuing aduertisements in that place that they were depriued of the dignitie, and cap of Cardinals, they dispaired to fall to any accord with the Pope. About this time the three French Cardinals, *S. Malo*, *Albert*, & *Bayeux*, passed the *Appinyn* by the way of *Pontresmo*, together with the Prelats of *France*: after whō and at their request, marched out of *Lōbardy* three hundred French

French launces, commaunded by *Odet Foix* Lord of *Laurich*: he was appointed gatd of the Councell by the Cardinals, either to the end that the Councell accompanied with the armes of the French king, should continue with more authoritie, or else (which was more likely) to haue power to suppress whoeuer durst rise against the obedience of their decrees. But so soone as the *Florentins* came to the discouerie of that resolution, which had bin concealed from them vntill the bands began to march, they determined not to receiue into a Citie of great importance, such a number of souldiers, both considering the ill disposition of the *Pisans*, & that the last rebellio hapned king *Charles* being present & suffering it, and also the inclination which the French souldiers bare to the towne of *Pisa*: In times of perill wise men feare all things, and do hold it necessarie to their suretie to entertaine a suspition of things which in common foresight and coniecture they haue no reason to doubt: for, the *Florentins* fearing that besides the daungerous accidents that might happen by the insolencie of men of warre, doubted also that the souldiers of the French king entring into *Pisa*, it fell not out (& perhaps such was the secret desire of the king) that he sought to make *Tuskane* the seat of his warres. In these feares, they signified at the instant to the French king, that it was hard to harbour so many people for the straitnesse and sterilitie of the countrey, verie vnable to prouide for the nouriture of so many peoples as came from all parts to the Councell: They alleaged also that the place was not necessarie for the safetie of the Cardinals, to whom might be offered some violence, either by strangers, or by the proper inhabitants, their multitudes & numbers exceeding farre the pollicie and gard that they had assigned to containe them. To the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, by whose directio the Frenchmen were gouerned in all things, they sent word that they were determined to admit no souldiers into *Pisa*: who, by the returne of his answers, seeming to consent & be contented, gaue order on the other side, that the bands should aduaunce and march seuerally & without making any semblance, perswading himselfe that being approached neare to *Pisa*, they would enter either by force or by subtiltie, or at least for feare that the *Florentins* durst not do such an iniurie to the French king as to let them. But the king hauing clearly answered that they should not march thither at all, the *Florentins* dispatched *Frauncis Vittorio* to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo* with an Embassage equall to his hawtinesse and pride: he told him from the state of *Florence*, that if the Cardinals entred vpon their lands armed and with bands of souldiers, they would not onely not admit them into *Pisa*, but also would hold them for enemies, and pursue them for such, and would also do the like, if the men of warre passed the *Appennin* towards *Tuskane*, for that they were to presume that they passed not for other purpose, then to steale secretly into *Pisa*, or to execute some other stratageme. This message wrought so with the Cardinall, that he resolued the bands should esstoones returne againe beyond the *Appennin*, the *Florentins* consenting that besides the persons of the Lords of *Laurich* and *Chastillon*, he might retaine with him an hundred and fiftie archers. All the Cardinals were together at *Lucqua*, which Citie, for suffering that assemblie and presence, the Pope pronounced to be fallen into the interdiction: and leauing there verie sicke the Cardinall of *Cossensa*, who, not long after saw there the last day of his mortall life, the other foure went to *Pisa*, where they were receiued by the Magistrates with cold shewes, and by the Commons was expressed no great reuerence, both for that their coming was displeasing to the *Florentins*, and the cause of that Councell not well receiued nor approved by the nations of Christendome: for, notwithstanding the title and pretence to reforme the Church was both very honest & greatly profitable, & also no lesse necessary then agreeable to all the regions of Christendome: yet it was discerned of wise men that the Authors and workers of the same were pushed on with endes ambitious. They were all caried with couetous desires of temporal things, & vnder the shadow of the weale and benefit vniuersall, they respected their particular interests, making holinesse and pietie a couer to their greatnesse and glory: and yet which of them should be raised to the Popedom, stood in no lesse necessitie to be reformed then others that they went about to compell to reformation. Moreouer it was seene of many, that besides the ambition of Priests, the quarels of Princes and questions of estates, had stirred vp and nourished this councell: That respect had moued the French king to procure it, the king of *Romains* to consent to it, and the king of *Aragon* to desire it. So that it being clearly discerned that vnder the cause of the Councell, was comprehended the quarell of armes and Empires, the people expressed an vniuersall horrou, that vnder deuout shadowes of spirituall things (instruments of warres and troubles) men should thirst and aspire to matters temporall: and therefore not onely at the entire

An accident
that made the
Cardinals de-
part frō Pisa.

The Councell
of Pisa trans-
ferred to Mil-
lan.

of the Cardinals into *Pisa*, the common disdain and hatred of people was disclosed, but also euen in the actes of the Councell, their grudge and discontentment burst out more manifest: for albeit they summoned the Clergie to be in the Cathedrall Church at the first session, yet much lesse than any of them respected the summons, seeing the verie Priests of the Church refused to lend their ornaments and vestures, when (according to their custome) they meant to haue celebrated the Masse for the imploration of the aide & light of the holy spirit: yea, the Priests iustifying their contempt with actes of greater insolencie, forbore not to shut the doores of their Church & would not suffer them to enter. The Cardinals complained of these contempts at *Florence*, where was commaunded that neither the vse of Churches, nor the seruice of instrumētts ordained for diuine office, should be denied them, but as touching the Clergie, there was no compulsion either to be at the Church, or to assist the action. These directions almost repugnant in themselves, as they proceeded of the diuision of the Citizens & by meane of them, on the one side the Councell was receiued into their dominion, & on the other side followed with contempt & reiection, brought at one time offence to the Pope, and discontentment to the French king. In regard whereof, the Cardinals seeing how daungerous it was to remaine in *Pisa* without armes, and no lesse considering that it would bring diminutiō to the authoritie of their Councell, to celebrate it in a citie that obeyed not their decrees, were vpon termes to depart as soone as they should haue accomplished the affaires of the Councell: wherein their resolution was further compelled & hastned by an accident hapning suddenly, which albeit was by chaunce, tooke notwithstanding his foundation of the wicked disposition of mē: for, a French souldier, in a publike place committing some insolencie vpon a frompet, and such as saw it raising a present outcry, many souldiers aswell French as of the Cardinals traine and other Prelats, prepared in armes to the place where the brute was: on the other side likewise many troupes of the people of *Pisa* & of the *Florētine* bands flockt thither to behold the accident. And as for the most part popular tumults are full of faction and varietie of affection, so the alarme being sounded, some cried vpon the name of *Fraunce*, & some vpon the title of *Morozocco*, (the signe & ensigne of the common weale of *Florence*) occupying amongst the daungerous fight, wherein their fury made them feare nothing lesse than the hazard of their liues, which at other times they would seeke to preserue with no little care & ielousie. But the Captaines and chieftaines of the French, and commanders of the *Florentins*, ioyning discretion to valour and authoritie, abated the furie of the fight, their diligence doing much to restraine the intemperance on all sides. In the end the tumult was appeased, many on both parts bearing away no small hurts, amongst whō fell into that fortune the Lord *Chastillon* and the Lord of *Lamtrich*, notwithstanding neither the one nor the other bare away any wounds of perill. This accident brought such astonishment to the Cardinals, haply at that houre assembled in the Church of *S. Michael* which is there ioyning, that they made the day after the second session wherein they ordained that the Councell should be transferred to *Millan*: not holding the oportunitie of that place conuenient for the actes of the Councell, which gaue no suretie for the safetie of their liues: and therefore before the fifteenth day of their arriual, they departed in great diligence from *Pisa*, greatly to the reioicing of the *Florentins* & *Pisans*, & no lesse to the contentment and liking of the Prelats that followed the Councell, whō it did a little discōtent to be come into a place, which, what for the incōmoditie of lodging, & what for the incōueniencie of other wants, growen by the long wars that were passed, did not minister to them that fulnes of helpes & meanes to liue delicately & prodigally, which the Priests & Frenchmen are wont to finde in the like actions. They murmured also, and being come thither by the kings commaundement & against their wils, they desired chaunge of place, and all other accidents that might bring difficultie, prolongation, or dissolution of the Councell.

But, such was the vniuersall contempt of this Councell, that the hatred & grudging of peoples following the Cardinals to *Millan*, they found there euen the like despising, and farre greater difficulties: for the Clergie of *Millan* communicating in the contempts of *Pisa*, euen in the beginning refused of themselves to celebrate the diuine seruice, as though there were entered into their Citie, not Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, who were wōt to be honored & worshipped in euery place, but persons profane and accursed, and carying with them all priuation of honour, reuerence, and respect. And when they had occasion to shew themselves in publike, the commons forbore not to rayle at them, scorning them as well in wordes as gestures: but specially their malice was most expressed vpon the Cardinall of *S. Crosse*, whō as they supposed to be the author of that stir, so euery

one exercised their iudgement most vpon him, being also in the last session of *Pisa* elected President of the Councell. These were the manifest and common murmures of people, that heretofore Councells were wont to bring to countries benedictions, peace and concord, but in this was bred to countries, kingdomes, and peoples, maledictions, warres, and discords: That other Councells were assembled to reunite the Church that was out of vnitie, but this was assembled to breake her vnitie, when she was in good agreement: That the contagion of such a pestilence infected all such as receiued it, altered all those that obeyed it, abused euen those that fauoured it, defiled such as had conuersation with it, and seduced all those that heard it: There was to be expected of their comming noother thing, then bloud, famine, & pestilence, together with the perdition both of bodies and soules of men: by the originall and cause, they gathered what would be the successe and effect, and reasonably they could expect no fruit or confirmation of vnitie, from such as began to sowe their labours with seedes of diuision. *Gaston de Foix*, who not many months afore the departing of *Monsieur Longueville* had bin preferred both to the Duchy of *Millā*, and to the army, somewhat suppressed those murmures, tending almost to a tumult and manifest sedition: he ioyned to his authority, commandements threatning and penall, contraining the Clergy to celebrate seruice as they were wont, and eniyned the Commons to speake more modestly hereafter.

In regard of these difficulties the beginnings of the Councell were continued with very little successe or issue: the plots that had bin layd with so great deuise and study, brought forth euents quite contrary to the expectation of the authors: things debated by long time and deepe discourse of counsell, drew no resolution according to the weening & coiectures of the parties: Where found meaning goeth not with the wisdom & imaginations of men, there their workings are full offrailety & the whole body of their actions clothed with imperfections. But the thing that most troubled the hopes of the Cardinals, was, that *Cesar* did not only from day to day deferre to send either Prelats or Proctors, notwithstanding the consent he had giue, & that often times reassured by perpetuall promises to the French king & the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*: but also, he alleaged for his excuse (being haply induced & counselled by others) that it was not agreeable to his dignity, to send to the Councell of *Pisa*, the Prelats of his proper estates & territories, if both the example and name of all *Germany* were not concurrant in the actiō. And for that cause he sayd he had called a conuocation of the Prelats of *Germany* at *Auspurge*, to deliberate of some ioynt & vniuerfall forme of proceeding to be vsed touching the Councell: assuring notwithstanding the Frenchmē, that vnder that meane he wold so worke as they shold all be sent. Moreouer he much troubled the kings mind with his variety & diuerse maners of proceeding: for, besides his vncertaine & cold dealings in the affaires of the Councell, he inclined fully & openly to the motion of peace with the *Venetians*, which was solicited by the Pope & the king of *Aragon* with many offers: and on the other side, cōplaining bitterly against the king Catholike, both for that contrary to all shame, he had so apparently impugned the league of *Cambray*, & also in this new confederation (which he rather called treason) he had named him but as accessary: he suborned *Galeas S. Seuerin* to go to *Rome* in person as enemy to the Pope, but refurbished by the king for the greatest part of his army, & releued with great quantities of treasure: and yet he made no declaration of these things with such assurance as it could not be doubted what he would at last determine (notwithstanding all his demands were satisfied to him.) In this sort the kings mind was eftsóones trauelled with his accustomed suspitions, that if he abandoned *Cesar*, he left him at liberty to ioyne with his enemies: and if he would still sticke to him and sustaine him, his alliance would be bought with too deare a price, and yet doubtfull what fruit would reuert of it, well knowing by experience of things past, that oftentimes his owne disorders did hurt him more then his forces did ayde him: yea the king was not able to iudge in himselfe, which would most hurt him in this action, either the well doings & good successe of *Cesar*, or the contraries. Besides, the king Catholike nourished him & entertayned him as much as he could in that doubt: and, to make him proceede more slowly in the prouisions of the war, he gaue him hope not to stir in armes. The king of *England* did the like, and for the same causes, who had made answer to the French Embassador, that it was not true, that he had consented to the league made at *Rome*, but that he was fully determined to keepe the alliance which he had with the French king. Besides, at the same time the Bishop of *Tuolsy* proponed peace in the name of the Pope, so farre forth as the king would no more fauor the Councell,

The French K.
suspecteth
Maximilian.

and withdraw himselfe from the protection of *Bologna*, for the which he offered to giue assurance that the Pope should dresse no more new enterprises against him. The king seemed lesse displeased with the peace, notwithstanding it bare hard conditions, then to put himselfe to the dangers & expences of the war, which by computation seemed infinit, hauing to make resistance against his enemies, and to refurbish the wants of *Cesar*: neuerthelesse, disdain drew him almost to be forced by the king of *Aragon* to make peace for feare of warre: besides that, it was a matter very hard to assure him that the Pope would obserue the couenants of peace, after he had recovered *Bologna*, & should be deliuered from the feare of the Councell: he doubted also that when he should be ready to consent to the conditions offered, the Pope would draw backe as he was wont to do at other times. In which maner of proceeding, besides that his dignity should be offended, and his reputation diminished, *Cesar* would hold himselfe iniured, for that leauing him in warre with the *Venetians*, he sought of himselfe alone to conclude the peace. Therefore he made precise answer to the Bishop of *Tinoly*, that he would not condescend to subiect *Bologna* to the Church in other forme then it had wont to be in auncient times. And at the same time, to establish a firme resolution with *Cesar* who lay at *Brunech*, a towne neare to *Trent*, he sent to him in great diligence, & with very large offers, *Andre de Burgo* *Cesars* Embassador resident with him. At this time certaine of his subiects of the countrey of *Tyrol* occupied *Batisten*, a place of very great strength in the entreie of the valley of *Culdora*.

The practises of the peace being wholly broken & dissolued, the first thoughts & deuises of the king were, that when *Monsieur Palissa* (leauing in *Verona* three thousand footemen to appease *Cesar* not well contented with his departure) should haue led the residue of the bands to the Duchy of *Millan*, there should be made new leauies of footmen: and so all the army being reassembled, they should march to assaile *Romagnia*, hoping to occupy it either all or in part, before the *Spaniard* should approach: and then either to march further according to occasions, or at least to entertaine and beare out the warre vpon the dominions of others vntill spring time, when the king passing into *Italy* in person with all the forces of his kingdom, hoped to make an vniuersall suppression of his enemies. But as he stood wauering in this deuise, his resolutions not proceeding with that expedition which the occasions required, and by reason of his nature estranged from expences, himselfe no lesse slow in many prouisions, but specially to wage new souldiers, he fell into new suspitions of the stirring of the *Swissers*, of which nation for that heretofore we haue set downe some generall mention in sundry places, it cannot be inconuenient to the present purpose, to deale somewhat more particularly.

what people
the *Swissers* be.

The *Swissers*, which are those peoples whom auncient histories call *Heluettians*, haue their habitations in the most high mountaines of *Iura*, named *S. Claudio*, *S. Briget*, and *S. Godat*: a race of men naturally valiant, warlike, and rude; and for the sterility of the countrey, more giuen to grazing, then to tillage: They haue bene in times past vnder the subiection of the Dukes of *Austrich*, whose iurisdiction they shaked off by rebellion many yeres sithens: They haue their pollicy & gouernement of themselves, without any signe of depending or relation to either Emperors, kings, or other Princes: They are deuided into xiiij communalities, which they call Cantons, and euery of them seuerally are gouerned by Magistrates, lawes & ordinances proper & particular: They hold their parliament or Councell euery yeare, or more often if occasion and necessity require, wherein they dispute of vniuersall affaires, their assemblies and meetings being not subiect to certainty of places, but referred as best pleaseth the Deputies of euery Canton: They call those assemblies dyots or iorneyes, imitating the phrase and customes of the *Germans* . In them they resolute vpon peace, vpon warre, vpon confederations, vpon legations and demands made to leauy souldiers, either by publike decree, or by permission: in them also they set downe directions for all things that appertaine to their common interest: when they agree by publike decree to deliuer souldiers, the Cantons chuse amongst themselves a Captaine generall, to whom they giue the banner with the Ensigne and name publike: Thir vnity and agreement, together with the glory of their armes, hath made them very notable and renowned thorough the regions of the earth, notwithstanding for their outward shape and personage, they beare a preience barbarous and rude, & for their behavior and conuersation, hold more of inciuility then of comelinesse. By their naturall valour ioyned to due discipline & order, they haue not only & at all times made valiant defence at home for their owne countrey, but also in forreine warres they haue performed singular feates

of armes to their perpetuall praise: wherein sure their recommendation and merit had bene farre greater, if they had exprest such effects of valour for their proper iurisdiction and impery, and not bene mercenarie to the appointments of others, and for the increasing of the dominion of strangers, or if they had set before their eyes an end more worthy and noble then the desire of money, by the loue and corruption whereof they haue lost the occasion to be feared and redoubted in *Italy*: for, where they haue not come out of their countrey but as souldiers waged & mercenary, they haue not caried backe a publike fruit of their victories: the desire of gaine makes them for the most part to follow armies, and besides their huge pensions, to be troublesome by new demands of payes almost intollerable: to such as wage and pay them, they are for the most part hard and vnease in conuersation & obedience: in their houses & apart, the principals of them forbear not to receiue gifts and pensions of Princes, to follow and fauour their faction in their dyets and parliaments. By reason whereof, things publike being referred to priuate profit, and fauours & payes being made vendible and corrupted, discords by litle & litle haue bin kindled amongst themselves: the same being the occasion that matters which haue bin approued in the parliaments by the most part of the Cantons, beginning not to be embraced and followed of all, they fell at last, not many yeares afore that time, to manifest warres amongst themselves, much to the diminution of the authority which they bare throughout the parts of the word. Somewhat below these, be certaine townes and villages inhabited by a people called Valleyemen, as hauing their dwellings in valleys, they are inferiour to the *Swissers* in number, in authority, in valour, and in euery other disposition: & yet more lower then they, is another generatio of men called *Grisons*, which are gouerned by three Cantons, and vpon that are called the Lords of the three leagues: the capitall towne of their countrey is called *Coire*: they haue often society and confederation with the *Swissers*, and with them they go commonly to the warre: they haue almost the same pollicy, the same lawes, the same constitution of maners and customes. In matters of armes and valour they are preferred afore the Valleyemen, but they hold no comparison with the *Swissers*, either in numbers, in pollicy, or in vertue. The *Swissers* then, who at that time were not so much degenerate and corrupted as they haue bene since, tooke incitation by the Pope, and prepared to descend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, both dissembling that that leauy of armes proceeded of the vniuersitie of the Cantons, and also spreading a brute, that the Cantons of *Swiz* and *Fribourg* were the authors of the action: of whom, the first tooke his complaint and consideration of this, that a post of theirs passing through the Duchy of *Millan* was murdred by certaine French souldiers: the other pretended a reuenge for certaine particular wrongs that had bene done to them. The Councels of these, and generally, the resolution of the whole nation, albeit they were afore signified to the French king, yet they could do nothing to draw them to accord with him, notwithstanding the aduise and perswasions of his Lords & wise men concurred in it, and the friends and fauourers which he had amongst them gaue him hope to be able to obtaine it. He was stayed also by his accustomed difficulties to enlarge their auncient pensions with twenty thousand frankes, which may be a little more or lesse then ten thousand duckets: so that he refused for a matter of small price and value, the amitie, which afterwards he would haue bought with infinite treasures. He perswaded himselfe that either they would not stirre at all, or if they did, at least they could not much hurt him, for that being accustomed to go to the warre on foote, their want of horse and artilleries would bring great impediments to their seruice. Besides, about that time (now was Nouember begunne) the riuers were swelled, and they had neither vessels nor bridges: the victuals of the Duchie of *Millan* were restrayned into fortresses and places of strength, the townes thereabout well garded and kept, and in the plaine the men at armes were able to make head against them. By which impediments and necessities he presumed, that if they did march, they would be constrained esstoones to retire. But the *Swissers* taking litle amaze by these difficulties, began to descend at *Vareisa*, at which place their numbers increased continually: they had with them seuenth field peeces and many harquebuzes a crosse caried by horses, and some reasonable prouision of victuals. Their comming seemed to be so much the more dangerous, by how much, the inhabitants of *Millan* began to be weary of the French iurisdiction, the same growing both by certaine new insolencies and disorders in the French souldiers more then of custome: and also by the couetousnesse of the king, who would not suffer to be made any newe leauyes or prouision of footemen. Besides, the

men at armes that at that time were in *Italy*, which in true computation exceeded not a thousand and three hundred launces, together with the two hundred Gentlemen, were not all able to make resistance to the *Swissers*, both for that part of them were gone to the gard of *Perona* and *Bressa*, and also *Monsieur de Foix* had newly sent two hundred launces to *Bologna* to withstand the comming of the Cardinall of *Medici* and *M. Amb. Colonne* to *Faenza*: where albeit they had no footemen as yet leauied, yet both to repress the diuisions that were in *Bologna*, and also for that at that time the Castle-keeper of the rocke of *Sassilon* (a borough of the mountaine of *Bologna*) had voluntarily put it into the Legates hands, it was thought necessary to send a garrison thither. From *Vareza* the *Swissers* sent a trompet to defie the kings lieutenant, who hauing as yet but a slender strength of men at armes, and no more then two thousand footemen, whereof he was not yet resolued to make new leauies for feare to displease the king, was now come to *Assaron* a place about thirteene miles from *Millan*: he had no intention to fight with them, but to accost them, and cut off their victuals, in which action only rested his hope to let and stay them, seeing there was not betweene *Vareza* and *Millan* neither riuers hard to passe, nor any place of defence. From *Vareza*, the *Swissers* marched to *Galera*, where they mustred their army, which contained ten thousand able bodies. *Monsieur de Foix* who followed *Iohn la Trinuice*, put himselfe within *Legnano*, which is about foure miles from *Galera*: by reason whereof they of *Millan* hauing more feare then assurance, and yet their perill as yet lesse then their suspicion, waged bands of footemen at their proper charges for the gard of the towne. Also *Theodore Trinuice* caused to fortifie the bastillions, and (as though the army would haue retired within *Millan*) he caused to cast squares and Cariers within and about the rampiers that enuironed the suburbs, the more easily to manage horses. Neuerthelesse, *Monsieur de Foix* accompanied with five hundred launces, and the two hundred Gentlemen of the kings, presented himselfe before *Galera* with great store of artilleries: which as soone as the *Swissers* were aware of, they issued out in order of battell, and retired as soones within the towne, refusing to fight in a place open, vnlesse their numbers were greater. During these actions, and in a small respite of time, their numbers increased, in which respect determining no more to refuse the fight, they marched to *Bussy*, where was a garrison of an hundred launces, who saued themselues with much ado, loosing their baggage and part of their horses. At last the Frenchmen, who retired alway by the like measure and distance that the *Swissers* aduanced, were returned and lodged within the suburbs of *Millan*, but there was no surety that they would stay and stand to defence, for that sometimes they affirmed and sometimes denied, furnishing with great diligence the Castels with victuals. The *Swissers* afterwards marched within two miles of the suburbs, but the vniuersall feare that was had of them before, began now to diminish much, both for that the bands of men at armes that were reuoked began to arriue continually at *Millan*: and besides, they mustred many footemen, expecting also from time to time Captaine *Molard* with his regiment of *Gascon* footemen, and Captaine *Iacob* with his lanceknights, the one directed to come from *Verona*, and the other from *Carpy*. About this time also were surprised certaine letters written by the *Swissers* to their Lords, whō they aduertised that the Frenchmen gaue them no great impediments, and that albeit they had as yet receiued no newes from the Pope, and lesse intelligence what the *Venetian* army did (whereof they marvelled) yet they forbore not to march and aduance continually according to the orders of the resolution. They were by this time sixteene thousand in number, and turned towards *Moncia*, which they assayed not to take, but bearing more towards the riuer of *Adda*, they kept the Frenchmen in feare that they would aduenture to passe ouer: by reason whereof they cast a bridge at *Cassanto* hinder their passage, vsing therein the oportunity of the towne and the bridge. In this meane while a Captaine of the *Swissers* hauing first obtained safe conduct, came to *Millan*, and demanded a moneths pay for all the footemen which offred to returne into their countrey: but being departed without any effect of his message, for that their offers were farre inferiour to his asking, he returned the day following with greater demands: and albeit there were made to him greater offers then the day before, yet as soone as he was returned to his army, he sent backe immediatly a trompet to signifie to them, that they would no more harken to accord. The day following, contrary to the expectation of euery one, they retired towards *Coma*, and so returned into their countries, leauing to iudge whether they were discended to assaile the Duchy of *Millan*,

or to passe into some other place: and also for what cause, being as yet constrained by no euident necessitie, they returned so sodainly: and if they were afore determined so to do, why they did not accept the money that was offered them, seeing withall themselues made the demaunds. Whatsoever the cause was, this is certaine, that as they retired, there came two postes from the Pope and the *Venetians*, who if they had arriued somewhat sooner, it is likely the armie of the *Swissers* had not returned: and it is not to be doubted, that if at the same time that the *Swissers* entred the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Spaniards* had bene neare to *Bologna*, the affaires of the French who were not able to make resistance in so manie places, had forthwith fallen into manifest ruine and perdition.

The French king finding now by experience the perill which he could not foresee afore by reason, sent to *Monsieur de Foix* (before he knew of the breaking vp of the *Swissers*) that he should not spare neither labour, money, nor diligence, to make agreement with them: and not doubting of anie other violent assault, the *Swissers* being compounded withall, he gaue present direction to all the men at armes that he had in *Fraunce* (except two hundred launces which he reserued for *Picardy*) to passe the Mounts, sendig besides a new strength of *Gascon* footmen, & commaunded *Monsieur de Foix* to furnish his armie with footmen of *Italians* & launce-knights. And because the succours of the *Florentines* were of great importance to him, both for that the warre was made verie neare them, and also for the oportunitie of their frontiers to trouble the state Ecclesiastike, besides cutting off of victuals and other commodities from the armie of the enemies if they should approach *Bologna*, he solicited them with great instance, to declare on his side, and ioyne with him in the warre with all their forces, for that the present necessity required another matter then either a succour litle or limited, or that they should now stand contained within the tearmes of confederations: besides, they could neuer expect a more great or goodlie occasion to bind him perpetuallie to the, nor do a more singular benefit or pleasure, which both he and his successors should reknowledge to them and their estate from age to age: lastly, he told them that if they descended into the matter with necessarie consideration, they should find that to succour and defend him, did comprehend to support & protect their owne cause, for that they were not ignorant what hatred the Pope bare to them, and with what desire the king Catholike laboured to dresse and establish in that Citie an estate depending whollie vpon him. But at *Florence* the opinions of men varied and were deuided, for many blinded with the sweetnesse of present sparing, considered not what the time to come might bring: and with others preuayled not a litle the memorie of ancient dealings, wherein neither the faith nor the actions of that commō weale had bene at any time thankfully requited by the king raigning, nor by *Charles* the eight his predecessour: they remembred how he had sold with a great price his promise, not to hinder them in the recouery of *Pisa*, by which examples they said they had no reason to trust eithers in his promises, neither could they stand assured by any offers he could make, that he would yeeld recompence for anie office or benefite they should do to him. In these respects they held it great rashnesse to resolute to enter into a warre, which not well succeeding they should pertake in all the euils more then either reason would, or in due proportion they ought: and falling out happilie, they should in no sort communicate with the fruits and benefits, or at least in very small part and share. But of farre greater importance were they, who either for hatred, or for ambition, or for the desire of another forme of gouernement, were opposed against the Magistrate or *Gonfalonier*: they extolled the reasons aforesaid, and inferred others, that being neuters they should not incur the hatred of either party, nor giue to any of the two kings iust occasion to complaine: for that touching the French king, they were not bound to him in anie other thing then to aide him with three hundred men at armes for the defence of his proper estates, a proportion which they had already accomplished to him: and for the king of *Aragon*, he could not be discontented with them, but would esteeme it a great gaine if they would forbear to entermeddle otherwise in that warre. They occupied also this reason, that such as kept their faith best, were most worthy of praise & merite: and by that example he was to hope that when he should fall into affaires and doings, they would likewise obserue iustlie to him that which was promised in the capitulation made in common with the French king and with him: that proceeding in this sort, if peace were made betweene the Princes, the citie should be named and preserued of them both: and in case the victorie should fall to the one of them, neither holding himselfe

The French king
demanded
succours of the
Florentines.

Soderin for the
French king.

offended, nor bearing them any particular hatred, they should more easily buy his friendship with the same mony, and haply with a lesse quantity, then they should haue disbursed vpon the warre, which was an expedition and meane, with the which, more then by armies and warres; their elders had many times saued their libertie: where if they should proceed otherwise, they should defray for another during the warre, and without any necessitie, intollerable expences: and yet the victorie falling to the enemye, the libertie and safetie of their countrey should remaine in most manifest perill. The aduise of the Magistrate or *Gonfalonnier* was contrary to the opinions of these men; he held it better that the common weale should take armes for the French king, for which reason he had afore fauoured the Councell, and giuen to the Pope sufficient matter to be discontented, to the end that the Citie being prouoked by him, or at least beginning to enter into suspicion, might be as it were constrained to make that resolution: he perswaded besides, that in that nature of time it could not be but a counsell preiudiciall, to remaine idle, expecting the issue of the warre managed so neare them, and betweene Princes so mighty and farre about them; for that in the warres of another, then is neutralitie commendable and apt to shake off and auoid many troubles and expences, when our proper forces are not so weake as may make vs feare the victorie of either partie, seeing that then it bringeth vs a surety, & oftentimes by their long warres, we are enabled to good means to increase our estate: He told them it was no sure foundation not to haue offended either partie, or not to haue giuen any iust occasion to complaine, for that verie rarely it happeneth that the insolency of the conquerour is bridleed or repressed, either by equitie, iustice, conscience, or other discreet considerations, the same being the reasons why great Princes esteeme themselves not the lesse iniured, when they are refused in the things they desire, but stand disdainfull against euery one that followeth not their will, and ioyneth not their minds to their fortune: the Prince for the time he commandeth hath his fortune hardly brought to limit his desires, or in his ambition to respect other things then such as may glorifie his victories: that it was a follie to belecue that the French king would not take it for an offence, to see himselfe left abandoned in so great perils, to find that the effects nothing answered the confidence and expectation which he had in the *Florentines*, both touching matters which he promised to himselfe of them, and also for things which they had so oftentimes assured: that it was also a greater folly to belecue that the Pope and the king of *Aragon* being victors, would not dispose immoderately of the victorie against that common weale, weighing with the insatiable hate of the one, the ioynt desire of them both, to erect there a gouernment to their fancie, least that citie remaining in her libertie, would be alwayes more inclined to the French then to them: the experience and prooffe of which desire might be easily discerned, in that the Pope (the king Catholike approuing it) had preferred the Cardinall *Medicis* as Legate to the armie: so that as to remaine neuter, was as much as to offer themselves a willing praie to whosoever should become victor: so in ioyning to the one of them, at the least by his victorie, they should be assured & preserved: a reward and fruit to be well considered vpon, seeing the daunger wherein were reduced the estate of their affaires: and in case the peace were made, they should reape benefits vnder better conditions: but to whether of the parties they ought rather to ioyne themselves, it was superfluous to dispute, for that there was no comparison betweene friendships ancient, experienced, and tried, and fauours new, vncertaine, and doubtfull: lesse doubt to follow an ancient amitie, by whose meane, albeit the common weale had not bene rewarded and recompenced, at least it had bene oftentimes defended and preserved, then to embrace new fauours and leagues, which would be neuer vnaccompanied with their infidelities and suspicions. The Magistrate occupied in vaine these discourses, such being the most hinderers of his aduise, who it grieued most that it should come to the French kings knowledge that it was by his meane and working, that the *Florentines* should be ioyned
 “ with him. Such is the propertie of enuie, not only to wish harme to another, but also to let, that
 “ by another no good be done. The Adder doth shoot out his sting, and partaketh no more after
 “ with poyson: but the man of enuie, when he can do no more harme of himselfe, forbeareth not
 “ to let another to do good. Amid these contentions, one faction breaking the aduise of the other,
 there could be established no resolution, whether they should declare or stand neutrals: their counsels oftentimes were verie vncertaine, their affections different, their wils contrarie, and their deliberations repugnant in themselves, without concluding any grace or merite towards any party. But that which more is, proceeding with these incertainties, they sent (to the great displeasure
 of

of the French king) Embassador to the king of *Aragon*, *Frauncis Guicciardin* Doctor of Law, he who wrote this present historie, and at that time of so young age, that, according to the lawes of the countrey, he was vnable to manage any office: and yet they gaue him not such natures of commissions, as thereby he was able to make the confederates to leaue off in any sort their ill dispositions.

But a litle after the *Swissers* were returned to their countries, the Popish and Spanish souldiers began to enter into *Romagnia*, whose coming bringing more feare then perill, made all the townes which the Duke of *Ferrara* held on this side *Pau*, except the *Bastillon* of *la Fosse* and the foord of *Gemola*, to render at the sommons of a simple Trumpet. And for that the whole regiments were not yet assembled and arriued in *Romagnia*, nor the artilleries which the *Viceroy* expected at *Ymola*; it was thought good, to the end the time should not be spent without profite, that *Peter of Nauarre* Captaine generall of the Spanish footmen, should go to besiege the *Bastill*: he began to batter it with three peeces of artillerie, and finding it more hard to be taken then he looked for, both for the quantity of munitions, being aptly applied and executed, and for the resolute defence of the souldiers, being fittie able bodies, he caused to make two bridges of wood to giue a greater commoditie to the souldiers to passe the ditches which were full of water: and soone as he might carie with him the oportunitie of these bridges, the third day after his approaching before the *Bastill*, which was the last day of the yeare 1511, he gaue a furious assault, and such as after a long and braue fight, the footmen winning the walles with the helpe of their ladders, at last tooke it, making slaughter almost of all the footmen defendants, together with their Captaine. *Peter of Nauarre* left two hundred footmen within the *Bastill*, contrarie to the opinion of *Iohn Vitelli*, who assured that it was so much shaken with artillerie, that there was no possibility to defend it without making new fortifications: but he was scarcely returned to ioine himselfe with the *Viceroy*, ere the Duke of *Ferrara*, being gone thither with nine great peeces of artillerie, assaulted it with such furie, that laying open a litle place reuerfed in many parts, he entered by force the very same day of his enterprife, where were slaine partly in fighting, and partly to reuenge the death of his people, the Captaine with all his footmen. The Duke himselfe was hurt on the head with a stone, which did him litle harme for the defence of his head peece, his valour carying him further into perill then belonged to the regard of such a personage, if in Noble men honour and reputation were not dearer then life.

In this meane while all the regiments Ecclesiasticke and Spanish were assembled at *Ymola*, mightie in numbers, braue souldiers, and valiant Captaines: for as the brute went, the king of *Aragon* had there a thousand men at armes, eight hundred mounted vpon Iennets, and eight thousand footmen Spanish; to whom, besides the person of the *Viceroy* were ioyned many Barons of the kingdome of *Naples*, of whom the most notable and renowned by experience of armes, was *Fabricio Colonne*, in whom was inuested the title of Gouverneur generall, *Prosper Colonne* hauing refused it, for that in the warre he could not brooke to be subiect to the commandements of the *Viceroy*. On the Popes side there were eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horsemen, and eight thousand footmen *Italians* vnder *M. Amb. Colonne*, *Iohn Vitelli*, *Malatesta Baillon* sonne to *Iohn Paule*, *Raphaell de Pazzi*, with other leaders and Captaines, all subiect to the obedience of the Cardinall de *Medicis*, Legate: onely they had not yet a Captaine generall, for that the Duke of *Termini* whom the Pope had chosen, as one in whom the king of *Aragon* reposed much, died at *Ciuita Castellana* coming to the armie: & the Duke of *Vrbino*, to whom that place was wont to be transferred, came not at all, either for that such was the Popes pleasure, or else that he held it as a thing ynworthie of him, euen vpon the territories and lands of the Church, to obey a *Viceroy* bearing authority of Captaine general ouer the whole armie of the confederates.

With this Armie plentifully furnished with artilleries which were almost all come from the realme of *Naples*, they determined to bring the Campe before *Bologna*: not that they were not ignorant that the enterprife was of verie hard action, seeing how easilie the Frenchmen might minister succours: but for that there was no other sort of enterprife which contained not greater difficulties and impediments: and to remaine idle with so great an armie, could not be without manifest argument of cowardise. Moreouer, the Pope made so great instance to embrace some enterprife, that who so euer would put into consideration the difficulties,

*The enterprife
of Bologna by
the Pope and
K. of Aragon.*

seemed to giue him occasion to belecue, and cause to complaine, that the sleights & wiles of the Spaniards began to appeare: The forward horse is not holden backe with the bridle without forming and shewing his furie: The streame that runneth is not stayed contrarie to his course, without roaring and making a noyse: And to the mind desirous, euerie litle impediment is grievous, and with his trouble brings both suspition and feare (expectation of it selfe being no lesse ielous then infinite in desire.) In these respects the Viceroy causeth the armie to march, incamping betweene the riuers of *Adice* and *Bologna*: where, after he had giuen order to things necessary for the besieging of that Citie, and turned the channels which go to *Bologna* by the riuers of *Rhene* and *Sananna*, he approached neare the walles, he stretched out and bestowed the greatest part of his armie betweene the mountaine & the way that goeth from *Bologna* to *Romagnia*, & that for the commodity of victuals that come from that side. *Fabricio Colonna* with the auant-gard containing seuen hundred men at armes, five hundred light horsemen, & sixe thousand footmen, was lodged betweene the bridge of *Rhene*, standing vpon the high way of *Romagnia* which leadeth into *Lombardy*, & the gate *S. Felix*, being also vpon the same way, & that to obiect more easie impediments for any French succors to enter: and because they wold command the mountaines, they bestowed one part of their bands of souldiers in the Monastery of *S. Michael* of the wood, which is verie neare the Citie, but seated in a high place and commaunding ouer it: they also made themselues Lord of the Church which is more high, called *S. Maria* on the Mount. In *Bologna*, besides the people that bare armes, haply more by necessity then by nature, with certaine troupes of horsemen and footmen waged by the familie of *Bentiuoley*, *M. de Foix* had sent thither two thousand launce-knights, and two hundred launces, vnder *Odet de Foix* and *Tues Allegre* verie notable Captaines, the one for his long experiēce in warre, and the other for the nobilitie of his house, ioyned to the great tokens of valour that euen his youth did expresse: with the was captaine *Saietta* & *Vincent* called the great diuel. Neuerthelesse they reposed more suretie in the succours which *M. de Foix* had promised them, then in their proper forces, both considering the great circuit of the City, & also weighing the incommodities that were on the mountaine side: besides, there were no other fortifications, then such as for the present daunger were made in haste, and the *Bentiuoleis* distrusted many of the nobility and people: and lastly they had made a late experience about the *Bastill* of *Geninola*, that the valour of the Spanish footmen answered the praises that haue gone on them in all times, to be men apt to besiege townes, by reason of their great agilitie: neuerthelesse they began esloones to be assured, when they saw the enemies aduanced litle, lying nine dayes about the walles without doing anie thing, sauing that they began with two Sakers and two Culuerins planted in the Monasterie of *S. Michael* to shoot in vaine into the Citie, rather to terrifie men then to hurt houses: an execution which they gaue ouer immediatly, knowing by experience that in doing litle damage to the enemy in that sort, they made also an vnprofitable waste of their munitions. The matter that kept them so long from doing any thing, was an aduertisement that they had the same day they incamped, that *M. de Foix* being then come to *Finalo*, waged souldiers from all parts, with intētion (which he caused to be iustified with a brute running) to offer himselfe to all perils for the preservation of the Citie, knowing how much it would preiudice the affaires of the king, and no lesse diminish his owne reputation, if he suffered a City of that importance and conueniency to be taken out of his hands. This made them draw into counsell to debate better, not onely on which side they might besiege it with most hope and greatest facilitie, but also by what wayes they might let the French succours for entring. In the first counsell it was agreed, that *Fabricio Colonna* passing to the other side of the towne with his due prouisions of victuals and artilleries, should lodge vpon the hill side beneath *S. Maria* of the Mount, from whence he might both easily giue impediments to anie that should attempt to enter into *Bologna*, and yet he should not be so farre deuided from the residue of the armie, as not to be succoured in time what perill soeuer could happen: and that at the same time they should begin from that part where they were incamped, or very neare, to batter the towne. Such as were the authors of this counsell, alleaged, that as all that the French held in *Italy* depended wholly vpon the preservation of the armie, so it concerned *M. de Foix* in discretion and all good respects, not to hazard to do any thing, in the execution whereof he might be constrained to fight: & much lesse wold he be of that iudgement, albeit he knew he might do it in suretie, to inclose himselfe with all his armie within *Bologna*: an action wherein he should deprive

deprive himselfe of all meanes to succour in cases of necessity the estate of *Millan*, which was not as yet wholly assured from the movings of the *Swissers*, and where also was greater doubts to be assailed by the *Venetian* armie, which being come vpon the marches of *Verona*, seemed to threaten the towne of *Bressia*. These reasons being layd in consideration with the enemye & his estate, and weighed withall with the examples and experiences of times past, seemed at the first to carie much in the mindes of men : but the day following almost all such as had approued this counsell, were of opinion contrarie, considering it was not a thing certaine that the French armie would not come, and if it did come, the vauntgard onely would not suffice to resist them. They said also that that deliberation was not to be approued, which was established vpon such a foundation that it rested alwayes in the power of the enemye to innouate or chaunge it: for this cause the aduise of *Peter of Navarre* was allowed by the *Viceroy*, to whom onely he communicated his opinion, that making prouision for five dayes, and leauing a gard onely in the Church of *S. Michaele*, all the armie should passe to the other side of the Citie, where both might be objected conuenient impediments, that the enemye should not enter: and also the towne, not fortified on that side (neuer fearing to be there assailed) they should be able without doubt to carie it in five dayes. But as soone as this resolution was dispersed amongst the armie and generall bands of souldiers, there was none which did not openly reprove the directiō to go lodge with the armie in a place meere-ly voide of all traffike of victuals which were brought from *Romagnia*: which as it was the onely meane to sustaine and nourish the armie, so no doubt it could not stand vndissolued and broken, if within five dayes it enforced not *Bologna*. And what is he (saith *Fabricio Colōno*) that cā assuredly make promise of such a thing within so short a time, seeing there is nothing lesse likely to come to passe, thē that which depends vpon many daungers & difficulties. Matters of enterprise can not be warranted by coniectures onely, seeing oftentimes they draw with them so many accidents, that euen the wisdomes of the wisest mē are found vnperfect to assure them: What reason is there that vnder a vaine hope, which of her proper nature is fallible and subiect to chaunces, we should offer so glorious an armie to so manifest a danger? It is more honorable to auoid a perill by counsels and considerations, then by too much rashnesse and presuming to offer our selues to an action, wherein the confidence is farre lesse then the dispaire. Who seeth not, that our houres and time limited being runne out, we haue no possibilitie to retire our selues and our people made hungrie, disordred, and fearefull, without our losse and certaine ouerthrow, hauing *Bologna* in our face, where is a great masse of people and many souldiers, and at our backs the French armie, which will not ouersee the oportunitie of our great presuming and securitie. Some others aduised, that bestowing in the vauntgard a greater strength of footemen, it should incampe on the other side of *Bologna* almost at the foote of the mountaine, betweene the gate *Saragozza* and *S. Felix*, fortifying themselves with trenches and other defences: and from that side the towne should be battred, being there not onely the weakest in wals and rampiers, but also by planting some peeces of the artillerie about the mountaine, they should execute in flanke during the assault, such of the defendants as would come to the breach. This counsell also was reiected, as not sufficient to let the coming of the French: and no lesse dangerous, for that if they should be charged by the enemye, the armie, notwithstanding it commaunded the mountaines, could not descend to their succours in lesse time then three houres. Amid these variations and ambiguities, being farre more easie to reprove the counsels that were propounded by others, then to open other aduises that deserued to be followed, at last the Captaines grew to a deuise to assaile the towne on that side wherein the armie was already incamped: a resolution which amongst other reasons tooke furtherance by an opinion they had that *Monsieur de Foix* would not come at all, since he lingred so long: therefore they began to cast platformes to bring the artillerie to the wals, and called backe the vauntgard to incampe together with the others. But a little after they had many aduertisements that the French bands increased daily at *Finale*, which reuiuing efsouones their former suspition of their coming, there might be discerned amongst thē a new diuersitie & disagreement of opinions: for euery one being of this minde, that if *Monsieur de Foix* approached, they should lay to set vpon him afore he entred *Bologna*: many perswaded, that in that case, the artillerie planted already before the wals, which then should be retired, would giue many impediments and difficulties to the armie: a matter in such termes of affaires both daungerous and hurtfull: Others reasoned, that it was no lesse to their infamie then to their hurt, to remaine so many dayes about the wals of *Bolo-*

gnia without doing any thing, both confirming at one time the courage of those that were within, and giuing leasure to such as were without to prepare to succour them: and therefore it were not best to deferre any longer to plant the artillerie, but in such place as it might be easily retired, making the better to oppose against the Frenchmen, the platformes so large, that both the artilleries and the armie might be able to moue together. The Legate was fully with them that gaue counsell to begin to batter the towne, both for the displeasure he had of so long deferring, and also somewhat suspecting least the matter had bene wrought by the direction and fancie of the king of *Aragon*, according to the subtleties and dissembled maner of proceedings of the *Spanish*: he complained that if from the first incamping they had begun to batter the towne, they might happily afore that time haue bene maisters of it: That it belonged not to noble men of warre to ioyne fault vnto fault, and much lesse to remaine as enemies about a towne, and yet expresse no valour to assaile it: That the Pope sent to him dayly curriers and postes, but he knew no more what to answere and alleage, holding it a dishonor to entertaine and nourish him any longer with promises and vaine hopes: Lastly, that it touched much the reputatiō of a Generall, to prepare to an enterprise which he durst not execute. These wordes moued not a litle the *Viceroy*, complaining much against his importunitie and hast, that he being a man of no trayning in armes nor exercises of warre, would so vehemently solícite a resolution so rash and daungerous. He sayd, that in those counsels there was debated the interest of all the world, wherein yet they could not proceede with such absolute maturitie as there were not further neede of deeper counsell and consideration: that there were no humane things more subtle and intricate then the enterprises of war, nor any worldly accident of more compassion then the losse of a battell: that the counsels of war drew with the infinite considerations and reasons, and yet kept alwayes suppressed and retained some secrets which the wisdom of men could not finde out: that it was the custome of Popes and common weales to enter willingly into warre, and afterwards the expences and perplexities encreasing about expectation, to wish the end with vndiscrete desires: he willed him to gue ouer to the Capitaines the deliberations of things, who hauing the same intention that he had, were somewhat about him in the administration and experience of a warre. Lastly *Peter de Nauarre*, in whom the *Viceroy* reposed most, alleaged that in an expedition of so great importance, men ought not to respect so much the distance of two or three dayes: and therefore it was necessarie to continue the counsell and direction for prouisions necessarie, as well for the besieging of *Bologna*, as for the battell, and for their better gouernment afterwards, according to the proceedings of the French. Two dayes passed afore could appeare any light of the better resolution, for that *Monsieur de Foix*, to whō *Centa*, *Piaua*, with many other boroughs of the countrey of *Bologna* were rendered, remained still at *Finalo*, where he lay to reassemble his forces & bands of souldiers, who as well for that they had bin distributed in many places, as also that his footbands which he had waged were long in coming, could not so suddenly come to the muster: So that, no further cause of deferring appearing, at last the artilleries were planted against the wals, about thirtie fadomes neare the gate of *S. Stephen* which leades to *Florence*, where the wall turning and crooking towards the gate called *Chastillon*, that hath his prospect vpon the mountaine, maketh an angle. And at the same time *Peter de Nauarre* was about to make a mine, drawing more towards the gate of the way of *Chastillon*, on that side the wall where within is a little chappell called *Barbacana*, to the end that the assault being giuen at the same instant, they might with more difficultie make resistance being deuied then if they were vnited and ioyned, to defend one onely place. Moreouer following still their first thoughts to oppose against the Frenchmen, they gaue order that the vauntgard should returne to the lodging where it was before; The artilleries brought downe to the earth in xxiiij. houres an hundred fadomes of wall: and the tower of the gate was battred with such furie, that being no more able to maintaine defence, it was abandoned, so that they might very conueniently giue the assault on that side: but they expected till the mine were accomplished, notwithstanding by the rashnesse of the souldiers, the assault was almost executed the same day in disorder: for certaine *Spanish* footmē being climed vp by a ladder to a hole which had bin made in the towre, descended that way into a little house which on the inner side belonged to the wals, wherein was no gard: which being found by the other bands of footmē, they had all runne thither by heapes, if the Capitaines hearing of the noyse, had not repressed their wilfulnesse. But after the defendants, hauing leauied a Cannon iust with the house, had slaine one part of them, the others fled for safetie fro the place

place where vndiscreetly they entred to seeke for perill . And whilest they were busie about the mine , others laboured in the armie to make bridges of wood , and to fill vp the ditches with baskets and earth) the better to be able (marching as it were in a plaine way) to bring the footemen to the wall which had bene well battred , and to draw euen vpon the ruines some peeces of artillerie , to the end that in the execution of the assault, the defendants should not be able to continue the resistance . But the Frenchmen, seeing into these preparations, and discerning withall that the people began already to giue theselues ouer to feare, sent immediatly to pray succors of *Monsieur de Foix*, who dispatched thither the same day a thousand footemen, and the day after four-score Launces : a matter which made the enemies beleue assuredly that he was determined to passe no further , it seeming a matter not likely nor congruent that he would separate from himselfe one part of his strength if he had another intention: but truly such was his meaning , for that holding that succour sufficient to defend *Bologna*, he would not without necessitie assay the fortune of the battell . At last the mine was accomplished, and the armie standing in order of battell to go forthwith to the assault, for the execution whereof with greater strength the vauntgard was reuoked , *Peter of Navarre* caused fire to be put to the mine , which with so great noyse and furie blew vp so high the wall and chappell, that in that space and diuision was made open to those without the intrals of the Citie within, together with the maner of the souldiers prepared to defend it: but falling eftsoones downe againe, the whole wall tooke the same place from whence the violence of the fire had driuen it , and was so reioyned and knit againe, as if there had not bene any separation or remouing at all: so that being impossible for the souldiers to go to the assault on that side, the Captaines iudged it no lesse hard to follow it on the other part . They of *Bologna* interpreted this aduenture to a miracle, saying it was impossible without diuine aide, that the wall should fall and reioyne so iustly vpon his old foundations : for which cause the Chappell was afterwards increased and frequented of the people in great deuotion. This successe (as though there remained nothing else to be feared touching the affaires of *Bologna*) was the cause that *Monsieur de Foix* thought good to go to *Bressia* , both for an espiall he had that the *Venetian* armie drew that way, & also for feare least the inhabitants there fell not into some want and necessitie , for that by reason of the perils of *Bologna* he had left there a very slender garrison , & no lesse doubted of secret practises and intelligences. Neuerthelesse he chaunged opinion at the contemplation & requests of the captaines that were within *Bologna*, who somtimes alleaged to him that if he wēt his way, the dangers of the war would redouble & become greater then before; & somtimes they gaue him hope to ouerthrow the campe of the enemies if the would but ioyne his presence to their valour. In regard of which reasons, accompanied with a deepe consideration of the perill of the affaires present, notwithstanding in the counsell almost all the Captaines were against him, he issued very late out of *Finale*: and the morning following, being but two houres of daylight, he drew towards *Bologna* with all his army in battell aray, laboring with importunity of trauel against the snowes, the ice, & bitter weather: he entred by the gate of *S. Felix*, hauing with him xiiij. hundred launces, vij. thousand Launceknights, whom he had bestowed all in the vauntgard, & viij. thousand footemen aswell French as Italiā. Being thus with great felicitie & valour entred into *Bologna*, he put into questiō to assaile the morning following the campe of the enemies, the souldiers making their sallies at three gates, & the people issuing out by the way of the mountaine: if this resolution had bin aduanced, he had found the not doubting of his coming; a matter which assuredly their Captaines had knowledge of, neither that day nor the most part of the day following. The execution was hindred by *Yues Allegre*, who gaue counsell, that the bāds made weary with the bitter wayes they had marched, should haue one day to repose theselues, thinking withal (which also any wise man might haue iudged) that it was not possible that so great an army, and in the broad day, and by the high way, could without their knowledge enter into a Citie, before the which they lay incamped. The same ignorāce had also kept the abused the day after, if by aduēture a *Greek* stradiot had not bin takē, being issued out of the skirmish amongst other horsemen: & being demaunded of the state of the towne, & what they did within it: he answered that he was able little to informe them, for that he had but entred the day before with the Frēch armie. Vpon his words, confirmed both with faith & constācie, the Captaines entred into such amaze & maruell, that they determined to leaue their campe, holding the danger too great to remaine there, aswell for the bitterness of the season which greatly afflicted the soldiers, as for the neighbourhood of the citie, wherinto so great an ar-

The Popes ar-
mie retireth
from before
Bologna.

mie was entred: They iudged it no pollicie to contend at one time, and with one force, against so many aduersities: the intemperance & afflictions of the season were more intollerable to them than the hand of the enemy, who yet could not but be fearefull, both for their numbers, their trayning, and their resolute mindes: They made also coniectures of the monstrous reioyning of the wall, after it was blowen vp, a consideration which not the least increased their feare, though in souldiers valour ought to be more ready then superstition. The night following, which was the xix. day since their incamping, they retired their artilleries with as little brute as they could, and marched with their armie in good time along the high way towards *Imola*, drawing along the plaines and squares by the which they came, in the middle of which was the high way and the artillerie: and bestowing in their rearegard the flower of their armie, they marched and wonne way with suretie, for that there issued none out of *Bologna* other then certaine French horsemen, who hauing made spoile of part of the munitiōs & victuals, & therefore begun to fall into disorder, were to their harmes repulsed euen to *Bologna* by *Malatesta Baillon*, who gouerned the last part of the armie.

As soone as the campe was leauied, *Monsieur de Foix* leauing three hundred Launces and foure thousand footmen within *Bologna*, departed in great diligence to march to the succours of the Castell of *Bressia*, the Citie being taken by the *Venetians* the day before he entred into *Bologna*: for *Andrew Gritti* induced by *Count Louis Anogato* a gentleman of *Bressia*, the most part of the people of the countrey concurring also, and hoping much that within the towne they would draw to some mutinie, had passed by commaundement of the Senate with an armie of three hundred men at armes, xiiij. hundred light horsemen, and three thousand footmen, the riuer of *Adice* at *Albera*, which is a place neare to *Legnagne*, and afterwarde waded the foord of *Mynchia* at the turning mill betweene *Croito* & *Valegge*: and comming at last to *Montcharo*, he encamped by night at *Castagnet* a village within fife miles of *Bressia*, & from thence made sudden incursions with his horsemen euen to the gates. And at the same time the authoritie and affection to the name of *S. Marke* resounding in all places, *Count Louis* came hard to the gates with eight hundred men of the vallies of *Entropien* and *Sabina* whom he had drawne into commotion, and sent his sonne on the other side of the Citie eue to the gates with other companies of footmen: but *Andrew Gritti*, neither receiuing from within the Citie those intelligences which he expected, nor being made to him any such signes as were agreed, he held himselfe preuented by the pollicy and well garding of the Citie: and therefore, refusing to abide perill where he saw no tokens of safetie, and at the same time the sonne of *Anogato* being taken prisoner by a fallie made out of the towne, he retired to *Montagnano* from whence he departed at first, leauing a sufficient gard vpon the bridge which he had made vpon *Adice*. But being called againe not many dayes after, he repassed the riuer of *Adice* with two cannons and foure falconets, and incamped at *Castagnet*, *Count Louis* being at the same time approched within a myle of *Bressia* with a great strength of the sayd vallie men: and albeit there were as yet small tokens or apparance of fauour from them within, yet, *Gritti* seeing his strength to be greater then it was, determined to venter to haue it by force: his valour made him resolute against all doubts of fortune, which is not the least vertue in a man of warre disposed to do an enterprise: he brought all his payfants to the wals, & began to execute the assault in three places, which albeit was ill followed at the gate of the tower, yet it did more haply succede at the gate of the piles where *Anogato* fought, and at the gate *La Garzula* where the souldiers led by *Baltazar Scipio* entred by the iron grates, by the which the riuer (bearing his name of the towne) entred into the citie. In this furie of the assault, notwithstanding the resistance of the Frenchmen, who both seeing the enemies enter the Citie, and the townesmen conspire in their fauour, they retired into the castel, together with *Monsieur du Lude* their Gouvernour, loosing their horses and baggage. In this tumult, that part of the towne which is called the Citadel, & standeth separated from the residue of the Citie, a part wherein almost all the *Gebelins* inhabited, was spoiled and sacked, except the houses of the *Guelfes*. After the conquest of *Bressia*, *Bergama* rendred immediatly except the two castels, whereof the one is in the middle of the Citie, and the other stands within halfe a myle. This rendring happened not so much by the exāple of *Bressia*, as by the meane and working of certaine Citizens. *Orcinacche*, *Orcinono*, and *Pontuquo*, with many other places there about did the like: and perhaps much more had bene done, or at the least the victorie had bin better assured, if at *Venice* they had had a care necessarie & cōueniēt both to send souldiers and artilleries to get the castell, which no doubt would haue made no great resistance, and also to

create

to create Magistrates for the well guiding of places already recovered: their ioy was greater for the victorie they had gotten, then their prouision to preferue the things which their fortune had brought them: their glorie was farre aboute their pollicie which in men of warre is not the least error, for that it makes them more apt to winne, then able to hold; and this negligence of the *Venetians* was so much the more hurtfull, by how much more great was the celeritie & diligence of *M. de Foix*, who hauing passed the riuer of *Paw* at *Stellato* (from whence he sent fifty launces for the gard of *Ferrara* and 500 French footmen) he passed also the riuer of *Mincia* at the mill bridge, hauing almost at the same time of his marching, sent to demaund passage of the Marquisse of *Mantua*: his sodaine damaund of the Marquisse drew one of these two reasons, either to giue him no respite to take aduise in a matter so present & peremptorie, or else that the *Venetian* bands should be so much the later aduertised of his comming: A man of warre hath no one property, more commendable then his celerity and speed, for that by aduancing oportunities, he takes from his aduersarie all counsell, & by his quicknesse ouercommeth the hardnesse of things which otherwayes his valour were not able to suppress: The tide that is driuen with a violence more then ordinarie, beguileth the Mariner that standeth to expect, but maketh much for the ship that taketh the benefite of it: There is no sort of action wherein fortune more fauoureth men of enterprise, then when their celeritie is equall to their valour, for that it cuts off from the enemy all discourse of counsell and makes him blind in the defence of his proper harines. From thence he went the day after to *Nogero* vpon the territories of *Verona*, and the day following to *Pontesero* & to *Trenilla* three miles from *Escalo*: where, receiuing aduertisement that *Iohn Paule Baillon* was come from *Frankencastle* with three hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horsemen, and twelue hundred footmen to encampe within the Ile of *Escalo*, he made haste thither, to charge him with three hundred launces and seuen hundred archers, the residue of the armie comming after, which otherwise could not march with such diligence: but finding that he was remoued an houre afore his coming, he put himselfe in order to follow him without tarying. *Ioh. P. Baillon* had receiued aduertisement that *Barnardin de Monson* to whom was left the gard of the bridge made at *Albero*, had broken it vp, hearing of the comming of the French, for feare he should be inclosed by them; and the launce-knights which were within *Verona*, whither *Cesar* had a litle before sent 3000 footmen which he had in *Fryull*, being at that time released of all gard at *Fryul*, for that all was returned to the power of the *Venetians*, except *Gradiqua*, who more then the rest expressed her fidelity against the aduersities of the warre. For this cause *Ioh. P. Baillon* had gotten into *Bressia*, if he had not bene told that a litle beneath *Verona* the riuer might be passed ouer by foord: but as he went to performe his passage, he discouered a farre off *M. de Foix*, whose incredible celerity, for that it was farre more then the report and renoume that went of him, he thought they could be no other troupes then one part of the souldiers that were within *Verona*; and in that perswasion ranging his companies in battell aray, he taried their comming with great courage at the tower *Magnanino*, which is somewhat neare *Adice*, and of a verie litle distance from the tower of *Escalo*. The encounter of both parties was verie furious with their launces, and afterwards falling to other weapons, the battell was hotly continued more then an houre: but the condition of the *Italians* grew worse and worse, for that the other part was continually supplied with new reliefe of souldiers from the armie which was left behind: and albeit not so much by the valour of their enemies as by their proper imbecility of numbers, they were often put to disorder, yet by their vertue and gouernement they reassembled as often: at last, being not able to make a perpetuall resistance against the greater number, they were broken and put to flight, & were chased by the enemy (the night now beginning) euen to the riuer, which *Ioh. P.* passed in safetie, his fortune being better then many of his people, who were drowned by the fury of the chase. In this medley were slaine and taken about fourescore and ten men at armes of the *Venetians*: amongst whom fell into the calamity of prisoners *Guido Rangom* and *Baltazar Signorello de Perousa*: the footmen were all disperfed and broken, and two Faulconets lost, which was all they had to leaue to the enemy as monuments of that miserable aduerture. In this calamity it seemed fortune respected much the Frenchmen, for that few of them fell into the mercy of the enemy, and fewer into the miserie of imprisonment (their felicitie with their valour, making them free from those daungers which reason & coniecture threw vpon them.) The day after they encountred *Meleager de Furly* with certaine light horsemen of the *Venetians*, whom they easily put to flight, *Meleager*

M. de Foix
defeateth *Ioh.*
Paule Baillon.

remaining prisoner: & in this course of felicity, holding it not necessarie to lose one houre of time, the ninth day after they parted from *Bologna*, *M. de Foix* with the vaungard incamped within the suburbs of *Bressia* about two crosbow-shoots from the gate of *Tourlongue*, and the residue of the armie more backward along the way that leades to *Pesquero*. As soone as he was incamped, not giuing to himselfe as it were any leasure to breathe, he sent one part of his footmen to charge vpon the Monasterie of *S. Fridian*, which is halfe way to the hill vnder the which he was incamped, and the hill kept by many paynants of the valley *Tropia*: this gard was soone broken & most of them slaine by the footmen, who made their entrie into many places by climing being fauoured with certaine showers of raine, by the which the artilleries that were in the Monasterie could not execute. The day following *M. de Foix* sent a Trumpet to summon the towne to render with conditions of safetie for their liues and goods, except the *Venetians*: and his Messenger being proudly answered in the presence of *Andrew Gritti*, he turned his army to the other side on the towne to be more neare the castle, and was lodged in the suburbs of the gate called *S. Johns* gate: the morning following, euen by the first reuealing of the day, he choise out of the maine armie more then foure hundred men at armes all armed in white, and fixe thousand footmen, part *Gascons*, & part launce-knights; and with them putting himselfe on foot, he went vp on that side towards the gate of the piles, & entred without resistance within the first walle of the castle: where causing his companies to rest & refresh themselves a litle, he encouraged them with short speeches to mount resolutely vp to that rich and wealthie citie, where the glorie and bootie wold be greater without all comparision then the paine or peril, hauing to fight with souldiers of *Venice*, who were manifestly inferiour to them in numbers, in vertue, and in fortune: he contemned their numbers, for that being people vnexperienced in warre, he iudged them more apt to flie then to fight: he bad them hope that the cowardise of some bringing disorder to the residue wold be the cause that the whole wold fall into feare, negligence, & confusion: he put the in remembrance of their ancient victories wherein their vertue was no lesse meritorious then their fortune: he told them that to men of action nothing more hindereth their glorie then to be slowe to take the benefit of occasions, and the resolute man neuer findeth want of fortune where he expresseth no want of valour: he desired them lastly, that as he had chosen the for the most valiant of the whole armie, so they wold not bring shame to themselves and to his iudgement, but that they wold consider what infamie and dishonour it wold be to them, if they who made profession to enter cities notwithstanding the resistance of souldiers, of artilleries, of walles, and of rampiers, should not now reioyce in their desires, hauing no other impediment then men onely, in whom nothing was lesse familiar then dispositions to fight. Immediately he put his footmen before his men at armes, and began to march out of the castle, and at his going out he found certaine bands of footmen who with their artillerie assayed to stop him for passing further: but his valour making the to retire, he descended furiously by the skirts of the pallace greene of the Captain *Bartetto*, where the *Venetian* regiments well ranged and close together expected him with great resolution: they fell immediately to hand-strokes, when the medley was terrible for a long time, the one part fighting for their proper safetie, and the other part for glorie, ioynded to a desire to sacke a citie so full of riches: the Captaines, besides their office to command and dispose, most often tooke the places of meane souldiers, the vertue of *M. de Foix* being singular about the residue: at last the *Venetian* armie were driuen from the place after they had made a wonderfull defence: in so much as the Conquerours, who now deuided themselves into two bands, made their entrie, the one by the Citie, and the other by the Citadell, finding in euery quarter and corner a maruellous resistance by the souldiers & by the people, in whom it seemed their aduersitie had nothing diminished their vertue: but the Frenchmen being alwayes followed with victorie, passed through all impediments and chased all their enemies that stood afore them: they gaue not their minds to pillage vntill they saw themselves absolute maisters of the towne: such was the direction of their Captaine, whom they obeyed & obserued so iustly: that whatsoever he were that did otherwayes, he was forthwith slaine by his fellowes. In these encounters there died of the French part many footmen, and a great number of men at armes: but of the enemies were left on the ground eight thousand dead carkasses, part of the people, and part of the *Venetian* souldiers, which were five hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, amongst whom was *Comarin* commander of the stradiots, who was slaine vpon the greene with

*Bressia taken
and sacked.*

with a bullet of a harquebuse: all the residue were taken except two hundred stradiots who fled by a posterne neare the gate of *S. Nazareth*, albeit with no better fortune, for that falling vpon the Frenchmen which remained without the towne, they were almost all taken or killed: they also immediatlie after the execution entred the towne by the same gate, and falling to pillage as well as the residue, they enioyed the trauels and dangers of others. *Andrew Gritti* and *Anth. Justinian* whom the Senate had sent into that Citie as gouernour, remained prisoners together with *John P. Manfron* and his sonne the knight *de la Volpe*, *Baltazar Scipion*, one of the sons of *Anth. de Pio*, *Count Lowys Auogato*, and one of his sonnes, and *Dominicke Busechio* Captaine of the stradiots: these being Chieftaines of the army were referred as miserable examples of their owne calamitie; they were by the wretchednesse and fortune of prisoners disposed and caried about as best pleased the appetite of the Victors, sometimes brought to behold the dead bodies of their companions and friends; a spectacle lamentable, to be compelled to see those men dead, whom in life they so much honoured and loued: and sometimes appointed to stand in the presence of the enemy, taking speciall glorie in that which to them could not be but an increase of discomfort. By strait commandement of *Monsieur de Foix*, the honors of the women of religion were kept vndefiled, but their goods together with such others, as for protection were conueighed into their couents, were made a praie to the Captaines. *Count Lowys* was executed in the market place, *M. de Foix* being present, and seemed to hold it a sacrifice best acceptable and pleasing to his eyes: his two sonnes albeit they were for a time deferred, suffered in the end the same paine; the authoritie of the Victor reigning verie iudicially ouer the liues of whomsoever it pleased him. In this sort by the valour and fortune of the Frenchmen, of whom they of *Bressia* vaunted to be descended, fell into this extremitie that citie, for nobilitie and dignitie nothing inferiour to anie other citie of *Lombardie*, but in riches and plentie farre aboute them all except *Millan*. And as the miseries that war draweth with it are infinite, so the whole city for vij. dayes together was exposed to the couetousnesse, to the lust, & to the crueltie of souldiers; things sacred as well as prophane being parcell of the praie: and no lesse the liues then the goods of men committed to the discretion of spoylers. This victory brought great reputation to the name of *M. de Foix*, *Italy* no lesse then the other Regions of Christendom resounding much his glorie, that by his celeritie and valour in the space of xv. dayes he had compelled the armies Ecclesiastike and Spanish to dis campe from before *Bologna*, ouerthrowne in the plaine field *John P. Basson*, with part of the *Venetian* regimēts, & recouered *Bressia* with so great a slaughter of souldiers & other sorts of peoples: it was confirmed by the iudgemēt of wise men, that touching enterprise & matters of war, *Italy* had not felt the like of long time, the aduersity far exceeding the memorie and example of all times past.

After the action of *Bressia*, together with the other places that were lost, of whom *Bergamo* drawne into rebellion by the ayde of verie few of the towne, had by common consent reuoked the Frenchmen before *M. de Foix* made his entry into *Bressia*: & after *M. de Foix* had set downe a forme to the affaires of *Bressia*, and had somewhat refreshed and reordered his armie made wearie with so great trauels, and no lesse disordered partly by keeping and partly by distribution of the spoile: he determined according to the kings commandement, to go seek the armie of the confederates; which, after his departure from before the walles of *Bologna*, was stay ed vpon the lands of the *Bolognois*. To this direction the king was constrained by many vrgent accidents, which droue him into necessitie to take new counsels, for the safety and benefit of his affaires: for, he discerned manifestly that he should haue war with the king of *England*, notwithstanding that king had in franke tearmes afore assured him the contrary, & since kept him in suspense with tokens and words doubtfull: the actions which were quite contrary to his promises could be no more couered, for that there came aduertisement from *Rome*, how he had at last approued & ratified the league by writing: besides, the French king was not ignorant, that in *England* were made great preparations of men and ships, and in *Spaine* was rigged a great nauie to passe into *England*, where was an vniuersall disposition in all sorts of the people of that region, to make warre vpon the realme of *Fraunce*. To this humor of the king & people, was much helping the arriual of a Galiasse from the Pope, laden with Greeke wines, with cheeses and other prouisions, which distributed in his name to the king, Barons, and Prelates of the realme, were receiued of all with a wonderfull gladnesse: the comon sort of people which oftentimes is no lesse caried by vaine & small things, then by matters more graue & great, ran with generall admiration to behold

the Galiasse, accounting it so much more to their pleasure & glorie, by how much they had neuer scene in that Ile anie vessell bearing the Popes banners. At last, Bishop *Morton*, who had long negotiated betwene the Pope and the French king, induced either by his conscience, or by desire to be Cardinall, was appointed in an assembly of all the states of that Iland, where he shewed with equall fauor & full testimonie, what was the iustice of the Popes cause. Vpon this both it was determined to send the Prelates to the Councell of *Latran* in the name of the whole realme, and also (the importunities of the Popes Embassadour concurring) the king commanded the French kings Embassadour to depart out of the realme: he published this reason of his commandement, that it was not conuenient to entertaine about the person of a king, and in a kingdome so deuout to the Church, a man that represented a king so manifestly persecuting the Sea Apostolike. Now began to be discovered the secret resolution wherein the king of *England* with his armie by sea should molest the shoares of *Normandy* and *Britaine*, and should send eight thousand footmen into *Spain* to make warre vpon the Duchie of *Guyen*, together with the forces of the king of *Aragon*: a suspition which not a litle afflicted the French king, both for that the memorie of the warres past had made the English name verie terrible to those peoples, and also he knew the daunger would grow so much the greater, by how much the Spanisli forces were ioyned with them: he was fearefull also by the consideration of his owne weaknesse, hauing sent into *Italy* all his companies of men at armes sauing two hundred launces, which if he should call backe either in part or in all, the Duchy of *Mullan*, which he esteemed much, should remaine in manifest perill: and if for his resupplie he should increase the ancient band of eight hundred launces, he could repose litle confidence, and hope for lesse assurance amid so great dangers in persons newly created & vnexperienced: he added to this the suspition of the alienation of *Caesar*, which daily more and more increased: for, notwithstanding *Andrew Burgos* whom he had sent with so great expectation, and being returned, brought tidings that *Caesar* was disposed to abide in the confederation: yet he made offers of verie hard conditions, entermedling many complaints: for, he required of the king, to assure him to recouer all that appertained to him by the capitulations of *Cabray*, alleaging that he could no more trust in simple promises, for that he hath alwayes known both fro the beginning & since, that it was a matter very grievous to the king that he should conquer *Padoua*: and that to consume and hold him in continuall trauels, he had willingly wasted two hundred thousand ducckers euery yeare, knowing that to him the spending of fifty thousand was much more: that he had refused the last yeare to deliuer to him the person of *Triunleo*, being a Captaine that had both the will & the experience to put a speedy end to the war: he required that the kings second daughter being but two yeares old, might be promised to his nephew, induing her for her dowry with *Burgonny*, & that the daughter might presently be deliuered to his hands: lastly, that there should be left referred to him the quarrels of *Ferrara*, of *Bologna*, and the controuersie of the Councell, forbidding the French armie to march towards *Rome*, and protesting that he was not to endure that the king should any way increase his estate in *Italy*. These conditions of themselves grievous & almost intollerable, were yet made more heauy by the experience he had, that notwithstanding he should accord to him so many things, yet he could not be assured that he wold not varie, either according to occasions or according to his custome: yea, the iniquity of the conditions offered, serued almost as a certaine argument, that being already alienated from the French king, he sought the occasion to put it to effect vnder some colour, seeing that as well in words as in works he disclosed many signes of an ill will: for, both the Proctors which he had so many times promised to send to the Councell of *Pisa*, were not come with *Burgos*, & also the Prelates assembled at *Auspurge*, had at last made answer by a publike decree, that the Coucell of *Pisa* was schismaticke & detestable, but yet with this moderation, that they were ready to chage sentence, if they might be resolved in the contrarie by reasons more strong & auailable. And yet notwithstanding the king, at a time, when he stood in most need to assemble his forces, was constrained to maintaine at the request of *Caesar* two hundred launces, & three thousand footmen in *Verona*, and a gard of a thousand footmen in *Legnagna*. Moreouer, the feare of the *Swissers* vexed not a litle the kings mind: for, albeit he had obtained to send to their Parliaments the Bailiffe of *Amiens*, to whom he had giuen verie ample commissions, and was now resolved by discret counsell (if such may be called counsels discret as are taken when the oportunitie of helping is past) to spare no liberalitie nor offers of money to reduce them to his amitie: yet what with the

hatred of the commons (which in this respite was made greater) and with the importunate persuasions of the Cardinall of *Syon*, preuailing about the authority of those that from parliament to parliament had hindred all resolutions that were to be made against him: it was discerned that they inclined to send sixe thousand footmen to the pay of the confederates, who made demand of them, to oppose against the firme squadrons of the launceknights. Besides all this, the king found himselfe depriued of all hopes of peace and agreement, notwithstanding during the heate of the warre, there had bene great labour and solicitation made by the Cardinall of *Nants* and the Cardinall of *Strigonia*, a mighty Prelate of the Realme of *Hungaria*: for, the Pope had made this last and resolute answer, that if they would be better heard then before, they should so bring to passe that the diabolicall Councell of *Pisa* might be reuersed, and see restored to the Church her Cities of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*. Wherein expressing no lesse violence in effects then fury in words: he had newly deposed from their dignities many of the French Prelates which were resorted to the Councell, together with *Phillip Dece*, one of the most excellent lawyers of that time, both for that he had written and disputed in the iustice of their cause, and did follow the Cardinals to be at hand for direction, when matters required aduise and interpretation of law: In all these difficulties, dangers, and aduersities which enuironed the French king on all sides, he had not one firme or certaine footing in any part of *Italy*: the estates of *Ferrara* and *Bologna* serued him (as in times past) more for vexations and charges, then for any other vse: and touching the *Florentins*, to whom he made a new instance to ioyne with him in a warre against *Romagnia*, he could not draw from them other then generall answers: no, he rather held them suspected by reason of the *Viceroy*s Embassador of *Naples* ordinarily remaining at *Florence*, but much more for that they had set the Embassador to the king Catholike, & did no more communicate with him of their affaires, as they were wont. But most of all, for that hauing labored to prolong the league which was finished within few moneths, without that they demanded either mony or other great obligations, they temporized, to the end to be at liberty to take that part that seemed best for their safety, & conueniency of their affaires. The Pope also, to augment this disposition, & for feare withall, least his too great seuerity & rigour induced them to follow with their force the fortune of the French king, both gaue them absolution of paines & censures, the common-weale not suing for it, and also sent as *Nuncio* to *Florence* with very easie and gracious conditions, *Ioh. Gossadin* a *Bolognois*, one of the Clarke of the chamber Apostolike, labring to take from them the suspition that they had had of them: so that the king seeing himselfe left alone against so many enemies, ther already pronounced or very likely to be so. And hauing but very hard meanes of resistance, if so many aduersities should thunder vpon him in one time, he addrest speedy commandement to *Monsieur de Foix*, to march with as great diligence as he could against the army of the confederates: against whom, as he promised to himselfe the victory, supposing the to be the weakest, so, being possessed of the victory, he should proceed to assaile *Rome* & the Pope without any respect: in the good issue & succeeding of which, he had opinion that he should stand acquitted all his great dangers. And to the end that both the enuy of the enterprize might be diminished, and his iustifications the more increased, he gaue order that the enterprize should be made in the name of the Councell of *Pisa*, by whom should be assigned a Deputy Legate to go with the army, and vnder the sayd name, to receiue the townes that should be conquered.

Thus, *Monsieur de Foix*, departing from *Brescia*, came to *Finalo*, where he remayned certaine dayes, partly to make prouision of victuals that came out of *Lombardy*, and partly to reassemble and draw into one strength all his bands which the king had sent out of *Italy*, except such as by necessity remained for the gard of townes, and partly for the great and sudden raynes that fell, which gaue impediment to his marching: from thence he went to *S. Georges*, which is vpon the territories of *Bologna*, and thither came to him a new supplie of three thousand footmen *Gascons*, a thousand aduenturers, and a thousand *Piccards*, all men of choise, and such as the Frenchmen made great reputation and reckening of: his whole campe according to a iust number contained siue thousand launceknights, siue thousand *Gascons*, and eight thousand *Italians* and *French*, with a thousand sixe hundred launces, comprehending the band of two hundred Gentlemen. The Duke of *Ferrara* was also to ioyne to this army with a hundred men at armes, and a great traine of good artilleries, *Monsieur de Foix* hauing left behind him all his great shot and munitions for the deepe & foule wayes to draw them. To this army was also to come, and was

The army of
the confederates.

already on his way, the Cardinall *S. Senerin* appointed Legat of *Bologna* by the Councell, he was a braue and valiant Cardinall, bearing more inclination to armes then to holy exercises, and contemplations of religion, and lesse giuen to the vocation of the Church or ciuill or private profession, then to publike action and warlike imitation. As soone as *Monsieur de Foix* had set downe these directions for his affaires, he marched forward to seeke the enemies, his valour carying him in a burning desire to fight with them, no lesse for the continuall commandements and incitations of the king, then by a resolute working and property of his owne mind, naturally thirsting after glory, and in him so much the more vehement and kindled, by how much his former successes & victories caried him into a weening of further fortune and felicity: and yet he gaue not himselfe ouer so much to this humor of glory and desire, as that his intention was to set vpon them rashly, but approching neare their campe, either to see if he could willingly drawe them out to the battell in some place where the qualitie of the situation might giue least impediment to his vertue, or els to constraîne them to fight in cutting off their victuals and their other succours. But farre other was the intention of the enemies, in whose army (after the regiment of the Duke of *Vrbino* was gone vnder colour of some controuerfie) were a thousand foure hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and seuen thousand Spanish foote men, with three thousand *Italians* newly leaued: they were of this opinion, that being both inferior in numbers, & the French horsemen better disposed then theirs, it could not be for their surety to fight in a place of equality, at the least afore the six thousand *Swissers* were come, which being newly graunted by the Cantons, there was practise at *Venice*, whither the Cardinall of *Sion* with twelue Embassadors of that nation were gone for that purpose, to leauy at the common charges of the Pope and the *Venetsians*: there was added to this, the will of the king of *Aragon*, who had giuen commandement both by letters and messengers expresse, to abstaine from battell as much as could be: for he hoped specially in the thing which the French king feared most, that if the battell were deferred vntill the king of *England* and he began the war in *Fraunce*, the French king would be constrained to call home either all or the greatest part of his companies, & by that meane he should put end to the war of *Italy* & remaine possessed of the victory without bloud or danger: and for this reason he had forbidden the *Viceroy* to besiege *Bologna*, had it not bin for the great instance & complaints that the Pope made. Thus the *Viceroy* of *Naples* together with the other Captaines, were at this point to encampe alwayes neare to the French army, both to let that the townes of *Romagna* remained not to them in pray, & also to stop the way for going to *Rome*: and withall they were resolved to keepe them alwayes in places of strength, where, either for their situation, or to be backt with some great towne, the Frenchmen should haue no oportunitie to charge them but to their great disadvantage: and therefore they were determined to make no account nor difficulty to retire as often as neede should be, iudging, as men well vnderstanding the quality of war, that they were not bound to the apparances and brutes that ran, but principally had to looke to obtaine the victory which was followed with glory, with reputation, & with praise of men. According to which resolution, the same day that the army was lodged at the Castle *Guelfe* and at *Medicina*, such as were incamped neare those places, retired to the wals of *Ymola*: the day following the Frenchmē passed within a mile & an halfe of *Ymola*, the enemies keeping good order in the place where they were encamped; but refusing to assaile them at so great a disadvantage, they passed further, the vaungard lodging in the borough of *Bubana* foure miles from *Ymola*, and the other part of the army at *Mordana* & *Bagnaro*, townes somewhat more then a mile one from another: They chose their lodging places beneath the high way for the oportunitie of victuals, which with surety were brought by the riuer of *Paw*, *Lugo*, *Bagna*, *Canall* and the townes thereabout, being abandoned of the *Spaniards*, & eftsfoones returned to the deuotion of the Duke of *Ferrara* when *Monsieur de Foix* entred vpon the territories of *Bologna*. The day after, the *Spaniards* leauing sufficient garrison in the Castle of *Ymola*, and lx. men at armes in the towne vnder *Ioh. Saffatello*, wēt to Castle *Bonlonnois*, & incamped vpon the high way, their campe stretching towards the Mountaines: and the same day, the Frenchmē tooke by force the borough of *Solarola*, the terror whereof made *Cotignola* and *Granarola* to render to them, where they remained the day following: and the enemies encamping in a place called the field of flies. In these litle remouings and nearnesse of places, the two armies marched alwayes in good order, their artillery going foremost, with the face to the enemy, as though the battell were to begin at euery houre: and yet both the armies

marched

marched with very great respect, the one not to be constrained to come to blowes but in a place where the advantage of the situation should recompence the disadvantage of their number and forces: and the other to seeke to draw the enemies to a necessity to fight, but with this regard, that at one time, both the weapons and place should not be contrary to them. In that place, *Monsieur de Foix* receiued a new commandement from the king to hasten the battell, the same causes and reasons still increasing that had first induced him to aduance to seeke the enemies: For, where the *Venetians* had obstinately refused to make peace with *Cesar*, but vpon condition that they might retaine *Vincenza*, notwithstanding they were much weakened by the accident of *Brescia*, and also much pressed first by requests and after by protestations and threatnings of the Pope and king of *Aragon*. There was at last made betweene them a truce for eight moneths before the Pope, with couenant that either parts should retaine the things they possessed, and to pay so *Cesar* fiftie thousand florins of the *Rhem*: the same removing from the king all doubts that he would not be deuided from him; and at the same time he had intelligence that he would haue warre beyond the mounts: for, *Ierome Cabanillo* the king of *Aragons* Embassador and resident in his Court, making instance to be heard in plaine counsell, told him he had receiued commandement from the king his Maister to depart, exhorting him in his name to forbear to fauour against the Church the tyrants of *Bologna*, and, for so vniust a cause, to leaue off to trouble a peace of so great importance and profite to the whole common-weale of Christendome. In which exhortation he offered, that in case he feared to receiue any damage for the restitution of *Bologna*, he would assure him in all sorts he would desire; adding in the ende for a resolution immouable, that he would not, nor could not faile to defend the Church according to the office of euery Christian Prince.

Therefore *Monsieur de Foix*, being now certaine that he should neuer accomplish his intention in accosting and following the enemy, for that, for the commodity they had of the townes of *Romagnia*, he could not easily cut off their victuals nor force them to the battell without great disadvantage: and his owne army also suffering no small necessity of victuals by the barrenesse of places where he lay, he tooke counsell of his Captaines, and determined to go to encampe afore *Rauenna*: he hoped by this meane, the enemies, not to diminish their reputation, would not suffer to be lost before their eyes a City of that importance: and withall he doubted not vnder this occasion to fight with the enemies in a place of indifferency: and to let the enemy (haply suspecting his deuise) to approach to *Rauenna*, he encamped betweene *Cotignola* and *Granarola* vij. miles from them, where he stayed foure dayes expecting from *Ferrara* twelue Cannons and twelue other lesser peeces of artillery. The enemies doubted such a resolution, and for that cause sent to *Rauenna* *Mark. Anth. Colonna*, who before he entred into the iorney, tooke the faith and promise of the Legat, the *Viceroy Fabricio* and *Peter of Nauarre*, with all the other Captaines of the army (otherwaies he would not vndertake the enterprize) that if the French came to encampe afore it, they should make to his succours with the whole army. There went with him in this expedition, threescore men at armes of his owne band, an hundred light horsemen vnder *Peter de Castre*, and sixe hundred Spanish footemen commanded by Captaine *Parades* and *Salezart*: touching the residue of the army, they encamped neare the wals of *Faenza*, along the gate that goeth to *Rauenna*, entertayning the time of their abiding there with a hote skirmish with the enemy. About that time *Monsieur de Foix* sent an hundred launces and fiftene hundred footemen to take the borough of *Rusci* garded by a garrison of the place it selfe, who; notwithstanding in the beginning (according to the manner of commons and popular men) shewed themselves very resolute and assured, yet, their naturall feares vanquishing their frayle shewes of courage, they entred the same day into a parley to render and yeeld: during which commonings the Frenchmen taking the oportunity of their negligence and disorder, entred the place with no little furie and sacked it, putting to the sword more then two hundred men, and reduced all the residue to the calamity of prisoners: from *Rusci*, *Monsieur de Foix* drew neare to *Rauenna*, and the day after incamped neare the wals betweene the two riuers in the middest whereof the towne hath her situation: the riuier of *Ronquo* which old histories call *Vitis*, and the riuier of *Moncono*, not a litle esteemed, for that next after *Paw*, it is the chiefeft of those riuers that haue their head on the left hand of the *Appennyn*, and entreth into the sea of his proper course, fall from the *Appennyn* hilles, and where they take their head, there they make

The seats of
Rauenna,

the separation of *Romagnia* from *Tuskane*. These riuers make their course so, as they inclose the City of *Furly*; *Montono* that runneth on the left hand toucheth almost the wals, and *Ronquo* falling on the right hand, passeth within two miles of it, and afterwards are restrained and drawne narrow neare *Rauenna*, with so litle space, that the one on the one part and the other on the other, make their course fast by the wals: a litle below which wals, their waters meeting and embracing together, they fall afterwards into the sea, being now three miles off, but in old time (as is sayd) did beate vpon the wals of the towne: *Monsieur de Foix* commanded the space or distance that is betweene the one and other of the riuers, the front of his campe bearing towards the gate *Adriana*, which is almost ioyning to the brinke or shoare of *Montono*. The day after he was incamped, he made to plant the artillery, partly against the tower called *Roncoro*, situated betweene the port *Adriana* and the riuier of *Ronquo*, and partly on the other side of *Montono* whither one part of the army was passed by a bridge which was cast ouer the riuier: he hastned the battery as much as he could, to the end to come to the assault, both afore the enemies approached whom he knew to be marching, and also for his great necessitie and difficultie to recouer prouision of victuals, seeing the *Venetian* bands which lay at *Ficqueroles*, with many vessels armed, gaue impediment to such as were brought out of *Lombardie*. And hauing sunke to the bottom certaine barks in the mouth of the channell which entreth into *Pau* twelue miles from *Rauenna*, and passeth there within two miles, they also stopped the entry of those that came from *Ferrara* in vessels of that countrey: a prouision which was no lesse dangerous then vncasie to be brought by waggon or cart. Besides this, the incommodities and dangers were no lesse for their forragers, who of necessity were to raunge seuen or eight miles from the campe: impediments not small to a campe lying vpon the execution of some enterprise. In regard of these difficulties, concurring also the consideration of other extremities and dangers, *Monsieur de Foix* determined to giue the assault the same day, notwithstanding he knew it was no lesse hard then dangerous to make his entry: for, of the wall that was battered, there was brought downe to the earth but thirty fadoms, and yet they not altogether ruinous, for that three fadoms were yet left standing on high, so that there could be made no entry but by ladders. But to surmount these difficulties with valour and direction, and the better to encourage his people by a striuing and emulation amongst themselues, he deuised in three squadrons distinct and separate one from another, the regiments of footemen of the *Almains*, *Italians*, and *French*: and after he had chosen out of euery company of the men at armes, ten of the most trayned and resolute, he charged, that being couered with the same armes with the which they were wont to fight on horsebacke, they should march afore the footemen: he brought them all in good order of warre afore the wals, & recommending them to their seuerall fortune, he saw them giue a very furious assault, respecting so much the lesse the perils that were afore them, by how much more euery one of them labored to make good his election and iudgement of their valour. The defendants made valiant resistance, to the speciall praise of *Mark. Anth. Colonne*, who, during that sharpe storme, omitted in himselfe no office, no part, no place, that concerned the rescue and succour of his people, doing double seruice, both by direction and by example. The Frenchmen were wonderfully troubled with a culuerine that was planted vpon a bastillion, by which, with other afflictions farre contrary to their looking, they saw themselues out of all hope to be able to force the towne, and therefore after they had fought three houres, they retired to their lodgings with the losse of three hundred footemen and certaine men at armes: many were miserably hurt, as *Monsieur Chastillon* and the Captaine of the artillery, who receiuing their wounds from out of the towne, dyed not many dayes after: *Federik de Bossolo* was also hurt but not to the death, all men in such a calamity, not being subiect to one kind of fortune. The day following, the deuises to batter the walles, were turned to fight with the enemies in the field: They, as soone as the French armie was remoued, remembring their faith and promise to *Mark. Anth.* were entred within *Furly* which is betweene the same riuers, and hauing afterwards passed the riuier of *Ronquo* a few miles lower, they came towards *Rauenna*: about which time the Citizens of the towne, brought into terrour by the assault of the day before, sent out one to treat of composition without the priuity of *Mark. Anthony*: but as he was in the action, going and returning with answers, the army of the enemy was discouered, which marched along the riuers: and as soone as the Frenchmen discerned it, they drew immediatly into armes with a great noyse and

and ranged their companies vnder their ensignes : they retired in great hast their artilleries from before their wals, and turned them towards their enemies : And in the meane while *Monsieur de Foix* consulted with the other Captaines, whether it were good to passe the riuier at the same instant, to let them for entring into *Rauenna* : a matter which either they had not determined to do, or at least it was impossible with order couenient, and with necessarie diligence : where it was easie to the armie of the confederates to enter the same day into *Rauenna* by the wood of *Pineta*, which is betweene the sea and the Citie : a deuise which had contrained the Frenchmen to retire with shame, and to go out of *Romagnia*, considering the want of victuals. But they either not knowing the occasion, and fearing withall, that as they marched they should be enforced to fight in the plaine field : or else supposing that by the onely view and shewing of their armie, *Rauenna* was sufficiently succoured, for that *Monsieur de Foix* durst not easies send to the assault : they incamped, contrarie to all expectation, three myles within *Rauenna*, in a place called *Montinacco*, spending the residue of that day and the night following in intrenching their campe with ditches, so large and deepe, as the shortnesse of the time would suffer. In this respite of time, the French Captaines consulted together not without diuersitie of opinions : some held it an enterprize too daungerous to giue a new assault to them within *Rauenna*, hauing before them so little a breach in the wall, and behind them so great a campe and armie of enemies : They iudged it vnprofitable to remaine there without hope to be able to do any thing, yea the scarcitie of victuals bringing apparant impossibilitie to all action : and that in retiring, there would grow to the *Spaniards* a greater reputation then was wonne the day before by aduancing. Lastly, that as it was a matter very daungerous, and against all deliberations and counsels made before, to go charge them in their campe, which they had to thinke was well fortified, so, of all sortes of daungers that chiefly was to be eschued by which might happen greatest harmes, and of all other harmes this is the greatest without all comparison, to be ouerthrowne. Amid these discourses of difficulties and perils, it was in the end resolved, that they would go set vpon the enemy as soone as it were day, *Monsieur de Foix* allowing that resolution as most agreeable to his glorie and their common safetie. All the night they wrought to set vp the bridge vpon the riuier of *Ronquo*, making plaine the risings of the bankes on all sides, to make the way more easie and passible. The next morning by the first appearing of the day, being the eleuenth of Aprill, a day very solemne for the memory of the holy resurrection, the Launceknights of the footemen marched ouer the bridge, almost all the vauntgard and the battell passed the riuier by foord, and the rearegard guided by *Yues d'Alegre*, wherein were foure hundred Launces, remained vpon the shore of the riuier on *Rauenna* side, to the end to succour the armie in necessitie, and to make head if the souldiers or people issued out of *Rauenna* : and to the gard of the bridge which had bene afore built vpon the riuier of *Montono*, was appointed Captaine *Paris* a Scottish man with a strength of a thousand footemen. Immediately vpon this the Frenchmen prepared themselues to the battell in this order : The vauntgard with the artillerie before, gouerned by the Duke of *Ferrara* with seuen hundred Launces and the Launceknights, was placed vpon the banke or shoare of the riuier which was on their right hand, the footmen being on the left had to the horsemen : on the side of the vauntgard and in flanke, were bestowed the footmen of the battell, which were eight thousand, part *Gascons*, and part *Piccards* : and after, in enlarging alwayes and bearing further from the banke of the riuier, was the last esquadron of *Italian* footemen led by *Federike Bossolo*, wherein was not aboue the number of fife thousand bodies : for notwithstanding *Monsieur de Foix* comming from before *Bologna*, tooke with him such as were there in garrison, yet many of them were shronke away, by reason the pay was small : and on the side or wing of this Squadron were all the archers and light horsemen, which exceeded the number of three thousand : After the ordering of all these squadrons, who not stretching directly right forth, but plying and bowing, bare the forme of a halfe Moone, and vpon the banke of the riuier, were the six hundred launces of the battell commaunded by *Monsieur de la Palissa*, together with the Cardinall *S. Senerin* Legate of the Councell, who being of stature huge and mightie, and of courage and minde nothing inferiour, and armed withall from top to toe with glittering armes, performed far better the office of a Captaine then of a Cardinall or Legate. In this disposing of the army *Monsieur de Foix* reserued to himselfe no charge or place particular, but hauing made a choise of thirty of the most valiant Gentlemen of the whole armie, he stood free & at libertie to be the better able

The confederates at the siege of *Rauenna*.

The order of the Frenchmen in the battell of *Rauenna*.

to succour and minister to all parts. The goodly estate and presence of his personage couered with armour shining and wrought, made him easie to be discerned from all others: ioyning his liuerie or cassacke, in whose colours was represented the inclination of his mind. And because there should be omitted in him nothing that either belonged to the testification of his proper valour, or was necessarie to stirre vp the mindes of his people, he mounted vpon the rugg of the shore of the riuer, and with a countenance of singular ioy and comfort, disperfed into his eyes and all his other outward senses and parts, he spake to his companies with an eloquence more then martiall in this sort:

*Monsieur de Foix encoura-
geth his souldiers to the
battell.*

My good friends and souldiers, this is the day wherein fortune offereth to leade vs to fight with our enemies in open field: a matter so much the more welcome, by how much it hath bene long desired with an vniuersall expectation of vs all. The same fortune, whose fauour we haue caried alwayes vpon our shoulders in so many victories, presenteth her selfe now to kisse our cheekes in signe of her perpetuall assistaunce: and holding her lap open, she puts into our hands an occasion to winne the most honourable and glorious victorie that euer was got by any armie in the memorie of man: for not onely *Raenna*, not onely all the townes and limites of *Romagnia*, are subiect to your discretion, but also the wealth and plentie of riches contained in those large limites, shall be the least part of the rewardes of your valour. Not one Prince or Potentate remaining in *Italie* able to make head against your force and felicitie, what shall let you to runne vp euen to *Rome*, where the infinite treasures of that wicked Court drawne in so many ages out of the bowels and intrals of Christendome, shall be the honourable fruits of your trauell: yea your valour and your fortune will put into your hands so many stately ornaments, such heapes of siluer, so many wedges of gold, such mountaines of precious stones, and so many rich prisoners, that the whole world will enuie your condition. And from *Rome*, euen with the same facilitie, we shall march into the bowels of the kingdome of *Naples*, executing reuenge vpon the iniuries done to vs and ours heretofore. These be felicities which I see not subiect to any impediment, when I consider your vertue, your fortune, and the honourable victories you haue gotten in few dayes. These expeditions bring with them no doubt nor feares, when I behold your countenances, and do remember that there are very few amongst you, who in my presence hath not giuen some notable testimonie of his valour. Our enemies be the same *Spaniards*, whom our arriuall forced with shame to flye by night from before *Bologna*, they be the same mindes and bodies who not many dayes since sought their safetie from vs, no otherwise then by hiding themselves vnder the wals of *Ymola* and *Faenza*, and afterwarde couered their dishonor in places mountenous and impassible. This is a race of people and nation, that in the kingdome of *Naples* neuer fought against our armies in plaine field, or places discouered, but brought with them alwayes the aduantage of rampiers, of riuers, of diches, or the weather, reposing lesse in their valour and vertue, then in their sleights and ambushes. And yet I can not terme them that portion of *Spaniards* which haue bene norished and made old in the warres of *Naples*, but rather a people new, raw, and vnexperienced, who neuer fought against other armies then bowes and arrowes and launces pointed after the maner of the *Moors*: who notwithstanding is a nation & people weake of body, without heart, without armour, and wholly without knowledge of the art of warre, yet the last yeare they ouerthrew this proud generation of *Spaniards*, to their great infamie in the Isle of *Gerbes*: from which place fled this *Peter of Nauarre*, a Captaine of so great name and reputation with them, seruing as a notable example to all the world touching the difference to make wals fall with the furie of powder, and sutteltie of vaults secret and vnder earth, and to fight in the field with a true resolution and magnanimitie of courage. They are now inclosed with a trench which feare hath driuen them to make this night in great hast: their footemen are shadowed and couered with the rising of the banke, and they put confidence in their armed wagons, as if the battell were to be performed by those childish instruments, and not with the resolution of minde, and meere force of hands and armes. But with our artilleries we can not but hunt them out of their vaultes and caues, and compell them to come into the field and open plaines, where the world shall heare of the oddes and difference betweene the furie of the Frenchmen, the resolution of the *Almaines*, valour of the *Italians*, and the suttelties, wiles, and ambushes of the *Spaniards*. The greatest matter that I finde to diminish our glorie, is the inequalitye of our number, being almost twise so many as they. And yet to vse this aduantage can not

not be referred to our cowardise, but to their rashnesse, for that their valour and courage is not the cause of their appearing, but the authoritie of *Fabricio Colono*, in respect of his promises vndiscreetly made to *Marke e Antonio*, or rather it is a sentence of Gods iustice for the iust punishment of the prittle and impudent vices of that false Pope *Iulius*, and of so many treasons and decets as that disloyall king of *Aragon* hath wrought against vs, abusing the goodnesse of our king. But in vsing so large a scope of perswasions to souldiers of your vertue, methinkes I do so much deferre and hinder our victorie and the glorie thereof, as I spend time in debating with you to whom the rewardes of the iourney are not vnknown: March on a Gods name according to the direction set downe, and fight with this hope, that this day will giue vnto the king imperie and iurisdiction, & to you the wealth and riches of all *Italie*. For my part I will be all this day at your election, not further extending my authoritie then may needfully tend to the benefite of the seruice, and make lesse reseruatiō of my selfe then belongs to the place which I occupie amongst you. The seruice of this day being all one, the perill shall be equall both to you and to me, and as I promise to be indifferent with you in the action, so I doubt not but we shall all communicate in one fortune and felicitie. It shall be a great happinesse to me, that being the Captaine of this dayes battell, my souldiers shall be made more glorious and more rich, then hath bene euer any armie or souldiers these three hundred yeares.

With these wordes the armie fell to a generall showting and crying, euery one wishing that they were at the place where they might expresse their valour: they all called vpon him to be forward to leade them, whom they were willing to follow euen to the last man. Then the trompets blew and the drummes stroke vp, warning euery souldier to repaire to his ensigne: in which order, with more ioy then feare, they began to march towardes the enemies campe, distant from the place where they passed the riuer lesse then two myles: their lodgings stretched out along the shoare of the riuer, which was on their left hand, where they had cast afore them a trench so deepe as the shortnesse of the time would suffer, which winding and turning vpon the right hand, & enuironed all the place where they were incamped, sauing they had left at the entrie of the trench an opening of twentie pases for the horsemen to issue out to the skirmish. In this campe, as soone as they saw the French begin to passe the riuer, they were ranged in battell in this sort: The vauntgard of eight hundred men at armes commaunded by *Fabricio Colono*, *The confederates armie*, was bestowed along the shoare of the riuer, and ioyning to the right hand of the same a squadron of sixe thousand footemen: after the vauntgard occupying the place along the riuer, was the battell of sixe hundred Launces, and on the wing a squadron of foure thousand footemen, all gouerned by the *Viceroy*, who was accompanied by the Marquis of *Palude*: the Cardinall *de Medicis*, who by nature had no cleare sight, and in behauiour very easie and tractable, marched in the battell in an habite of peace, seeming as well in demonstrations as in effectes, very vnlike to the Cardinall *S. Seuerin*. After the battell, and likewise along the brinke of the riuer, followed the rearegard of foure hundred men at armes, led by *Caruagiall* a *Spanish* Captaine, with a squadron for his wing of foure thousand footmen, & with the bands of light horsemen, of whom was Captaine Generall *Fernand d'Aualo* Marquis of *Pesquiere*, albeit but very young, yet of singular expectation: They were on the right hand at the backes of the footemen to succour such as should suffer distresse. The artilleries were bestowed about the men at armes: & for *Peter of Nauarre* who had made a choise of fiue hundred footmen, and would not for that day be bound to any one place, had bestowed vpon the trench afore the footemen, thirtie waggons resembling the example of the old times: euery waggon was full of small shot, with a verie long boare speare vpon them, the more easily to sustaine the assault of the Frenchmen. In this order they kept themselues close within the body of their trench, expecting the armie of the enemy to come and charge them: a resolution that as it proued in the end little to their profit: so, from the beginning it appeared very preiudiciall: for *Fabricio Colono* had giue aduise to charge the enemy whe they began to passe the riuer, iudging a greater aduantage to consist in this, to fight against one part onely, then to stand to the defence of a slender trench which they had cast afore them. Against this aduise was *Peter of Nauarre*, whose counsels were receiued of the *Viceroy* as Oracles, and by him it was resolued to suffer them to passe: an opinion no lesse vndiscreet, then altogether full of perill. The Frenchmen marched on, and were by this time come within two hundred paces of the trench; and seeing their enemies shew no disposition to come out of their place,

they stayed for not to giue them the aduantage which they sought to haue : and in that sort both the one and the other armie stood at gaze without stirring for the space of two houres, onely the shot executed on both partes, endomaging not a little the French footemen, for that by direction of *Peter of Nauarre*, the artilleries were planted in a place that gaue great oportunitie to distresse them. But the Duke of *Ferrara* retiring behind the armie one part of the artillerie, drew it in great hast to the point of the Frenchmen, in the very place where the archers had bene bestowed. This point, for that the armie bare the forme of a halfe Moone, was almost vpon the backes of the enemies, who were now furiously battered in flanke, and to their great harmes, but specially the horsemen. Those companies of the *Spanish* footemen which the Captaine of *Nauarre* had withdrawen into a low place on the side of the rising of the riuer, being in no perill to be hurt, for that according to his commaundement they threw themselves flat vpon the earth, *Fabricio* cryed aloud, and with great importunities by messengers, called on him to issue out to the battell, and not tarie till they were consumed with the shot of the artilleries. But it was in vayne to raunge the Captaine of *Nauarre*, in whom bare more dominion a cursed ambition, then either reason or conduct : for imagining that by the valour of the *Spanish* footemen (though all the residue perished) he should carie the victorie, he esteemed his glorie would by so much be augmented, by how much should be increased the daunger of the armie. By this time the artillerie had made such mortalitie of the men at armes and light horsemen, that they were able to sustaine no longer. There might be seene with a miserable spectacle mingled with cries lamentable, both men and horses fall dead to the ground, their quarters flye into the ayre, and their heades and armes separate from the residue of their bodies : an execution so bloody in the eyes of *Fabricio*, that he cryed out, shall we all dye heere through the wretched obstinacie of one straunger, shall this gallant armie be offered to the butchers boule without any reuenge of the blood that is spilt? Where is the glorie of our victories so oftentimes obtained against the Frenchmen? Shall the honour of *Spayne* and *Italie* be lost for the pleasure of a particular man of *Nauarre*? In which rage and furie of complaint, he caused his companies to issue out on the other side of the trench, without tarrying for licence or direction from the *Viceroy* : and being followed with all the horsemen, *Peter of Nauarre* was compelled to make signe to his footemen, who being risen from the ground, charged with incredible furie the footemen of the Launceknights which were already come vpon them. By this meane all the squadrons being ioyned pelmell, there began a most desperate and hot battell, and out of doubt one of the greatest, and best executed that had bene fought in *Italie* of long time : for the battell of *Taro* was almost no other thing then a gallant encounter of Launces, and the deedes of armes in the kingdome of *Naples*, were rather actions of disorder and rashnesse, then battels pitched and performed : and in *Guia Radadda* the lesser part onely of the *Venetians* was brought to the fight : but here there was not a body which passed not through the middest of the battell, the fight being in the plaine field without impediments of waters or rampiers, both the armies fought with a wonderfull resolution and courage, they came to the fields with mindes indifferently determined to dye or liue, being kindled not onely with glorie, with hope, and with daunger, but also with hatred of Nation against Nation. In the heate of the fight there hapned this spectacle worthy of memorie : in the medley of the Launceknights with the *Spaniards*, two Captaines of great reputation marching afore their squadrons, fought hand to hand as it were by defiance, where the Launceknight being slaine, the *Spaniard* had no more glorie by his victorie, then the other had honour by his death. The horsemen of the league which ordinarily were not equall to the French, & that day hauing suffred much by the artillery, were become farre inferior, being not able to make further resistance, gaue their backs to the enemy, hauing lög borne out the furie of the fight more with courage then with strength. And *Tues d'Allegre* also who *M. la Palissa* had called, comming with the regard to charge them in the flanke, & with a thousand footmen that had bene left at *Montona*, were taken prisoners by the souldiers of the Duke of *Ferrara*, together with *Fabricio Colonne* fighting valiantly. In this giuing backe the example of the Captaines did much, for that the *Viceroy* and *Carnagiall*, without making a last prooue of the vertue of their men, began to flye, carying with them the third Squadron almost whole & vnbroken : with them fled *Antio de Lena*, a man at that time of very base cōdition, but rising by cōtinual exercise of armes, to all the degrees of warre, he became at last a Captaine of singular reputation and name:

name. All the light horsemen were likewise overthrowne, and their Captaine the *Marquis of Pesquiere* taken prisoner, having his armour all covered with blood, and his body full of wounds, expressing his valour to be greater then his fortune. There was taken also the *Marquis of Palude*, who in great disorder had led the second Squadron to the battell through a field full of ditches and bushes. And albeit by the wretched successe of that day, all the place was covered with bodies of dead men and carcasses of horses, yet the footemen of the *Spaniards* abandoned of their horsemen, continued to fight with an incredible valour and assurance: for, albeit in the beginning of the fight and at the first encounter with the lanceknights, they were somewhat shaken by the firme and close order of the pikes, yet coming afterwards to the sword's point, and many of the *Spaniards* covered with their targets running with their daggers and short weapons betweene the legges of the lanceknights, they came with a wonderfull slaughter almost euen to the middest of their Squadron: and neare vnto them the *Gascon* footemen hauing occupied the way betweene the riuer and the rising, had charged the *Italian* footmen, and albeit they had much suffered by the artilleries, yet they had expelled them to their great praise, if, with a guidon of horsemen *Tues Allegre* had not thrust in amongst them, with a greater valour then fortune: for *Monsieur Vinarais* his sonne being slaine in the action euen afore his eyes, he thought to take present reuenge of his new sorrow, or haply hauing lesse delight to liue after he sawe the priuation of his sonne, he thrust in with his horse into the thickest presse of enemies, where he communicated in the miserable destinie of his sonne, fighting as appertained to a valiant Captaine. The *Italian* footemen gaue backe, being no more able to resist so great a multitude: but one part of the *Spanish* footemen running to their succours, sustained them for a time: neither could the footemen of the lanceknights make any further resistance, being also oppressed by the other part of the *Spaniards*: but the horsemen being already fled, *Monsieur de Foix* turned him to charge them with a great troupe of horsemen, by reason whereof the *Spaniards* rather retiring then chased out of the battell, and winning the way which is betweene the riuer and the rising without shewing any manner of disorder, they began to get further off, not giuing faster backe then by foote paces, keeping the front of their Squadron very close, by whose force they repulsed the Frenchmen. It was at that time that *Peter de Navarre* hauing lesse desire to liue then to saue himselfe, and in that mind would not go out of the battell, was taken prisoner, receiuing a reward of his obstinacy to the vniuersall ruine of the army: The mind thirsting after glory is infinite in opinion and weening, and to the man that is caried with ambition and desire of honour, nothing can stay or limite his aduentures. For *Monsieur de Foix* could not brooke that the *Spanish* footemen should go their wayes as it were victorious and in so good order, neither could he thinke his victory was perfect, if they were not overthrowne as well as the residue: therefore respecting more the glory he should get, then the perils that commonly lye lurking vnder vndiscrete aduentures, he went furiously to the charge with a Squadron of horsemen, and executed vpon those that were last, by whom being enuironed and cast from his horse, or as some suppose, his horse falling vpon him whiles he fought, he was slaine with a thrust of a pike giuen him in the flanke. And if it be then time for a man to desire to die, when his fortune hath set him in the full of his felicity, he may by imputation be sayd to die happily, falling into his last time, when he fell into the last act of so glorious a victory: he died very yong, but with a singular reputatiō throughout the world, hauing in lesse then three moneths, & being almost a Captaine before he was a souldier, obtained so many victories with incredible celerity & valour. Neare vnto him *Monsieur Lautrech* was left as dead, hauing vpon him twenty wounds, but being afterwards caried to *Ferrara*, his life was saued by the diligēt cure of Physicians. *Monsieur de Foix* being dead, the *Spaniards* wet away without receiuing afterwards any trouble or impediment, the residue of the army being dispersed & put to chase, the baggage sacked, the Ensignes of artilleries spoyled, and the Popes Legat taken, who from the hands of the stradiots being come into the power of *Federick Bossolo*, was by him presented to the Legat of the Councell: There fell also into the fortune of prisoners *Fabrizio Colonna*, *Peter Navarre*, the *Marquis Palude*, the *Marquis Bitonte*, the *Marquis Pesquiere*, with many other Lords, Barons, & honorable Gentlemen, as well *Spaniards* as of the kingdom of *Naples*. In battels there is nothing more vncertaine then the computation and number of the dead, the common brute was, that of the one and the other army, there was left on the ground at the least ten thousand bodies of men, one part being of the French part, and the two other halves

The death of
Tues d'Allegre.

The number of
the dead.

of the confederates : some publish a greater number, onely this is certaine , that the *castell* fell vpon the most valiant and brauest sort , of which number on the Ecclesiastlike side was *Raphaell de Paisi* a Captaine of great name, & of such as were hurt the number was infinite. Touching the Frenchmen, the victory was not more glorious then full of damage and discomfort , by reason of the death of *Monsieur de Foix*, *Tues d'Allegre*, and many of the Nobility of *Fraunce*: as also of the *Almains*, for the losse of Captaine *Jacob* with many other resolute leaders and commanders, to whose valour (but with a great price of their blood) the victory in the greatest part was attributed : and lastly for the death of many *Gascous* and *Piccards* being left there with Captaine *Molard*, which nations lost that day all their glory with the French: onely the harme that exceeded all those losses, was the death of *Monsieur de Foix*, with whom perished wholly the very sinew and strength of that army. Of such as were vanquished and saued themselves from the misery of the battell, the most part drew towards *Cesena*, and from thence fled further off: the *Viceroy* himselfe made small repose till he came into the countrey of *Ancona*, whither he brought with him a very slender troupe of horsemen. Many escaping the stroke of the battell, found peril by flying where they sought for safety, for that the wayes being full of peasants, they were slaine and stripped by them, their fortune taking them out of one danger which they could not but feare, and caried them into another which they had no reason to doubt: so futtle is the stroke of destiny, ordained from the beginning to fall vpon mortall men. And the Duke of *Vrbino* did not only stirre vp the councitmen against such as fled, but also sent bands of souldiers into the territorie of *Pejera* to aggrauate their calamity: he was in this suspected, for that many dayes afore he had sent *Baltazar Chastillon* to the French king, and entertained also certaine bands of men with *Monsieur de Foix*: reasons that made some men belecue he had secretly conspired against his Vncle: only such as fled by the dominions of the *Florentines*, passed without any harme, the compassion of that common-weale being greater then to adde affliction to the afflicted, since one sort of calamities sufficeth to vexe the minde that carieith with it feare and dispaire. As soone as the French army was returned to their tents, not more reioycing in the honour of their victorie, then loaden with burdens of sorrow and lamentations, the people of *Rauenna* sent to render themselves: but such is the nature of fortune, to suffer no part vntouched whom she hateth, as they were in debating of the coucnants, or haply being already concluded, the *Almaine* footemen and *Gascous* taking the oportunitie of their negligence in garding their walles, entred the towne at the breach which *Monsieur de Foix* had made: and as men whose minds were not yet free from the blood of the battell, they sacked it in great cruelty, adding to the despite of the harmes they receiued in the battell, the vniuersall and naturall hatred they bare to the *Italians*. In this cruell action nothing was lesse respected then moderation in killing and spoiling, no age spared, no sexe reserved, no sort of people nor goods pardoned, all things were brought into the rewards of the victorie, and nothing left free from the violence and furie of the souldiers. The fourth day after *Marke Antho. Colonne* forsooke the Citadell, into the which he was retired, yeelding it vpon promise of life and goods saued, giuing also his faith, as also for his other Captaines not to beare armes, neither against the French king, nor against the Councell of *Pisa*, vntill *Magdalen* day next. By this example, and vnder the same conditions, the Bishop *Virelli* with an hundred and fiftie footemen, consented to giue vp the Rocke which was committed to his keeping: the Cities of *Ymola*, of *Furly*, of *Cesena*, and *Rimini*, together with all the peeces of *Romagnia*, except the Rockes of *Furly* and *Ymola*, followed also the fortune of the victorie, and were all receiued by the Legate in the name of the Councell of *Pisa*: but the French army, both for the death of *Monsieur de Foix*, and so great harmes receiued at the battell, remained foure miles from *Rauenna*, without doing any thing, the terrour of their losses being greater in them, then that they were yet apt to take counsell what to do. The Legate and *Monsieur Palissa* to whom was diuolued the gouernement of the army (for *Alfonso d'Este* was now returned to *Ferrara*) being vncertaine what would be the kings will, temporized and tarried for his further direction: neither was their authority such with the souldiers, as to commaund the army to march, being so troubled in sending to places of surerie the things they had sacked, and also so weakned in force and courage for so bloudy a victorie, that they seemed to carie the countenances rather of men vanquished, then of conquerours. This amaze and confusion made all the souldiers with plaintee and teares call vpon

upon the name of *Monsieur de Foix*, whose presence only had sufficed to remove all impediments that might have let them to have followed him: and it was not to be doubted, that being pushed on with the fury of his valour, and the promises that the king had made to him, that to his use the kingdom of *Naples* should be conquered, but he had with his accustomed felicity and diligence stretched out his victory even to the bosome of *Rome*, and that the Pope and all his dependants had bene put to chase, having no other hope to save themselves.

The thirteenth day of Aprill the newes of the battell came to *Rome* by the relation of *Ottavian Fregoso*, who went thither in post from *Fossambrun*: They were heard not without a great feare and tumult of the whole Court, which made the Cardinals runne in hast to the Pope, and with vehement petitions to presse him, that accepting peace, which they distrusted not to obtaine of the French king vnder honest conditions, he would at last dispose himselfe to deliuer the sea Apostolike and his person from so many perils: They told him he had taken trouble and trauell enough for the aduancement of the Church, and the liberty of *Italy*, his intention only giuing him sufficient glory: They alleged, that in so holy an enterprize, the will of God struing against him, which he might know by many signes and tokens, to obiect himselfe against Gods ordinance, were no other thing then to tempt God, and turne the whole Church into her latest ruine: That as to God more then to him appertained the care of his spouse: so it belonged to him being a man to referre himselfe to his will, and embracing peace according to the voyce of the Gospell, to retire his old age and the state of the Church from so many perplexities and trauels, giuing his whole Court time to take breath from the long afflictions of so raging a time: That it was to be beleued that the fortune of the victors would raise them vp to a higher ambition, even to come to the wals of *Rome*: That felicity being to be feared, wherein is offered glory ioyned with profite and riches, it was to be doubted least his Nephew would ioyne with them, *Robert Vrsin*, *Pompey Colonna*, *Anthonie Sauello*, *Peter Margano*, and *Rance Mancin*, bearing the same inclination: And as it was knowne that all these had receiued money of the French king, and were prepared even afore the battell to distresse *Rome*: so to meete with these pretences afore they burst out into action, and to auoide the falling of the storme that was already gathered into a cloud, there was no other helpe then the remedy of peace. On the other side, the Embassadors of the king of *Aragon* and the Senate of *Venice*, solicited vehemently to the contrary: They perswaded him that the state of things was not reduced to so great affliction, that the despaire was lesse then the hope and comfort, nor the army so extremely disperfed, that without great charge and in litle time it might not be redressed: They alleged that the *Viceroy* was in safety with the greatest part of the horsemen, and that the Spanish footemen not broken were retired from the battell in good order, who if they were reserued (as was very likely) all the other losses were of no importance: It was not to be feared that the Frenchmen could march so speedily to *Rome*, but that there would be respite enough to provide against them, both for that it could not be, but that the death of their Captaine would be followed with many disorders and insolencies, and also that they would be holden in suspence for feare of the *Swissers*, who now were no more to be doubted to professe openly for the league and discend into *Lombardie*. Lastly, that there was no hope to obtaine peace of the French king but vnder conditions vnequall and full of infamie, being also driuen to receiue lawes of the pride of *Bernardin Caruagiall*, and of the insolencie of *Federike S. Seuerin*. In these respects they held it better to take anie other course then to stoupe vnder the wings of peace, specially in such intollerable and vnfaithfull seruitude, and with so great indignitie and infamie: the rather (sayd they) for that these troupes and leagues of Schismatikes would neuer cease to persecute his authority and his life: They held it yet a lesse euill (if extremity would it so) to abandon *Rome*, and to withdraw himselfe and all his Court either to the kingdom of *Naples* or to *Venice*, where he might remaine with the same surety, the same honour, and the same greatnesse, that he had there: for that with the losse of *Rome*, the Pontificacie was not lost, being alwayes tyed to the person of the Pope in what place soeuer he were. Lastly, they encouraged him to keepe still his accustomed constancy and magnanimity, and that God, who is the searcher of the hearts of men, would neuer fayle to ayde him in so holy a purpose, and much lesse would abandon the little ship of *Saint Peter*, which though it hath bene wont to be tormented with the stormes and waues of the Sea, yet it is ordayned neuer to be drowned: And finally, it would stand with the

zeale, with the honour, with the piety, and with the policy of Christian Princes, to be calouse ouer the mightinesse of the French king, and bearing any affection to religion, they would communicate with him in this quarrell, and ioyne to his defence both with their forces and their proper persons. These reasons were heard of the Pope with so great doubt and ambiguity of mind, that being not able to conceale his passion, it was discerned how on the one side did worke in him hate, disdain, and his inuincible obstinacy to bend or submit: and on the other side, the considerations of feare, suspicion, and daunger. The answers he made to the Embassadors comprehended that it was not so grievous to him to abandon *Rome*, as that he could not resort to any place where he should not be in the power of another: He told the Cardinals, that he would haue peace, consenting that the *Florentines* might be solicited to interpose to that end with the French king: and yet his answer bare not that resolution, nor was so cleare from doubts, as might assure them what was his intention: He caused to come from *Cintrauechie*, *Bascia* a *Genoway* and Captaine of his Gallies, which was a manifest coniecture that he would go from *Rome*: but afterwards he dismissed him to returne to his charge, leauing doubtfull that expectation: He spake to leaue those Barons of *Rome* which were not of the conspiracy with the others: He heard willingly the comforts of the two Embassadors, but so, as oftentimes he answered them with words full of reproch and disdain: He dissembled alwayes in incertainties, which for the most part deceiued the wisedomes of such as gaue him counsell.

About this time came *Iulio de Medicis* knight of the *Roades* and afterwards Pope, him the Cardinall *Medicis* vnder the leaue of the Cardinall *S. Seuerin*, sent from the army vnder colour to recommend himselfe to him in so great a calamity, but indeed to relate vnto him in what conditiō and state things stood. The Pope vnderstanding by him at large how much the Frenchmen were weakned, of how many Captaines they were depriued and made naked, and how many valiant bodies of souldiers they had lost, how many lay hurt, and for many dayes would be vnprofitable, what spoyle of horses they had suffered, and how one part of the armie was disperfed abroad by reason of the sacke of *Raenna*, the Captaines vncertaine of the kings will, and not at good agreement amongst themselues, because *Monsieur Palissa* refused to endure the insolency of the Cardinall *S. Seuerin* vsurping the office of a Legate and a Captaine: that there were secret murmures of a descending of *Swissers*, & no apparant token scene that the army could march so soone. This discourse comforted much the Pope, who causing the reporter to be brought into the consistory, he willed him els soones to relate them in the presence of the Cardinals, in the same forme of discourse which he had vsed to him apart. To these was added the doing of the Duke of *Vrbis*, who (what soeuer moued him) changed counsell, and sent to offer the Pope two hundred men at armes and foure thousand footemen. Notwithstanding these reports and all the comforts they brought with them, the Cardinals continued to aduise him to peace: a matter which albeit in words and outward actions seemed not vnplausible to him, yet in mind he was not resoluēd to accept it but for a last remedy: yea albeit for the present there appeared no present cure or salue for the fore, yet he would rather chuse to go from *Rome*, so farre forth as he were not out of all hope that his cause might be supported by the armies of Princes, and principally that the *Swissers* would stir, who shewing great inclination to his desires, had many dayes before forbidden the French kings Embassadors, to be in the place wherein were assembled the deputies of all the Cantons to determine vpon the Popes demands.

In this estate of affaires, there appeared some hope of peace, for that before the battell of *Raenna*, the French king what with the consideration of the dangers that hung vpon him on all sides: and what with the despite of the inconstancy of *Caesar*, and the hard conditions he proponed, respects that much induced him to yeeld rather to the Popes will in many things, had secretly sent *Fabricio Casetto* brother to the Cardinall *Finalo*, to the Cardinals of *Nants* and *Strigonia*, who had not yet altogether abandoned the negociations of peace: his charge was to require them to propound to the Pope that he was cōtent to reder vp *Bologna* to him: That *Alfonso d'Este* should giue vp to him *Lugo* with the other townes that he held in *Romagnia*: That he should be bound to pay him his auncient tributes, & to make no more salt vpō his grounds: And that he wold agree to the extinctiō of the Councell: he demanded no other thing of the Pope, thē to haue peace with him, & that *Alfonso d'Este* might be absolued of the paines, and restored to his auncient rights & priuiledges: That to the family of *Bentiuoleis*, who should remaine in exile, their proper goods should be

be reserved, & the dignities restored to the Cardinals & Prelates which had followed the Councell. Which conditions albeit the two Cardinals feared that the king would no more consent vnto, by reason of the victory that had succeeded since, yet they durst not propound them in other manner. And the Pope seeing the so honorable for him, & not yet willing to manifest that which he had secretly determined in himself, iudged not that the king could refuse them, but peradventure that it was more profitable with these enterspēches to stay the kings armie, to haue the better leasure to see what would be done by those in whom he had reposed the residue of his hopes: so that the Cardinals still importuning him, he subscribed those articles the ninth day after the battell of *Rauenna*, giuing to the Cardinals his faith and promise to accept them if the king did confirme them: he sent also by letters to the Cardinall *Emale* remaining in *Fraunce*, but absent from the Court for feare to offend the Pope, & to the Bishop of *Tuoli*, who kept the place of Legate in *Auignon*, that they should go to the king to debate of these things: but he sent them no authoritie nor power to conclude them.

Vntill this time the affaires of the Pope went but in an euill course: vntill this day was aduanced the full of his calamities and his daungers: but after this day (worldly affaires haue their ordinarie mutations) his hopes began to appeare greater, and the wheele of his fortune ceased not with an incredible swiftnesse to turne to his greatnesse.

The thing that gaue beginning to so great a mutation, was the sodaine departing of *M. Palissa* out of *Romagnia*: he was reuoked by the Generall of *Normandy* for feare of the descending of the *Swissers*, and for that cause he drew his armie towards the Duchie of *Millan*, leauing in *Romagnia* vnder the Legate of the Councell three hundred launces, three hundred light horsemen, and fixe thousand footmen with eight peeces of great artilleries. The feare of the comming of the *Swissers* was made greater, for that the same Generall thinking to do a seruice more agreeable to the king, had vndiscreetly dismissed the *Italian* footmen, and part of the French footmen immediately after the battell of *Rauenna*, contrarie to all reason, pollicie, and that which the present affaires required. By the departure of *M. Palissa*, the Pope was deliuered of the feare that troubled him most, he was more confirmed in his obstinacie, and it helped him greatly to assure the affaires of *Rome*: for the better oportunitie whereof he had leauied certaine Romaine Barons with three hundred men at armes, and debated to make Captaine Generall *Prosper Colonne*, the rather for that the courages of such as desired new things being abated, *Pompey Colonne* that made preparation at *Montfortin*, consented by the working of *Prosper* to depose *Montfortin* into the hands of *Marke Anth. Colonne* for the Popes suretie, retaining basely in his hands the money he had receiued of the French king. By this exāple also *Robert Vrsin*, who was come afore from *Petillano* vpon the lands of the *Colonnos* to leaue armes, keeping likewise in his hands the money he had receiued of the French king, was brought in afterwards by the meane of *Iulio Vrsin*, receiuing of the Pope in recompence of his disloyaltie, the Archbishopricke of *Reggio* in *Calabria*: only *Peter de Margana* was ashamed to keepe the money he had receiued, doing the same haply with a counsell no lesse honorable then happie, for that otherwise he had iustly payed the merite and paine of his deceit, being not long time after taken prisoner by the succellour of the king reigning.

But now the Popes mind being greatly confirmed by reason of these things, and hauing no more to feare either enemies forraine or domesticall, the third day of May in great solemnitie, he gaue beginning to the Councell in the Church of *Saint Iohn Latran*, being now assured that not onelie the most regions of *Italie* would come thither, but also the realmes of *Spaine*, of *England*, and of *Hungarie*. In this first action he was in person in habite Pontificall, accompanied with the Colledge of Cardinals and great multitudes of Bishops, where the Masse of the holy Ghost (besides manie other prayers) being celebrated according to ancient custome, and the Fathers exhorted with a publike oration to incline with all their hearts to the publike benefit and dignitie of Christian religion: it was declared (the better to lay foundations for other matters) that afterwards should be ordained, that the Councell assembled was a true, a lawfull, and holy Councell, & that in the same remained vndoubtedly all the authoritie and power of the vniuersall Church: Ceremonies assuredly both goodly & holy, & able to pierce euen into the hearts of men, if it might haue bene beleueed that the thoughts and intentions of the authours had bene such as were their words. In this sort did the Pope gouerne himselfe after the battell of *Rauenna*.

But the French king, notwithstanding that after the death of *M. de Foix*, which somewhat troubled the ioy of the victorie, as one whom he loued dearly, had commanded *M. de Paliffa* and the Legate to leade the armie vp to *Rome* as soone as they could: yet he seemed to abate of that inclination, and began to returne with all his deuises to the desire of peace, fearing that at one time and from many places great stormes would thunder vpon him and trouble his affaires: for, notwithstanding *Caesar* diminished nothing of his promises, that he would remaine firme with him, assuring that the truce made with the *Venetians* in his name, was concluded without his consent, neither would he ratifie it: yet besides the feare of the inconstancie of *Caesar*, & doubt whether his promises were dissembled, it seemed to the king that for the conditions which he demanded, he should haue a companion in time of warre chargefull to him, and to the proceeding of the peace verie preiudiciall and hurtfull, fearing that by his interposing, he should be constrained to consent to more vnworthy conditions. Besides all these, he had no more doubt that the *Swissers* would ioyne with them of the league: and he was sure he should haue warre with the king of *England*, who had already sent a Herald to signifie to him that he pretended to be ended all confederations & couenants betweene them, for that in them all was comprehended this exception, that he should make no warre neither against the Church, nor against the king Catholike his father in law. Therefore the king vnderstanding with a great pleasure that the *Florentins* were solicited to worke the peace, he dispatched speedily to *Florence* the president of *Grenoble* with very large commission, to the end matters might be debated more at hand, and if need were he might goe vp to *Rome*: and knowing afterwards by the subscription of the articles that the Popes inclination was more ready then he seemed, he gaue himselfe ouer for his part wholly to the peace: and yet fearing least for the retiring of his army the Pope would estoones returne to his obstinacie, he sent to *M. Paliffa* lying then at *Parma*, to march againe immediately into *Romagnia* with part of his regiments, spreading a brute that it was to passe further. It seemed to him a matter grievous to deliuer vp *Bologna*, not so much for the instance that *Caesar* made to the contrary, as for the feare he had, that notwithstanding the peace, the Pope would continue his euill mind towards him: and therefore it could not but be an action preiudiciall to him to deprive himselfe of the towne of *Bologna*, which was as the fort and bulwarke of the Duchy of *Millan*: and besides, the Cardinall *Finale* and the Bishop of *Tinoly* being come without expresse authoritie to conclude, he interpreted that to an apparant signe that he had dissemblingly giuen his consent, partly for the straits and daungers wherewith he stood enuironed: neuerthelesse at last he determined to accept the said articles vnder certaine limitations, and yet not such as by them the substance of things should be troubled or altered. With which answer the Secretarie of the Bishop of *Tinoly* went to *Rome*, demanding in the kings name, that the Pope would send authoritie to the Cardinall and the Bishop to conclude, or else, that he would call afore him the President of *Grenoble* who was at *Florence*, to whom was recommended sufficient power to do the like: but the hopes of the Pope augmented dayly, and by consequent, if he euer had had any inclination to the peace, it was now diminished, he being a man more disposed to obserue and follow times, then to respect and imitate the qualitie of his calling.

About this time arrived the commission of the king of *Englād*, by the which being dispatched since the moneth of Nouember, he gaue power to the Cardinal of *Torke* to enter into the league: the reason why he was so long in coming, was the long course he had by sea, hauing bene afore in *Spaine*. *Caesar* also, after verie long doubts, had newly ratified the league made with the *Venetians*, being principally pushed on to that actiō for the hopes which the kings Catholike & of *England* gaue to him of the Duchies of *Millan* and of *Burgundy*. In like sort the matter that much helped to confirme the Pope, were the verie great hopes which the king of *Aragon* put him in: who hauing the first knowledge of the ouerthrow by letters from the French king written to the Queene, expressing that *Guastō de Foix* her brother was dead with great glorie, carying with him the reputation of a famous victorie obtained vpon his enemies: and afterwards more particularly by aduertisements of his owne people coming somewhat later for the impediments of the sea. And for that withall, it seemed to him that greater perill would grow to the kingdome of *Naples*, he had determined to send into *Italy* the *Great Captaine* with a strength of new men: a remedy which he was driuen to vse, hauing almost no choise of others: for notwithstanding in outward shew he seemed to respect much the *Great Captaine* for his behauiour in the kingdome of

of *Naples*, yet he both suspected his greatnesse, and durst not trust him with authoritie. The Pope then being confirmed by these occasions, at such time as the Secretarie of the Bishop of *Tinoli* arrived with the articles that had bene debated, putting him also in hope that the limitations added by the King so moderate the infamie that might grow to him by abandoning the protection of *Bologna*, should be referred to his will: he determined altogether not to accept them: but making semblance of the contrarie in regard of the subscription and faith he had given to the Colledge of Cardinals: a maner which sometimes he vsed contrarie to the opinion that went of him to be alwayes vpright and iust: he caused the articles to be read in the Consistorie, and asked aduise of the Cardinals. Whereupon the Cardinall *Arborens* a Spaniard, and the Cardinall of *York* an Englishman, according to a secret pact afore, the one speaking for the king of *Aragon*, & the other in the name of the king of *England*, perswaded him to perseuer in his constancie, & not to leaue abandoned the cause of the Church, which he had embraced with so great honor: They alleaged, that all the necessities that had induced him to hearken to these offers, were remoued and ceased, and that now it was manifestly seene that God would not suffer his ship to perish, though for some purpose vnkown to the wit of man he had suffered it to lie open & subiect to sundrie stormes: They told him, it was not reasonable that he made peace onelie for himselfe, and much lesse to debate it without the participation of the other confederates, the action being common and deuided from all particularitie: Lastly they exhorted him to consider well what preiudice it might bring to the Sea Apostolike and to him, to separate himselfe from true and faithfull friends, to imbrace the amity of enemies reconciled. By the operation of these counsels the Pope openly refused the peace: and within a verie short time after, proceeding in his ancient furie, he pronounced in the Consistorie an admonition against the French king, charging him to release the Cardinall of *Medicis* vpon the penalties ordained in the holy Canons: but he forbore to publish it, for that the Colledge of Cardinals beseeching him to deferre asmuch as he could rigorous remedies, offered to worke by letters writtē in the name of them all, by the which they would both comfort him & beseech him as a right Christian Prince to set him at liberty.

The Cardinall *de Medicis* was caried to *Millan*, where he was kept vnder reasonable and easie gard: and albeit his fortune had brought him subiect to the power and disposing of others, yet such was his vertue and spirit, that the authoritie of the Sea Apostolike shined in him, together with a wonderfull reuerence of religion. And about this time began to appeare a great contemning of the Councell of *Pisa*, the cause whereof was not only abandoned of others with deuotion, with diligence, and with faith, but also euen of such as afore had followed it with armes, and fauored it with affection, with study, and with resolution: for, the Pope hauing sent to the Cardinall of *Medicis* full power both to absolue from all paines & cursings the souldiers that would promise to beare no more armes against the Church, and also to giue libertie of holy buriall for all the bodies that were slaine at the battell, (a fauour demanded with great importunities) the concourse of people was wonderfull, and no lesse maruellous the deuotion of them that came to demand and promise such matters: yea the Ministers and officers of the king were not against it: onely it was not without manifest indignation of the Cardinals, who saw euen before their eyes, and in the place where was the seate of the Councell, the souldiers and subiects of the king, contrary to his honour, against his profit, vpon the lands of his iurisdiction, and without respecting any thing the authoritie of the Councell, run after & follow the Romaine Church, acknowledging with great reuerence as Legate Apostolike the Cardinall *Medicis* being prisoner: Great is the force of a people and multitude beginning to vary and chaunge; and so much more preiudiciall and pernillous their reuolt, by how much vpon their numbers and forces depend principally the estate, and expectation of affaires.

Now because the truce was ratified by *Cesar*, notwithstanding his agents that were within *Verona* maintained that it was nothing, the French king called home one part of the bands that he had in garrison in that citie, as seruing to small purpose: and hauing reuoked also the band of two hundred Gentlemen, the archers of his gard, and two hundred other launces, fearing the threats of the king of *England*, he knew by the suspicion he had of the *Swissers*, which was redoubled in him, that he should need greater forces in the Duchie of *Millan*: for which cause he had pressed the *Florentines* to send him into *Lombardy* three hundred men at armes, as they were bound by the couenants of confederation betweene them for the defence of his estates in *Italy*: and for

that, that confederation drew to end within two moneths, he compelled them (the more and reputation of the victorie being yet fresh) to confederate with him of new for five yeares: wherein he bound himselfe to defend their estates with 600 launces, & the *Florentines* for their parts promised to furnish him with 400 men at armes for the defence of all that he possessed in *Italy*: and yet, to auoyd all occasions to enter warre with the Pope, they excepted in the general obligation of defence, the towne of *Cotignole*, as if the Church might pretend right to it.

*The Swis-
sers rise for the
Pope against
the Frenchme.*

But now were apparantly disclosed right great daungers to the affaires of the king, for that the *Swissers* at last were determined to send sixe thousand footmen to the pay of the Pope, who had demaunded them vnder colour to employ them against *Ferrara*: those that in this action sustained and fauoured the kings side, could obtaine no other thing but to protract and deferre the deliberation till that time: and against those men the communalities of people made vniuersall exclamation in their parliaments, for the wonderfull hatred they bare to the name of the French king: They affirmed that the king rested not contented with this kind of ingratitude to refuse to increase a litle the pensions of those, by whose blood and valour he had won perpetuall reputation accompanied with a great estate, but also with words full of reproch he had despised and reiected them as villaines, as though all men in the beginning were not conceived vnder one element, were not cast in one mould, & had not one maner of creation vpon the earth, & as though any mortall man were now either great, renowned or noble, whose ancestors in the beginning were not poore, vnkowne and basely descended: That he had begun to wage footmen of the Launce-knights, to shew the cōtempt he had of their nation for the seruice of his warres, perswading himselfe that suffering priuation of his pay, they could not but die in their mountaines of idlenesse and famine: therefore they had reason to expresse to all the world, how much he was deceived in his vaine thoughts and perswasions: That his ingratitude was onely hurtfull to himselfe: That nothing could stay men of warre from shewing their valour: That for such was fit the vse of gold and siluer, in whom was most apt & ready the managing of armes: Lastly, that it was necessarie to shew once to the world, how vndiscreet were the resolutions of him, who in warre would preferre the Launce-knight footmen afore the nation of the *Swissers*. This affection & violence of passion caried them so farre, that wedding themselves to the cause of the Pope, as if it had bene their owne, they departed from their houses, hauing receiued in prest only one Florin of the *Rhein* for a man, where afore they were not wont to march for the seruice of the king, without promise of manie payes, and great distribution of presents amongst their Captaines. Their muster was at *Coire* the capitall towne of the *Grisons*, who hauing cōfederation with the French king, and being in his ordinarie pensions, had sent to excuse themselves, that for the ancient alliances they had with the highest Cantons of *Swissers*, they could not refuse to send with them certaine bands of footmen. This mouing troubled much the minds of the French men, whose forces were now much diminished: for, after the Generall of *Normandy* had dismissed the regiments of the *Italian* footmen, they had not in all about ten thousand footmen: and the companies of men at armes which the king had reuoked, being returned ouer the mounts, there vvere left in *Italy* but thirteene hundred launces, vvhof three hundred were at *Parma*: and yet the Generall of *Normandie* doing more the office of a Treasurer then of a man of warre, would in no wise leaue new succours of footmen vwithout the kings commission: only he had caused to returne to *Millan* the bands that should haue marched into *Romania* vnder *M. Palissa*, which vvere already arriued at *Finalo*. The Cardinall of *S. Senerin* had direction also to do the like with those companies that vvere in *Romagnia*: for the retiring of which strengths so needfull for the suretie of that country, *Rimini* and *Cesena* together with their castles, and also *Rauenna*, reuerted vwithout difficulty to the obedience of the Pope: and because the Frenchmen would not disfurnish the Duchy of *Millan*, *Bologna* for the defending whereof they had receiued so many afflictions, stood in great danger, being almost abātioned both of fortune & of men: Such is the instabilitie of mortall things, neither certaine in theselues for an vniuersall frailtie in all earthly actions, nor made assured by the deuises and wisdomes of men for infinite imperfections which are proper to them with their creations. After the *Swissers* had mustered at *Coire*, they marched frō thence to *Trent*, hauing permission of *Cesar* to passe through his lands, who yet studying to hide from the French king as much as he could, the things he had determined, excused himselfe that he could not withstand their passage, in respect of the confederation he had with them: from *Trent* they went vpon

upon the territories of *Verona*, where they were taried for by the armie of the *Venetians*, who together with the Pope contributed to their pay. And albeit there was not in the campe sufficient money to pay them, for that their number was farre greater then six thousand which was demanded: yet such was the hatred that the Commons bare to the kings name, that contrarie to their custome, they brooked with patience all difficulties.

On the other side *Monsieur Palissa*, who was first come with his armie to *Pintoillo*, to the end to hinder their passage, thinking they would descend into *Italy* on that side, but finding afterwards their intentions to be otherwise, he encamped at *Chastillon*, a place six miles from *Pesquiera*, being vncertaine whether they would take towards *Ferrara* according to the brute, or else do some enterprise vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, which was to be feared. It may be that this vncertaintie hastned and brought forth the harmes that hapned: for, it is not to be doubted, but they had taken the way to *Ferrara*, if by ill aduenture had not fallen into the hands of the *Venetian* estradiots, a letter, by the which *M. Palissa* debated with the Generall of *Normandie* being at *Millan*, the estate wherein stood their affaires, assuring him it would be hard to resist them if they turned towards the Duchie of *Millan*. By the direction of this letter they changed aduise, and the Cardinall of *Sion* who was now come from *Venice*, with the other Captaines, after they had taken counsell together, determined with reason (which seldome beguileth men) to follow that enterprise which they perceiued by the letters to be most troublefom to the enemies. In which opinion they went from *Verona* to *Villa Franche*, where they ioyned with the *Venetian* armie, wherein (vnder the gouernement of *Iohn Paule Baillon*,) were foure hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horsemen, and sixe thousand footmen with diuerse peeces of artillerie, as well for batterie, as for the field. This was the cause why *Monsieur Palissa* abandoning *Valegge* the place not being defencible, retired to *Gambara*, with intention to encampe at *Pontuigna*: his strength was not aboue a thousand launces, and sixe or seuen thousand footmen, the residue being distributed in *Bressia*, *Pesquero* and *Legnagno*, for, notwithstanding he was resolu'd to call backe the three hundred launces that were at *Parma*, yet, what by compulsion of the apparant daunger of *Bologna*, and great importunities of the *Bentinioles*, he gaue order that they should be bestowed in that citie remaining almost without garrison. But seeing in that place into the daunger wherein they were, and examining at last the vanitie of the hopes wherewith they had bene beguiled, and withall complaining bitterly against the couetousnesse and corrupt counsels of the Generall of *Normandy*, they constrained him to suffer *Federike Bosfolo* with certaine other *Italian* Captaines, to leaue so fast as they could, sixe thousand footmen: a remedie which they could not apply to any purpose, til at least the space of ten dayes were past. And besides the small number of souldiers, the disagreement amongst the Captaines weakened much the French armie: for the Captaines were hardly brought to obey *Monsieur Palissa*, and the souldiers and men at armes made wearie with so long troubles and trauels of warre, wished rather the Duchie of *Millan* were lost, to the end they might returne into their countrey, then to continue the defence of it with so many disadvantages and daungers. As soone as *M. Palissa* was gone from *Valegge*, the *Venetians* and the *Swissers* entred into it, & afterwards passing ouer the riuer of *Mincie*, they lodged vpon the territories of the *Mantuan*s, where the Marquis gaue them libertie of passage, excusing himselfe vpon his disabilitie. Amid these difficulties the generall resolution of the Captaines was to abandon wholly the field, and to lay for the defence of places of most importance, hoping that by temporising, so great a multitude and number of *Swissers* would at last disperse and breake: wherein they were gouerned with this reason, that the Pope no lesse cold to furnish the expences, then hote to further the warre, was very slow in sending their payes, being no more able to aduance the wages of so great a number.

The Frenchmen bestowed within *Bressia* two thousand footmen, an hundred and fiftie launces, and an hundred men at armes of the *Florentines*: to *Crema* they sent fiftie launces & a thousand footmen: and in *Bergama* they put a thousand footmen and an hundred men at armes of the *Florentines*: the residue of the armie which contained sixe hundred launces, two thousand footmen french, and foure thousand launceknights, was retired to *Pontuigno*, a place very strong by the benefit of his situation, and no lesse conuenient to succour *Millan*, *Cremona*, *Bressia* & *Bergama*, and there they hoped to be able to sustaine the enemies. But the day after came letters and commandements from *Cesar* to the *Almaine* footmen, to depart immediatly from the pay

of the French king: & they, being subiects of the cōuntry of *Tyrol*, obeyed the letters, the same day they receiued the, as not to be disobedient to their naturall Lord. By reason of their departure, more lesse sudden & vnlooked for, then most preiudicial to the French affaires, *Palissa* and his Captaines lost all hope to be able any longer to defend the Duchie of *Millan*: & in that passion of feare & despair, they retired in great hast from *Pontuigne* to *Pesqueton*: by whose departure, they of *Cremona* being left abandoned, gaue themselves vp to the armie of the confederats which was at hand, binding them selues to pay to the *Swissers* fortie thousand duckats: but as among such varieties of nations, nourishing not few differences of ambition, desire and opinion, there was no certaintie in whose name the money should be receiued: so after some disputation, the *Venetians* making great instance that it might be delivered to them, it was at last receiued (the Frenchmen notwithstanding holding as yet the Castell) in the name of the League and of *Maximilian* sonne to *Lodowike* *Sforce*, on whose behalfe the Pope and the *Swissers* pretended the conquest of the Duchie of *Millan*. At the same time the Citie of *Bergama* fell into the power of the confederats, the meane was this: After *Monsieur Palissa* had called backe the companies that were there to ioyne them to the armie, certaine of the banished crewes who entred as soone as the other companies were departed, procured them to reuolt, (it being no hard matter to alter a multitude that hath no head to hold them:) from *Pesqueton* *Monsieur Palissa* passed the riuer of *Adda*, where the three hundred launces appointed for the defence of *Bologna* came to him, hauing reuoked them to him for the greatnesse of the perill. There he hoped to be able to giue impediment to the enemy to passe ouer the riuer, if the strength of footmen that were appointed to be leauied, had come: but it was in vaine for him to thinke vpon those things, for that neither was there present money to wage so many footmen, neither could the Generall of *Normandy*, binding for securitie the kings demaine, raise it by any deuice, (credit being wholly lost in so great daungers:) and therefore hauing remained there foure dayes, as soone as he saw the enemies approach the riuer, three miles below *Pesqueton*, he retired to *S. Ange* to go the day following to *Pauia*: and so their danger redoubling, and no expectation of succors in a state so desperat, both the hope to defend *Millan* being taken away, and the cōuntry already drawing fast into tumult, *Iohn Iacques Trinuice*, the Generall of *Normandie*, *Anthony Maria Paluozin*, *Galeas Visconte*, with many other gentlemen, and all the kings seruants and officers, went from *Millan*, and sought their safetie in *Piemont*. Not many dayes afore the Cardinals fearing no lesse the people then the enemies, were fled, notwithstanding (to shew that valour in decrees, which they durst not expresse in other actions) they had at that time almost suspended the Pope from all administration spirituall and temporall of the Church: a degree to depriue him of the place which he held. These tumults were much helping to the safetie of the Cardinall *Medici*, whom it seemed God reserued to a greater happinesse: for, as they were leading him into *Fraunce*, and the morning that he entred the barke at the passage of *Paw* which is right ouer against *Bassignany*, called in histories *Angusta Baciennorum*, certaine paissants of the village beginning to murmur, one *Reignold de Lallo* chiefe of the conspiracie, accompanied with certaine of the Cardinals fauorites lodging there all night, assembled a number, & tooke him from the Frenchmen that garded him: they, whom other aduersities had made fearefull of all accidents, hearing a noise of a tumult which they durst not abide to suppress, were more careful to flie then to fight, loosing their prisoner by cowardise, whom they had wonne in the daunger of a battell. *Palissa* being entred into *Pauia*, determined to stay there, sending for *Trinuice* and the Generall to come to him thither: whereupon *Trinuice* by the aduice of the Generall & principals of the French side, layed afore him the vanitie of the counsell, and how vnpossible it was to abide so great a ruine, the armie being vnmanned with footmen: That the shortnesse of the time suffered not to wage new companies, and much lesse to draw any but from places farre remoued and with great difficulties. Lastly, that though all these impediments were not, yet there was no money to pay them, all their reputation being lost, their friends full of astonishment, and the people puffed vp with incredible hatreds, for the immoderate insolencies which the souldiers had vsed so long time. *Trinuice* applying this counsell to the present necessitie of things, he went and caused to cast a bridge where the riuer is straightest and furthest off from *Valence* towards *Ast*, by the commoditie of which he meant to passe his companies ouer *Paw*: But by this the armie of the confederates (to the which after the Frenchmen were retired from *Adda*, the Citie of *Lody* was rendred together with the Castell) discamping from *S. Ange* was come neare to *Pauia*, where the

The Cardinall
of Medici
scapeth from
the French.

Venetian

Venetian Captaines euen at the first arriual began to batter the Castell, and one part of the *Swissers* to passe the riuier that ioyneth to the Citie, with boates. The French men fearing they should find impediments to passe the stone bridge which is vpon the riuier of *Tessin*, by the which onely they might saue themselves, wonne the other bridge, to be able to issue out of *Pavia*: but afore the reregard was come forth, wherein to sustaine the horsmen, certaine footmen of the Launceknights which were not issued out with the others, were bestowed the last of all, with whom the *Swissers*, issuing out of the new gate and of the Castell which was now abandoned, went skirmishing all along *Pavia* and the bridge, the footmen of the Launceknights making resolute defence aboue all others: but passing ouer the bridge of *Grauatona* which was of wood, the planks breaking with the weight of the horses, all the Frenchmen and Launceknights that were not yet passed ouer, were either slaine on the place, or taken prisoners: (that last calamitie being so much the more lamentable and grieuous, by how much they hoped by their diligence to make way for their safetie, which they saw their fortune persecuted to the vttermost.) The towne of *Pavia* bound it selfe to pay a great quantitie of money, by whose example also *Milan* compounded, but for a greater summe; and all the other townes except *Bressia* & *Crema*, fled from the aduersities of the Frenchmen: all the countrey cried now vpon the name of the Empire; the state was receiued and gouerned in the name of the holy League (so was it called vniuersally) and all affaires disposed by the authority of the Cardinal of *Sion* assigned Legate for the Pope: but the treasure, and whatsoeuer was taxed vpon the townes, was made a reward to the *Swissers*, to whom was transferred an interest in all things that concerned gaine or profite: the same being the cause that many other bands and troupes of them descended into *Lombardy* to ioine with the residue, after the parliament of *Zurich* was ended, which was assembled for that cause. In this mutation, the Cities of *Plaisance* and *Parma* gaue themselves willingly to the Pope, who pretended they appertained to him as members of *Rauenna*. The *Swissers* made themselves Lords of *Lucarno*, and the *Grisons* got *Valuololino* and *Chianenna*, places very commodious for them. And in the heate of this fortune, *Ianus Fregosa* Captaine of the *Venetian* armie, being gone to *Genes* with such bands of horsmen and footmen as he had obtained of the armie, was the cause that that Citie reuolted (the French Gouverneur being fled) whereof he was created Duke; a dignitie afore time inuested in his father: with the same violence of fortune, all the townes and Castels of *Romagna* returned to the Popes obedience. And lastly, the Duke of *Urbino* approching neare to *Bologna* with the bands of souldiers of the Church, the familie of the *Bentiuoles* left it abandoned, their fortune leauing them desperate, hauing by these violent degrees deprived them of all hope. The Pope pursued this familie very sharply, excommunicating all the places that should receiue them hereafter: he expressed no lesse hatred against the Citie; and being most kindled for their forgetfulnesse of so many his benefites bestowed vpon them, and in that ingratitude not onely reuolting from his obedience, but also in their spite, had not forborne to spurne his picture, and raile out many villanous wordes against him: he would consent no more that they should create new Magistrates, nor communicate any way in the gouernement of the towne: he exacted by the meane of seuerer officers, huge summes of money of sundry Citizens, as partakers with the *Bentiuoles*: yea the opinion ran, that if his deuises had not bene broken by death, he had a meaning to destroy that Citie, and translate the inhabitants to *Genoa*.

The end of the tenth Booke.



THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Duke of Ferrara is in great trouble: The Medices returne to Florence: The king of Romans makes alliance with the Pope: Maximilian Sforce is put in the possession of the Duchy of Milan: The French King makes his preparations to reconer Milan: Pope Iulio dieth: Leon the tenth is created Pope: The Frenchmen are ouerthrowne neare to Nouaro: and the Venetians neare to Vincenza.

NOtwithstanding the Pope, amid his greatest aduersities and daungers, had not onely obtained victorie of his enemies, contrary to all hope and coniecture, but also with the same felicitie, had amplified the iurisdiction of the Church aboue expectation, and contrary to common equitie: yet, his auncient couetousnesse to the Citie of *Ferrara*, (the first matter of all these broiles) so held him stil ouerruled, that he could not make his desires equall to his fortune, nor conforme his wandring mind to rest and tranquillitie: Such is the rage of couetousnesse when it hath the assistance of authoritie, which makes men hard to be contented with that which occasion doth offer, for that those things that come first do abhorre them, so long as by the greatnesse of their power and place, they aspire and thirst for better. But albeit the Pope had violent desires to turne his forces against *Ferrara*, yet, the way of peace seeming more easie then the warre, or rather hoping more in the benefite of secret and artificiall practises, then in actions apparant and discovered; he gaue care first of all to the Marquis of *Mantua*, who besought him that *Alfonso d'Este* might come to him to *Rome* to demaund pardon, and that he would eslones reclaime him to grace vnder some indifferent conditions. In this request was concurrant the Embassadour of the king of *Aragon*, suing for him, both for that he was the kinsman of his king (for *Alfonso* came of a daughter of the old *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*) and also for that he esteemed it more to the commoditie of the affaires of his king; to bind him to him by this propertie of benefite, then to suffer so great an estate to be adioyned to the greatnesse of the Church. Moreouer the familie of the *Colonna*, being become of great amitie with *Alfonso*, were earnest solicitors in this cause. The reason of their compassion was, for that after the battell of *Rauenna*, *Fabricio Colonna*, who was *Alfonsoes* prisoner, being sent for and required of him, he vsed so many delayes, first in refusing, and then in interposing many excuses, that by the mutation that happened, he brought it into his owne power to giue him his libertie without any charge or raunsome. At last safeconduct was obtained for him from the Pope, by the suretie whereof, confirmed also with the faith of the Embassadour of *Aragon* in the name of his King, which was protested to him by the consent and priuie of the Pope, he went to *Rome*, his submission being greater then his hope to be forgiven: and being come to *Rome*, the Pope admitted him into the Consistorie, suspending in the meane while all censures and paines. There, with great humilitie he demaunded pardon, and with the same submission besought him, that he might be receued into his grace, and restored to the fauour of the sea Apostolike, offering to do hereafter all those offices and duties which might appertaine to a most deuout and faithfull vassall of the Church. The Pope heard him with a countenance and aspect reasonably peaceable, and substituted fixe Cardinales to debate with him touching conditions of agreement: who, after certaine dayes spent in disputation and argument, declared to him, that the Pope neither would nor meant to deprive the Church of the Citie of *Ferrara*, since it was lawfully reuerted to the imperie of the Church: But in recom-

The Duke of Ferrara goeth to Rome to demaund pardon of the Pope,

recompence, there should be giuen to him the Citie of *Ast*, which being receiued in the name and authority of the league by the departure of the Frenchmen, the Pope had vainely sent thither to take possession of it the Bishop of *Agrigenta*, pretending that whatsoever was on this side *Pam*, appertained to the Church. This offer was constantly refused of *Alfonso*; who, for that it comprehended a demaund contrary to all the hopes that had bin giuen him, began to feare least the Pope sought but to entertaine him cunningly within *Rome*, whilst he dressed some executiō against *Ferrara*, the late accident at *Regge* nothing diminishing the reason of this feare.

The Pope had dealt with the inhabitants of *Regge* (who in so great confusion of things feared much to giue themselves vp to the Church,) following the example of *Parma* and *Plaisance*, wherein to giue greater force to his counsels and perswasions, he had giuen direction to the Duke of *Vrbino* to march with his companies vpon the territories of *Modona*: in like sort *Vitfruch* was gone to *Regge*, to attempt the like action for the profite of *Cesar*, on whose behalfe did worke the Cardinall of *Este*; who, in the absence of his brother had charge ouer his estates; he seeing that Citie could not be kept, and iudging the daunger would be lesse if it fell into the hands of *Cesar*, who both pretended nothing against *Ferrara*, & also in his affaires there was hope of a greater change; he aduised the people of *Regge* rather to acknowledge the Empire then the Church: but they answered (in matters of election the will of a popular multitude is stronger then their reason) that they would follow the example of the Duke, who was gone to the Pope and not to *Cesar*: and so receiued into their towne the souldiers of the Church, who immediatly found means to be Lords of the Citadell, notwithstanding *Vitfruch* had furnished it with a garrison of footmen. Lastly, *Garfagnana* was rendred to the Duke of *Vrbino*, who returning afterwards to *Bologna*, dismissed all his bands of footmen: for that the confederates somewhat angrie that the Pope occupied *Parma* and *Plaisance*, the Cardinall of *Sion* signified to the Duke that it was not necessarie that he passed further, since the victorie was already obtained against the common enemies.

The Duke of *Ferrara* being entred into many suspitions, both for the hard conditions that the Pope offered, and for the taking of *Regge*, made meane to the Pope by the Spanish Embassador and *Fabricio Colomno* who neuer left to accompany him, to haue leaue to returne to *Ferrara*. This request the Pope shewed no disposition to agree vnto, but maintained that the safeconduct which he had giuen him for the controuersie he had with the Church, could not let him to do iustice to his particular Creditors, of whom manie demanded instantly that he would administer iustice to them. The Embassador and *Fabricio* answered him frankly, that it was not to the Duke and to them that he ought to breake his faith; and therefore to preuent the Pope to do any further spite against him, the next morning *Fabricio* being well mounted, went towards the portall of *S. Iohn de Latran*, the Duke and *Marke Anth. Colomno* following him a good distance off: and finding the portall garded with a greater strength then it was wont to be, and such as was set to stop his going; he hauing a force about theirs, brought the Duke thorough the gate, & conducted him in suretie to the water side. This friendship he did to the Duke, in recompence of the benefit of his liberty which he had receiued of him: for it is not to be doubted, but the Pope wold still haue retained him prisoner, had it not bene for the impediment of the *Colomnois*, who finding that the way was daungerous for him to go by land, were driuen to procure his passage by sea to *Ferrara*.

And whilst these things were in doing, the Pope, in whom was yet no diminution of hatred against the libertie of the *Florentines*, had so wrought with the Cardinall of *Sion*, that the bands of souldiers which they had sent to the king were stripped and put to spoyle: of these bands, albeit such as were vnder *Luke Sauella*, being fixscore men at armes and fiftie light horsemen (the residue were left for the gard of *Bressia* vnder *Frauncis Torelle*) had afore the French army were passed the riuier of *Pam*, obtained safeconduct of the Cardinall of *Sion*, confirmed by the oath and faith of *Io. Paule Baillon* and almost all the *Venetian* Captaines, that they might returne to *Tuscane*: yet as they lay lodged neare to *Cremona*, according to the rule and direction they had receiued, they were spoyled by the *Venetian* souldiers by the consent of the Cardinall of *Sion*: who to the end the violence might be executed with more suretie, sent thither (as some suppose) two thousand footmen, the rather for that the companies of *Triuulce* and others were lodged with them, and they for that they were almost all *Italian* souldiers, had likewise obtained safeconduct

to passe. Immediately vpon the robbrie and spoile of these souldiers, the Bishop of *St. n* sent to *Christopher More* and *Paule Capello* agents for the Senate, to demaund the bootie that had bene made, as appertaining to the *Swissers*: but they refused it, and therefore comming the next day to the campe of the *Swissers* to speake with the Cardinall of *Sion*, they were almost all led prisoners to *Iacques Staffler* their Captaine, and by him caried to the Cardinal, who constrained them to pay fixe thousand duckets in recompence of the pray, (not holding it conuenient that his disloyaltie should turne to the profite of others:) he sent also to summon the Marquisse of *Montferrat* to deliuer to him as prisoner *Nicholas Capponi* Embassadour of the *Florentines*, to whom he had giuen safeconduct being retired to *Casall Cernas*. In this meane while the Senate desiring to recouer *Bressia* and *Crema*, laboured the Cardinall of *Sion*, that their companies might be returned, whom the Cardinall entertained vnder colour to march together with the *Swissers* into *Piemont* against the Duke of *Sauoy* and the Marquisse of *Salussa*, who had followed the faction of the French king: but that reason ceasing afterwards, both for the wonderfull augmentation of the number of *Swissers*, and also for that it was well seene that the French souldiers returned ouer the Mounts, he neither refused nor agreed that they should go: a matter supposed altogether to proceed of the instance of *Cesar*, to the end they should not recouer those townes. At last, the *Swissers* being in *Alexandria*, the *Venetians* departed from *Bojco* vpon the sodaine, and passed the riuier of *Paw* without anie impediment, at *Cana* vpon the territories of *Cremona*: an expedition which the Cardinall might haue let, if he had not disssembled it (as was beleueed) at the Popes request: but being once ouer the riuier, some marched against *Bressia*, and some tooke the enterprise of *Crema*, both which were kept yet for the French king. The Frenchmen that were within *Bressia*, seeing their present fortune could suffer no delay of action, went out and set vpon them at the village of *Paterna*, where they were constrained to retire within the towne, with the losse of more then three hundred men.

Conquest draweth with it ambition, insolencies and couetousnesse: And with men of warre triumphing in the victorie, all things seeme to hold of equitie, that they do in their rage and couetousnesse: For, the *Swissers* remaining alone in the Duchy of *Millan* and *Piemont*, deuised how to taxe and rate the whole countrey, being now wholie assured of the Frenchmen: and albeit the French king, for the great affectio he bare to the Duchie of *Millan*, was hardly brought to abandon altogether the affaires of *Italie*: yet necessity compelled him to hearken to the counsels of such, as aduised him to deferre those deuises to another time, and dispose his wits for that summer, to defend the realme of *Fraunce*: the rather for that the king of *England*, according to the contract made with the king Catholike, had sent by sea an armie of fixe thousand footmen to *Fentarabio*, a towne of the kingdome of *Spaine* standing vpon the Ocean sea: the chiefe end of this iourney was, that ioyning to the companies of the said king Catholike, they might in one maine force assault the Duchie of *Guien*: he began also with another nauie to scoure all along the coasts of *Normandy* and *Brittaine*, to the great astonishment of the peoples of those Prouinces. Moreouer, the French king had no hope to draw againe *Cesar* into amity with him, for that he vnderstood by the Bishop of *Marseilles* his last Embassadour resident in his Court, that he bare a mind farre estranged: he aduertised him also that *Cesar* had not entertained him with so many hopes, nor for other regard debated with him vpon so many matters with so faire apparance, then to win occasion to oppresse him when he thought least of it, or at least to giue him (as it were) some violent and deadly blow, as he gloried that he had done, at such time as he reuoked the Launce-knights.

Thus *Italy* being for this yeare assured frō the armies of the French king, whose souldiers notwithstanding held as yet, *Bressia*, *Crema*, *Leguague*, the castle and lanterne of *Genes*, the castle of *Millan*, the castle of *Cremona*, with certaine other fortresses of that estate. There were discerned amongst the confederates, manie signes of difference and disagreement, for the diuersitie of their wils, and their ends: for, as the *Venetians* desired to recouer *Bressia* & *Crema*, as due to the by the articles of capitulation, and for that they had borne out the daungers and troubles of the war: a matter which the Pope desired likewise for the: so, on the other side, *Cesar* (from whose wil the king of *Aragon* at last could not be separate) thought to appropriate them to himselfe, and also to depriue the *Venetians* of all that had bene iudged to them by the league of *Cambray*.

Besides

Besides, *Cesar* and the king of *Aragon* practised (but verie secretly) to make to diuolue the Duchie of *Millan* to one of their Nephewes: a working quite contrary to the Pope and the *Swissers*, who laboured apparantly as much as they could, that according to the vniuersall resolution and consent from the beginning, *Maximilian*, sonne to *Lodowike Sforce* might be restored to the place of his father, after whose fall he had remained alwayes in *Germanie*. The matter that moued the Pope, was a feare he had, least *Italy* should fall into a miserable seruitude of the *Almaines* & *Spaniards*: and that which induced the *Swissers*, was a desire for their owne profite, that that estate should not be brought into the power of so mighty Princes, but rather to stand subiected to one that could not maintaine himselfe, without their aide and succours. Which election, as it depended almost whollie vpon those in whose power was that estate, and for the feare of their forces: so the Pope, the more to confirme them in that will, and in all necessities to haue in his hand the bridle, with the which he might moderate the ambition of *Cesar*. and the king Catholike, did all that he could to winne their amitie: and for that cause, besides the great account he made publikely of the nation of *Swissers*, raising to the starres the actions they had done for the safetie of the Sea Apostolike, he gaue them yet for their greater honour the banners of the Church, with this glorious title, to be the champions and defenders of the Ecclesiastike libertie. Besides these diuersties, the *Viceroy* had readdressed the Spanish companies which after the battell were retired with him into the kingdome of *Naples*: and beginning estoones to march, and to passe with them into *Lombardie*, the Pope and the *Venetians* refused to recontinue the payes of fortie thousand duckets by the moneth, which had bene discontinued since the ouerthrow: their reason was, that seeing the French armie was chased home, they stood no more subiect to such bond, for that it was to cease by the articles of the confederation whensoever the French were expelled out of *Italy*. Whereunto was replied on the behalfe of the king of *Aragon*, that it could not be said that the French king was driuen out of *Italy*, so long as *Bressia*, *Crema*, with other many strong places, stood at his deuotion. Moreouer, the king of *Aragon* together with *Cesar* complained, in that the Pope did appropriate to himselfe the profits of the victorie that was common to them both; and vsurped that which manifestly appertained to another, making himselfe Lord (vnder colour of certaine reasons suborned, or at least so old and withered, that their force was gone) vpon *Parma* & *Plaisance*, cities which the Lords of *Millan* had holden so long time, as freeholders of the Empire. The diuerstie was also expressed for matters that concerned the Duke of *Ferrara*: for, as the Pope on the one side nourished his ancient couetousnesse to vsurpe that Dukedome; so on the other side the king of *Aragon*, who desired to preferue and protect him, stood yet discontented with the iniurie that was offered to haue stayed him at *Rome* contrarie to the law of faith and safeconduct giuen: for these reasons the Pope deferred to vex *Ferrara*, expecting perhaps the issue of affaires of farre greater importance: whereof *Cesar* not thinking good that any resolution were made without him, dispatched into *Italy* the Bishop of *Gurcy*, whom he had appointed to that expedition euer since after the battell of *Rauenna*: there was negociation of peace betweene the Pope and the French king: he appointed to send him then for the feare he had lest they compounded amongst themselves without respecting him and his affaires: but the mutatio of things hapning afterwards he still continued his deuise to send him: in like sort fell into consideration the affaires of the *Florentines*, who being filled full of suspicion, began now to feeble the fruits of the neutralitie which vndiscreetly they had vsed, finding withal, that it was not sufficient to beare themselves vpon the iustice of their cause, wanting discretion and forecast: for in the war present, neither had they offended the confederates, nor ministred anie succours to the French king, but so far forth as they were bound for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, according to the confederation made in common betweene them, the king Catholike, and with him: they had not suffered within their iurisdiction any violence to be done vpon those Spanish souldiers which fled from the battell of *Rauenna*, for the which the king of *Aragon* himselfe gaue thanks to the Embassador of *Florence*: yea they had satisfied all his demaunds, for that after the Councell was broken vp from *Pisa*, his Agents being in *Italy*, and the king himselfe offering to their Embassadour to be bound to defend their common weale against all men, so farre forth as they promised him they would not defend *Bologna*, nor take armes against the Church, nor fauour the vnlawfull Councell of *Pisa*: but they being let by ciuill discords to make the better election, gaue themselves neither

to follow the French nor any other, and obseruing neutralitie from one day to another, and that with counsels no lesse doubtfull then broken, not iointly and fully resolu'd whether they would obserue it, they offended much the French king, who in the beginning promised much of them, they remoued not the hatred of the Pope, and left the king of *Aragon* without any recompence to enioy the fruit of their neutrality: a matter which he would gladly haue couenanted with them to obtaine. So that the Pope pushed on with his aunient hatred against the *Gonsalonnier* or Magistrate, and a perpetuall desire descending from all Popes to haue authority in that common weale, solicited earnestly the restitution of the family of *Medici* to their ancient greatnesse. To this the king of *Aragon*, notwithstanding he vsed dissembled phrases to the Embassadour of *Florence*, bare some inclination, but not with so great vehemency, for feare least in any stirre or alteration they might be brought to fauour the French king by the authoritie of the Magistrate: yea, it was distrustful that though the *Gonsalonnier* were deposed and taken away, yet the common weale being freely gouerned, would not haue the same affection, in respect of the new and ancient dependances: but the resolution of this matter together with others, was reserued till the coming of the Bishop of *Gurci*, with whom it was agreed that the *Viceroy*, & such as were for the other confederates, should meet at *Mantua*. In this respite of time that the Bishop was coming, the Pope sent to *Florence* his *Datario*, *Laurence Pucci* a *Florentine* (he was afterwards chosen Cardinall, and called Cardinall of foure Saints) to sollicite them, together with the Embassadour which the *Viceroy* had there, that they would sticke to the League, and contribute to the charges against the Frenchmen: that was the colour of his going, but in true meaning he was sent to sound the willes of the Citizens. That demaund was debated many dayes without any conclusion: the *Florentines* made offers to pay to the confederates certaine proportions of money, but they answered doubtfully to the demaund to enter the League and protest themselves against the French king: which doubtfulness, moued partly by an opinion they had (which was true) that those matters were proponed artificially, rather to entrap them then to assure them; and partly by an answer which the Bishop of *Gurci* had made to their Embassadour at *Trent*, whom they sent to meet him: he seeming to make small reckening of the report made to him that *Cesar* by the capitulation of *Vincenza* subsigned with his owne hand, was bound to defend them, assured them that the Pope was determined to trouble them, and yet in paying to *Cesar* fortie thousand duckets, he would deliuer them of that daunger. To this he added, that the confederations betweene *Cesar* & the French king continuing yet, they should not therefore enter into the league, if first *Cesar* gaue them not example. The *Florentines* were not farre estranged to buy their quiet with money, but they feared that the onely name of *Cesar* (notwithstanding the Bishop assured them that his will should be followed by the *Spaniards*) would not suffice to remoue and make cease the ill intention of the others: a perswasion which held them in doubt, and kept them so restrained, that with a counsell well disposed, they could not minister the salue to such as had power to help their infirmitie. It was a matter perhaps considered vpon with counsell and discretion, and yet it could not but proceed either of negligence, or of their discords, or of too much confidence in their strength of footmen, forbearing in that respect to refurnish themselves of souldiers trained, by whom they might haue bene defended from any sodaine assault, or at least might haue made easie the couenants with the confederates, and with better conditions, knowing once how hard a matter it were to force them. Whilest these things were in action, the *Viceroy* with his regiments of footmen was entred vpon the countrey of the *Bolognois*, where hauing no meane to satisfie the payes which he had promised to the souldiers, they ran with such a tumult to his tent, threatening and conspiring to kill him, that he had scarce leasure to steale away, seeking his safety by flying towards *Modona*: one part of the army tooke towards the countrey of the *Florentines*, the residue chaunged not place, but liued there without law, without order, and without commandement: and within three or foure dayes after their light rages being somewhat satisfied with part of the payes that had bene promised, the *Viceroy* also and the residue being reassembled and returned to the armie, they gaue their promise to tarie for him in that place till he returned from *Mantua*, where the Bishop of *Gurci* was now arrived. As the Bishop passed by the territories of them of *Verona*, the Frenchmen that lay in garrison in *Leguagno* hauing refused many offers of the *Venetians*, gaue vp to the Bishop that town which they could no longer hold: this was thought to be done by

a former commandement of *Monsieur Palissa*, as well to them as to all the residue that had in charge the other townes, to the end to nourish discord betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*: But it was an action very vnfortunate for the souldiers; who (without respecting their safe conduct obtained from the Bishop of *Gurci*) were miserably robbed and stripped by the *Venetian* army which lay encamped vpon the confines of *Bressia*, after they were returned from *Bosco*, and after they had recouered *Bergama* without any difficulty: only they forbore to batter the towne, for that (as was sayd) the Cardinall of *Sion* had forbidden them.

It was resolued in the assembly of *Mantua*, that *Maximilian Sforce* should be reinuested in the Duchy of *Millan*, the desire of the people being nothing inferior to the equity of his title. To this agreed the king of *Aragon* and *Cesar*, no lesse to satisfie the great instance of the Pope, then to please the wils of the *Swissers*. Touching the assignation of the maner and time, it was referred till the Bishop of *Gurci* met with the Pope, to whom he was to go, both to conclude the alliance betweene *Cesar* and him, and to sollicite peace with the *Venetians*; and so by the meane of common alliance, to confirme *Italy* in her auncient surety, that the French king should no more trouble it. In that assembly also was disputed the expedition against the *Florentins*, wherein *Julio de Medicis* made instance, as well in his owne name, as for the Cardinall: he proued that the alteration of that state would be easie, for the diuision amongst the Citizens: for the affection of many that desired their returne: for the secret intelligences they had with sundrie Noble; & mighty personages: and withall, for that one part of the men at armes of that common-weale being in *Lombardy*, and another moytie inclosed within *Bressia*, they had not sufficient forces to make defence against the assault so suddenly. Lastly, besides the money he offered, he shewed the fruite that would come by restoring them to their former dignity: for, the authority and power of that City being taken out of the hands of one that depended wholly vpon the French king, it would fall to the administration of persons, who standing discontented and wronged by that king, had no reason to depend or hold vpon other alliance then of the confederates. *Barnard de Bibiena* (afterwards Cardinall) wged this matter much in the name of the Pope, who for that occasion had sent him to *Mantua*, a man for his learning no lesse meete for this legation, then for his affection most friendly to the *Medices*, in whose house both he and his brothers had bin trained vpon from their youth. *Iohn Vitorio Soderin*, a Lawyer, & brother to the *Gonsalonnier*, was at this time Embassador to the *Florentins* with the Bishop of *Gurci*, to whom nothing was sayd, nor any thing demanded, either by the *Viceroy* or in the name of the league: only the Bishop declared to him the daunger, and how conuenient it was that they accorded with *Cesar* according to the demands made before, offering that *Cesar* and the king of *Aragon* should receiue them into protection: but the Embassador in whom was no power to conclude, could do no other thing then aduertise the common-weale and expect answers: neither did he sollicite the *Viceroy* by himselfe or by others, nor vsed any diligence to hinder the workings of the *Medices*: hauing no fulnesse of authority, he was driuen to be silent in things that concerned directly the safety of the common-weale: and yet the matter of it selfe was not without many difficulties, both for that the *Viceroy* had not so great an army, as to aduenture to make triall of his forces without necessity: and also the Bishop of *Gurci*, to let the *Venetians* for recouering *Bressia*, or to make any greater proceedings, desired that the *Spaniards* might passe into *Lombardy* with all speede conuenient. By these considerations it was beleueed, that if the *Florentins* forbearing their niggardnesse as the present perils required, had consented to contribute to *Cesar* the mony he demanded, and releued the *Viceroy* with some small summe, whereof he had great necessity, they had easily turned away & auoyded the storme: yea the Bishop of *Gurci* & the *Viceroy* might perhaps with better will haue entred into couenant with the common-weale, of whom they were certaine to receiue the things that should be promised, then with the *Medices*, who had no ability to giue them any thing, if first they returned not to *Florẽce* with armes. But the cause of that City being almost abandoned, either by the negligence or by the malice of men, it was determined that the *Spanish* army, together with the Cardinall & *Julian Medicis*, should march towards *Florence*: in which expedition the Pope had declared the Cardinall Legate of *Tuscane*, with fulnesse of power to leauy the souldiers of the Church, and wage such others of the townes adioyning, as he should thinke conuenient for that seruice. The Pope omitted nothing that might aduance this enterprife, rather applying his authority to his will, then to the equity of the matter.

The resolution
of the treatie of
Mantua by
the confederates.

But as soone as the assembly of *Mantua* was broken vp, the *Viceroy* returning to the territories of *Bologna*, caused his army to march with speede against the *Florentins*, who had very small respite to make necessary prouisions, for that they were not aforehand aduertised of the resolution of *Mantua*. The Cardinall ioynd with the *Viceroy* as soone as he drew neare the frontiers, hauing caused to be drawne from *Bologna* two Cannons to supplie the want of the *Spaniards*, who had no peeces of batterie. Also *Francis Ursin* and the *Vitelli* (Captaines for the Church) came thither to him, but without their bands of souldiers, both they and the other companies of the Church being forbidden by the Duke of *Vrbino*: who, notwithstanding *Iulian Medicis* had had some bringing vp in his Court; a matter to moue fauour, and that he had alwayes professed to desire the greatnesse of the *Medices*, which was a strong argument of affection, refused to furnish them with artilleries or any sort of succours either of his souldiers or subiects, though the Pope had commanded the contrary by large letters, as well to him as to other townes subiect to the Church. As soone as the *Viceroy* was entred vpon the lands of the *Florentins*, there came to him an Embassador, who in the name of the whole common-weale declaring the respects they had alwayes borne to the king of *Aragon*, both what were their actions in the last warres, and also what that king might hope for of such a City receiuing it to his amity, besought him, afore he passed further, to signifie what it was he demanded of the *Florentins*: for that in demands reasonable, and not exceeding their power, they would willingly satisfie him. The *Viceroy* answered, that his coming had not bene determined onely by the king Catholike, but also by all the confederates for the common surety of *Italie*, seeing that so long as the *Gonsalonnier* remained in that administration, they could not be assured, that that common-weale would not follow the French king, and be seruiceable to his occasions: therefore he demaunded in the name of the whole league, that the *Gonsalonnier* might be deprived of the gouernement, and that there might be instituted a forme of pollicie not suspected to the confederates: which could not be vnlesse the Cardinall and *Iulian Medicis* were restored to their naturall countrey: That if they would consent to these things, they should find agreement in the residue more easily: Lastly, he willed him to signify this report and his intention to the state of *Florence*, and yet he would not stay till answers were returned.

At *Florence* immediately vpon the bruite of the marching of the *Spaniards*, might be discerned an vniuersall astonishment in the minds of men, both doubting that the Popes forces would inuade them on some other side, and fearing the diuision of Citizens, and the inclination of the multitude to new things: they were very weake in men at armes, and had no other strength of footemen, then such as were either leauied in haste, or at least drawne out of their garrisons, an estate of souldiers not yet experienced in warre: they had no excellent Captaine, vpon whose vertue and authority they might repose the guiding of an army; and their other leaders were such as in the memorie of man they had not in their pay men of lesse expectation: their weakenesse was great in regard of the strength that was coming against them, their wants were farre inferior to the preparations of their enemies, their wisdomes vnable to preuent the daungers that threatned, their wealth vnprofitable, where wanted men for action: Lastly, they had nothing amongst them which did not helpe to the desolation of their estate, and wanted all things wherein they might hope for comfort, counsell, or compassion: their feares were vaine, for that their perill was swifter then their prouision: and there could be no place for confidence, where was nothing to assure their hope: all things were full of confusion, and the suddennesse of the calamity made them lesse apt to consult for their safety: and yet making such prouision as they could, according to the shortnesse of time, they reassembled their men at armes distributed into many places, they waged footemen, but such bodies as they could get: They chose out the best bands of their Pensioners, and drew to *Florence* all their principall forces, both for the surety of their Citie, and to returne from thence all other places that should suffer most danger: And amidst these meanes of prouisions for the warre, they forgot not (but very late) to proue what they could do by way of accord: for which cause, besides the continuall solicitation of their Embassador with the *Viceroy*, they wrote to the Cardinall of *Volterra* lying at *Gradoli* neare to *Rome*, to go to the Pope, and labour to appease him with offers, with petitions, with humilities, and all other sorts of offices whatsoever. But he hauing a hart hardened, answered notwithstanding with words contrarie to his doings, that the enterprise came not of

of him, and that it was followed without his forces: only not to stirre vp the league against him, he was constrained to consent to it, and to suffer the Cardinall of *Medicis* to draw artillery from *Bologna*: That he was not able to stay the expedition afore it was begun, and much lesse could he breake it now that it was in action: He made himselfe sorrowfull for their affliction, and yet expressed no inclination to compassion: his words were doubtfull, and his intentions dissembled: he saw the humour that was offended, and yet would not apply the medicine to comfort it, iudging it best for the seruing of his tyme, to suffer them to languish in their proper calamities. By this time the *Viceroy* had passed the mountaines of *Barberina* within fiftene miles of *Florence*, from whence he sent to signifie to the *Florentins*, that it was not the intention of the league neither to alter the iurisdiction, nor change the liberty, so farre forth as for the surety of *Italy*, they would depose the *Gonfalonnier* from his estate: He desired that the *Medices* might be restored to their countrey, not as chieftaines of the gouernement, but as persons priuate, subiected to the lawes, and to the Magistrates, and not seperate in any thing from other Citizens. This proposition being knowne throughout the City, the opinions of men were diuerse according to the diuersity of iudgements, passions, and feare: Some blamed the Councell, that would, for the regard of one onely, preferre to so great a danger the generality of Citizens and the vniuersall iurisdiction: seeing that in deposing him, they lost neither the counsell popular, nor the publike liberty: a thing which it could not be hard to keepe, though the *Medices*, depriued of reputation and power, would strue to exceede their degree priuate and limited: That it was to be considered in what sort the City might resist the authority and forces of so great a league: that of themselves they were not able: that all *Italy* was become their enemy: that they had wholly lost all hope of succours with the Frenchmen, both for that being driuen with cowardise out of *Italy*, they had enough to do to defend their owne Realme, and also knowing their weaknesse, they had answered to the demands of the *Florentins*, that they were contented to set them at libertie to make accord with the league. Of the contrary, others reasoned how vaine it was to beleue that so great a stirre was made only for hatred to the *Gonfalonnier*, or to set vp the *Medices* in *Florence* as Citizens priuate: That farre otherwise was the intention of the confederates, who to ioine the City to their wils, and to make it contributory to their wants of mony, respected no other end then to bring in the *Medices* in tyranny: only they disguised their corrupt intentions, with demaunds not sharpe nor square, and yet pretended the same effect: for it was no other thing to take out of the pallace the *Gonfalonnier* in a time so troubled, and with such threatning and compulsion of armes, then to leaue a flocke wandring without a pastor, the more easily to fall into the iawes of the wolfe: It comprehended no other thing to bring the *Medices* into *Florence* in so great a tumult, then to strike vp the drumme and aduance the standard, that such might follow it, as liued in no other study then to deface the name, the memory, and the forme of the great Councell: an estate of gouernement which could not be deposed without the absolute ruine of the common liberty: And what is there to let the *Medices*, backt from the forreine with the *Spanish* army, and followed at home with troupes seditious and ambitious, that they may not oppresse the liberty euen as soone as they make their entrie into *Florence*: They haue the time by election, the place is prepared, mens minds altered, the good men of the towne do feare, the euill sort expect, if there be any place of the towne free from tumult, at least there is none voide of suspicion, few to be trusted, and none assured, all things in confusion, yea euen the wisest furthest off to auoide the storme which euen now is gathered into a cloude and readie to breake: It were good to consider what the ouerture of such things might engender, and what may happen by yeelding to demaunds vniust and preiudiciall: That it is no good affection so much to feare their dangers, as thereby to forget the safety of their liues, and to consider how intollerable it would be to liue in seruitude, to such as haue bene borne and bred vp in liberty: That they were to remember with what valour they had opposed against the late king *Charles* the eight for the protection of their liberty, at such time as he was possessed of the City with a mighty armie: Lastlie that they had to consider how easily they might resist so small an army, vnfurnished of mony, vnprouided of victuals, naked of great artilleries, & all other commodities to beare out the war, if only the City resisted their first fury: yea when they found a resolute defence in place of the vaine hopes that had bin giuen to cary *Florence* at the first assault, they would be easily ranged to agreement vpon reasonable conditions. These discourses ran in the

market places and streetes amongst the Citizens: but the *Gonsalonnier* holding it best, that the aunswere which the Magistrate was to make to the *Viceroy*, should be communicated with the people, called together the great Councell, and in full presence of the Citizens, gaue his opinion in this maner.

Peter Soderin
reasoneth in
the Councell.

If I thought the demaund of the *Viceroy* touched me onely, or that his desires were stayed simply ypon particularities, I would of my selfe make a resolution conformable to my intention, and do the thing without your counsell, which could not but turne to your common saiety: for hauing alwayes caried this mind to giue my life for your benefit, it could not but be iust in me to resolue of my selfe, to renounce the office you haue giuen me, to deliuer you from the dangers & harmes of the warre, hauing especially worne out both my body and mind with the trauels of the place in so many yeares since you preferred me to it: but since it may be that this demaund stretcheth to things further then to me and my priuate interest, it is thought good by this honourable assistance, and by me, not to deliberate without publike consent in a matter that so vniuersally concerneth you all, and lesse seeming that a cause so graue and generall, should be referred to the counsell of that ordinary number of Citizens, which are ordinarily called the priuity of common things, but to you in whose persons is resembled the Soueraigne Maiesty and presence of this City, and by whose wisdomes are to passe deliberations of so great importancē. I induce you, not to incline more to the one part then to the other, I referre all to your counsell and iudgement: I bring higher no meaning to perswade you to partiality, I set not my selfe betweene your affections and the present cause: The same you shall resolue, the same shall be accepted by me, who do not only lay at your feete the office which is your owne, but also my person and life which is to my selfe alone: a sacrifice which I would thinke happily dedicated, if it had any operation tending to your safety. Examine of what importance the *Viceroy*s demand may be for your liberty, wherein I beseech God so to leade your minds as you may make election of the better way. If the *Medicis* were disposed to liue in this City as priuate Citizens, with conformity to your lawes and rulers, it could not be but vertuous and commendable to suffer them to returne and receiue them, to the end the members of our common countrey might at last be reincorporate into one common body: but if they bring with them other intentions, and vnder shadowes of conformity, shroud minds of tyranny, it were good you considered of your danger, not holding it grievous to sustaine all expenses and difficulties to preserue your liberty, a Jewell whose preciousnesse you shall then best discern, when you shall suffer priuation of it. Be not perswaded that the gouernement of the *Medices* will be the same it was afore they were expelled, seeing the forme and foundations of things are chaunged: for then as they had their trayning vp amongst vs almost as Citizens priuate, wealthy in goods according to the degree they held, and not offended of any, made their foundation of the good will of the Citizens, vsed to consult with the principals of publike affaires, and labored with the cloake of ciuility to couer rather then to discouer their greatnesse: so now that they haue bene so many yeares seperate from the lawes of *Florence*, infected with the fashions and customes of strangers, and by that reason lesse practised in ciuill causes, mindfull of the exile and scuerities done to them, poore in goods, iniuried of so many families, & according to their owne testimony knowing that the most part of this presence abhorreth tyranny: they will repose confidence in no Citizen, nor haue no conformity to your lawes & Magistrates, but compelled by pouerty and suspition, will bring backe to themselves the administration of all things: they will not reestablish good will and loue, but recontinue force & armes: they will reduce this City in short time to the image and state of *Bologna*, and to *Senna & Perouza* in the time of the *Bentinoleis*. I speake this to such as keepe obseruation of the time and gouernement of *Lawrence Medicis*, which yet in comparision of this wold seeme a golden age, notwithstanding the conditions of that time were hard, and the gouernement was a kind of tyranny, albeit more easie then many others. Now it appertaineth to you to resolue wisely, & to me, either to giue vp constantly this office, or else resolutely, to apply my selfe to the preseruacion of your liberty: You are to determine, and I to be directed, you stand in the stands of your owne counsell, and I subiect to your arbitration.

There was no doubt what the Councell wold resolue, the whole multitude of the people bearing almost an vniuersall inclination to maintaine the popular gouernement: Therefore it was determined by a wonderfull accord, to consent to the returning of the *Medices* in the
nature

nature of persons priuate : and that in no wise the *Gonfalonnier* should be depofed from his place, againſt which if the enemies were obſtinate, then the whole body of the Citie ſhould be applied to the defence of their libertie and countrey, not ſparing either goods or life in an action ſo honorable and neceſſarie: ſo that diſpoſing all their thoughts to the warre, they made prouiſions of money, and ſent men to the towne of *Prato* ten myles from *Florence*, a place which they thought would be ſubiect to the firſt violence of the *Viceroy*: who after he had gathered together his army at *Barberina*, together with the artillerie which was drawen with a wonderfull paine, both for the ill way of *Appennin*, and alſo for that want of money they lacked labourers and inſtruments neceſſarie for the cariage, he tooke the way to *Prato* as had bene ſuppoſed : he arrived there about the breaking of the day, and euen then began with two Falconets to batter the gate *Mercatale* by the ſpace of an houre, albeit little to his profit, for that it was mightily rāpiered within. The *Florentins* had beſtowed within *Prato* about two thouſand footmē, the moſt part of their Penſioners, & the reſidue leauied in haſt of all ſciēces and baſe trades. In that number there were very few experienced and trained to the warre. They had alſo ſent thither with an hundred men at armes *Luke Sauello* an ancient Captaine, but yet neither for his age nor for his experience come to any degree of martiall knowledge : and the men at armes were the ſame bodies who a little before had bene ſpoiled and ſtripped in *Lombardie*. To this was added, what by the ſhortneſſe of the time, and the ignorance of ſuch as had the charge to make prouiſions, both great want of artilleries, and not halfe the munitions and other things neceſſarie to defend the place. The *Viceroy* had in his armie two hundred men at armes, ſiue thouſand footemen *Spaniards*, and two Cannons onely: an army very ſmall in numbers and other prouiſions, but great as touching their valour, for that the footemen were all of thoſe bodies, who in ſo great reputation were retired from the battell of *Raenenna*, and who reſoſing much in their vertue, deſpiſed greatly the ignorance of their aduerſaries. But being brought to march, and no order as yet taken for their victuals, and leſſe reliefe through the whole countrey, for that harueſt was fully finiſhed, & all gleaned & caried into places of ſtrength, they began immediatly to fall into neceſſities of food, which made the *Viceroy* to incline to accord, and the ſame followed with continuall ſolicitation, that the *Florentins* ſuffering the *Medices* to returne equall with the other Citizens, there was no more ſpeech of the depoling of the *Gonfalonnier*, onely the Citie ſhould pay to the *Viceroy* (to the end to withdraw his armie from their dominions) a certaine ſumme of money, which was ſuppoſed not to exceede thirtie thouſand ducckers. In reſpect of this he had graunted ſafeconduict to the Embaſſadours elected for that expedition, and had abſtained vntill their coming from any further action againſt *Prato*, if they within had furniſhed him with victuals: There is nothing that ſlieth faſter away then occaſion : nothing more dangerous then to iudge of the intention and profeſſion of another : nor nothing more hurtfull then an immoderate ſuſpicion. All the chiefe Citizens deſired agreement, being accuſtomed by the examples of their elders, to defend their libertie againſt armes, with gold : and therefore they made requeſt, that the Embaſſadours elect ſhould depart incontinently, being charged amongſt other things to ſee them of *Prato* furniſh the *Spaniſh* armie with victuals, to the end the *Viceroy* ſhould expect with patience if the compoſition that was now in action would bring forth any effect. But the *Gonfalonnier* perſwading himſelfe againſt his naturall timorousneſſe, that the enemies diſpairing to be able to do any more would depart theſelues, or fearing that the *Medices* by one meanes or other would returne to *Florence*, or whether his deſtiny pulſhed him on to be the cauſe of his owne ruine and the calamities of his countrey, he held artificially in delay the diſpatch of the Embaſſadours, not ſuffering them to depart the day that was appointed according to the reſolution which had bene made : in ſo much as the *Viceroy* both preſſed with the want of victuals, and vncertaine whether the Embaſſadors would come, diſlodged by night from the gate *Mercatale*, and incamping before the gate called *Soraglio*, from the which the way goeth to the mountaine, he began to batter the next wall with two Cannons, chuſing that place for the commodity of a high heape of earth ioyning to the wal, by the which he might eaſily go to the breach of the wall from aboue that was battred : which facilitie for the campe being turned into a difficultie for the towne, for that the breach that was made aboue the heape of earth, remained within very high and thicke of earth, one of the Cannons was broken at the firſt execution, and the other with the which the battrie was continued, had ſo loſt his force with oftē ſhooting, that his bullets came ſlowly to the wall, and yet did no great harme. Laſtly after they had executed many houres

*Prato taken
by the Spaniards.*

and made an opening in the wall of more then twelue sadomes, certaine of the *Spanish* footemen got vp to the terrasse or heape of earth, and began to assaile the breach : from whence they got to the top of the wall, where they slue two of the footemen that garded it, whose death giuing feare to the residue and driuing them to retire, the *Spaniards* forbare not to take the oportunitie of their timerousnesse, and climbe vp by the helpe of scaling ladders. And albeit there was within neare the wall a Squadron of shot and pikes, bestowed there both to suffer none of the enemies to stay vpon the wall, and also to make slaughter of the first man that rashly should scape within or otherwise go downe, yet (such is the feare of men vnexperienced in dangers) as soone as the enemies vpon the wal, they brake their rancke, and of themselues abandoned the defence of the place. This cowardise depending somewhat vpon want of experience in the seruice and perils of warre, gaue courage to the *Spaniards* to make their entrie in sundry places without any impediment . And crying Victorie, they followed their fortune with valour, and began to runne through the towne, where was seene no other thing then flying, violence, spoiling, bloud, murders. & crying, the footmen of the *Florentins* making no resistance, but casting away their weapons, they offered their bodies to the rigour of their enemies: fro whose couetousnesse, lust, & crueltie, nothing had escaped, if the Cardinal *Medici* by bestowing gards in the great Church had not saued the honour of women which in their calamitie were fled thither for safetie . There were more then two thousand men that dyed, not in fighting, for almost not one would ioine himsele to the fray, but in flying, in hyding, and in crying mercy to the enemies, who disdained to shew compassion vpon men of so small merite. The residue were referued prisoners together with the *Florentin* Commissioners, none escaping the calamitie that so wretched a fortune did bring . By the losse of *Prato* they of *Pistoie*, not falling otherwise from the iurisdiction of the *Florentines*, agreed to relieue the *Viceroy* with victuals, receiuing his promise not to be distressed by his armie. But at *Florence*, as soone as the successe of *Prato* was knowne, and the Embassadours that went to the *Viceroy* being on the halfe way, were returned by the brute of the accident, there were discerned manifest alterations in the mindes of euery one: some lamenting the losse that was hapned, some fearing greater harmes, some suspecting by nature more then they ought to do by reason, some distrusting shadowes whose bodies were farre off, all things in confusion, and euen those men the least assured, in whom was more reason of confidence and resolution . The *Gonfalonier* repenting now the vanitie of his counsell, was no lesse amazed then the residue, and hauing almost altogether lost both reputation & authoritie, he stood so irresolute and vngouerned, that he gaue himsele vp to the wils of others, without making prouision either for his owne safetie, or the common tranquillitie: others, who desired the alteration of the gouernement, tooke audacitie by the state of their fortune, and blamed publicly the things present: but the multitude of Citizens not accustomed to tumults and armes, & hauing alwayes afore their eyes the miserable example of *Prato*, notwithstanding they affected much the gouernement popular, yet what through feare and cowardise, stood as a miserable pray to whosoeuer would oppresse them . In this tumult and separation of mindes *Paule Vettori* and *Anth. Fran. Albizi*, two young Gentlemen of the nobilitie, no lesse seditious and desirous of new things, then by these occasions full of audacitie and boldnesse, hauing many moneths afore conspired secretly with others in fauour of the *Medices*, and for the better forme and maner of their restoring, had secretly spoken with *Iulian de Medici* in a village of the *Florentin* territorie neare to *Sienna*, determined to make experience to draw the *Gonfalonier* out of the publike pallace by force: and drawing into this counsell one *Barth. Valori*, a young man of like qualitie, but entangled by his vnreasonable prodigalities with sundry debts, as was also *Paule*, they went the second morning after the losse of *Prato*, being the last day of August, with a small company to the pallace, where finding no great gard or resistance, for that the *Gonfalonier* left all things to aduecture, they entered his chamber, and threatened him to take his life from him if he would not depart the pallace, but in case he would go out, they gaue him their faith to defend him from harme: his feare and the present extremitie made him ouedient to the rage of the young men. Then the whole Citie was drawen into tumult, and many were disclosed against him, but not one appeared in his fauour. He by and by, by direction and commaundement of others, caused to assemble the Magistrates, whom, hauing by the lawes a full authoritie ouer the *Gonfaloniers*, they required to depriue him lawfully of his office, or otherwise, they would kill him . In which feare they deposed him contrary to their will, and led him in safetie into the house of *Paule*, from whence in the night

being

being well accompanied, he was conueyed vpon the dominions of *Sienna*, and from thence making his way to go to *Rome* with safeconduct obtained of the Pope, he tooke secretly the way of *Ancona*, and passed by sea to *Raugia*, for that he was aduertised by the meane of his brother the Cardinall, that the Pope would breake his promise with him, & spoyle him of the money which he had, supposed to be in great quantitie. Assoone as the *Gonsalonnier* was deposed from his place, the Citie dispatched present Embassadors to the *Viceroy*, with whom they compounded easily by meane of the Cardinall *de Medicis*: for the Cardinall was contented as touching his particular, that there should be no further communing but for the restoring of him and his, and all such as had followed him, as Citizens priuate, with power to redeeme within a certaine time the goods that had bene aliened by the fiske: That there should be repayment of the moneys that had bene disbursed, and amends made by such to whom they had bin transferred: That touching the common affaires, the *Florentins* entred the league: They were bound to pay to the king of *Ro mains* forty thousand duckats, according to the promise which the *Medices* had made at *Mantua* to the Bishop of *Gurci*, in recompence of their restoring, to the *Viceroy* twentie thousand, and to the armie fourescore thousand, the one halfe presently, and the residue within two moneths: but vpon this condition that the first payment being receiued, the armie should forthwith depart the lands of the *Florentins*, leauing at libertie all that they had possessed. Besides this, they contracted a league with the king of *Aragon*, with bonds reciprocall for certaine numbers of men at armes for the defence of their estates, and that the *Florentines* should entertaine in their pay two hundred men at armes of the subiectes of that king: wherein albeit it was not expressed vnder whom they should be led, yet the charge meant to the Marquis of *Paluda*, to whom the Cardinall had promised, or at least giuen him hope, to make him Captaine Generall of the *Florentin* men of warre. Thus the businesse of the deposing of the *Gonsalonnier* being passed ouer, and the daungers of the warre remoued by the composition, the Citizens began to fall to correct the gouernement in points wherein the former forme was thought vnprofitable, but with an vniuersall intention, except of a very few which were young and almost not falling in consideration, to preserue the libertie, and support the counsell popular. Therefore they determined with new lawes, that the election of the *Gonsalonnier* should not be established perpetuall, but for one yeare onely: That to the counsell of the fourescore, which chaunged from fixe moneths to fixe moneths, and by whose authoritie causes of greatest grauitie were determined, to the end there might be a continuall communitie of the Citizens of greatest qualitie, should be alwayes added all those that had administred either at home or abroad, the chiefe offices and places: At home, such as had bene either *Gonsalonniers* of iustice, or of the ten of the *Balia*, an office in that common weale of great authoritie: Abroad, such as being chosen by the counsell of the fourescore, had serued either as Embassadors to forreine Princes, or else as Generall superintendents ouer the warre: All the other orders and ordinances of the gouernement remained firme and stable without innouation.

After these things were resolued, they elected *Gonsalonnier* for the first yeare, *John Baptista Rodolfe*, a Citizen of noble descending, and no lesse esteemed for his discretion and gouernement. And as it happeneth in all times troubled, so in this election the people not beholding so much such as by popular practises were most agreeable to them, as one, who what with the great authoritie he had in the Citie, specially with the nobilitie, and with his proper vertue which was peculiar to him, might reduce and make firme and stable the shaking estate of the common weale. But by the present tumult things were too much disordred, the common libertie had too many mighty enemies, in the bowels of the countrey was an army suspected, and within the Citie an vnbridled boldnesse of young men desirous to oppresse it, and to their wils was conformable the will of the Cardinall *Medicis*, notwithstanding in wordes he made demonstration of the contrarie: for, as in the beginning he esteemed not the restoring of him and his as Citizens priuate, a recopence worthy of so many trauels & paines, so also he considered for the present, that that state could not endure, for that together with his name, they should be greatly hared of all sorts, the Citizens living in continuall suspition, that they would dresse some ambush against their libertie: They would alwayes remaine discontented, for that they had brought the *Spanish* armie against their countrey, and were the causes of the wretched spoyle and lacke of *Prato*: and lastly that by compulsion of armes the Citie had bene constrained to receiued conditions so

vnworthy and vniust. To this he was vrged by such as afore had conspired with him, and others who in a cōmon weale well ordered, held no honorable place: but the consent of the *Viceroy* was necessary, who expecting the first payment, which for the diuisions in the citie could not so soon be made, kept as yet within *Prato*, and had no fancie (whatsoever was the cause) what any new change should be made in the Citie of *Florence*, notwithstanding the Cardinall ioyning to him the Marquis of *Paluda* & *Andrew Caraffe* Captaines in the armie, told him that the name of the *Spaniards* could not be but very odious to a Citie, against which they had done so many harmes: that in all occasions they would sticke alwayes to the enemies of the king Catholike, and that there was daunger, least when the armie should depart, they would reuoke the *Gonsalonnier* who they had expelled by constraint. By these perswasions he consented to the Cardinall, who assoone as he had made agreement and resolution of affaires with him, came with diligence to *Florence* into his houses, where many Captaines and souldiers of the *Italians* entred, some with him, and some separate, the Magistrates being affrayed to let their entry for feare of the *Spaniards* that were at hand. The next morning the counsell of the multitude of Citizens being assembled at the publike pallace to consult vpon the affaires present, *Iulian de Medicis* being present and assisting the action, the souldiers charged the gate of the pallace, and climing vp by ladders, they made themselves maisters of the pallace, and made pillage of the siluer vessell which lay there of store for the vse and seruice of the Citie. There the Citie together with the *Gonsalonnier* compelled to giue place to the insolencies of such as could do more with armes and weapons then the Magistrate with reuerence and authoritie, called together with the ringing of the great bell (by the direction of *Iulian de Medicis*) the people, to Parliament vpon the pallace greene: where, such as went thither being enuironed with armed souldiers, and the young men of the Citie that had takē armes for the citie, they consented that to fiftie Citizēns of the Cardinals naming, should be giuē the same authority ouer publike businesse which all the people had: a forme or state of power which the *Florentins* call *Amplia balia*. By the decree of these men, the gouernment being reduced to that forme which it caried before the yeare a thousand foure hundred nintie & foure, & a garrison established within the pallace, the *Medices* resumed vpon the selfe same state of greatnesse which their father had, but their gouernmēt was more imperious, & with a power more absolute.

In this sort, and with armes, was oppressed the libertie of the *Florentins*, being brought to that degree of aduersitie principally by the disagreements of the Citizēns. It was thought it had not fallen so far, if they had not behaued themselues with great negligence in the defence of the common businesse, specially in the last times, not speaking of the neutrality, which they vsed very vndiscreetly, and the cowardise of the *Gonsalonnier* giuing too much head to the enemies of the popular gouernment. The king of *Aragon* had not from the beginning so great a desire to reuerse the libertie, as to turne away that Citie from the alliance of the French king, & to draw some summes of money to pay his armie: in so much that assoone as the French had abandoned the Duchie of *Mullan*, he sent to tell the *Viceroy*, that whether the affaires occurrent should draw him to another enterprise, or for any other occasion, he should know that the restitution of the *Medices* would be of hard action, that he should take libertie to determine according to the condition of times, and agree or not agree with the Citie, according to the meane that brought the best oportunitie to his affaires. This was his commaundement in the beginning: but being afterwarde discontented with the Pope for the violence he would haue done at *Rome* to *Alfonso d'Este*, and entering withall into suspicion for the threats he gaue publicly against straungers, he gaue plainly to vnderstand to the same Embassadour of *Florence* that came to him in the beginning of the warre, enioyning no lesse to the *Viceroy*, that there should be no struing to alter the gouernement. In which deuise these two reasons were indifferent to him: he iudged that either it would be a thing of more suretie to him to preferue the *Gonsalonnier*, who was enemie to the Pope, or else he feared that the Cardinall of *Medicis* being restored, would not more depend of the Pope then of him. But his last deliberation came not to the knowledge of the *Viceroy*, vntill the day after the common weale was reduced to the power of the Cardinall.

By this discourse it may be discerned, that if the *Florentins*, after the French were chased, had looked to assure their affaires by some agreement, or at least had made theselues strong with men & souldiers trained, either the *Viceroy* had not marched against them, or at least finding resistance, he would easily haue bin brought to composition for money. But their destinie was against their safetie,

safety, being besides the coniectures and comprehension of mans wisdom, warned of the perils
 were towne them, by certaine signes in the ayre: for, not long afore, the lightning that fell
 upon the gate that leades from *Florence* to *Prato*, carried away from an ancient shield of Marble,
 a golden flower *de Lys*, which is the Ensigne or armes of the French kings: An other time a flash
 of lightning descending from the top of the pallace into the chamber of the *Gonfalonnier*, touched
 no other thing then a great vessell of silver wherein the lots are wont to be put when they come
 to be made, squall for the creation of the great Magistrate: and afterwards falling downe, it stroke
 so violently a great stone which lay at the foote of the stayres, and bare vp the burden of the build-
 ing, that being remoued from his place without any other hurt, it seemed that the hands of men
 had taken him out with a wonderfull knowledge in Archyecture.

About these times, or a litle before, the *Genowases* bearing vpon the Castle of *Genes* with the ar-
 tilleries which the Pope had lent them, the Castle keeper being corrupted with a bribe of ten
 thousand duckats, deliuered it vp to the townes men: This treason of the keeper moued partly by
 feare, for the French army by sea which was sent out of *Prouence* for the defence of the towne, hauing
 not courage to talke land, were retired, by whose cowardise he had no hope to be succoured: But
 the *Lanterne* held out for the king, wherein the same day certaine French vessels had conueyed
 victuals and other necessary prouisions.

The castle of
Genes taken
 by the *Geno-
 waies*.

Alloone as the matters of *Florence* were dispatched and the mony receiued, the *Viceroy* remo-
 ued his army to march to *Bressia*: about which City the *Venetians*, hauing now appeased the
 wils of the *Swissers*, were encamped and lay afore the gate of *S. Iohn*, battering at one time both
 the towne and the Castle with artilleries planted vpon the mountaine opposite: They had a cer-
 taine light hope to be let in at the pile gate by meane of an intelligence, which neuerthelesse pro-
 ued vaine, for that it was disclosed: But when the *Spanish* army ariued at the borough of *Gairo*
 which is neare to *Bressia*, *Monsieur d'Aubigny* gouernour of the French that were within, had a
 mind to giue vp the Towne together with the Castle to the *Viceroy*, with composition that all the
 souldiers that were within should issue out, their goods and liues saued, but their Ensignes foulded,
 and the points of their weapons downeward, and leauing behind them their artillery: wherein it
 seemed *Monsieur d'Aubigny* respected more the *Viceroy* then the *Venetians*, by a commandement
 which he had receiued afore from his king, to deliuer it to the *Spaniards* or to *Cesar*, not that he
 hated more the *Venetians*, but rather to entertaine matter of contention with *Cesar* and with
 the king of *Aragon*. The Frenchmen that kept *Leguague* followed the same counsell afore the
Spaniards passed into *Lombardy*: for, litle esteeming of the many offers of the *Venetians*, they sur-
 rendred it vp to the Bishop of *Gurci*, as also did *Pesquiero* at the same time that the *Viceroy* en-
 tred *Bressia*, the possession whereof the same Bishop desired to haue, but it pleased the *Viceroy*
 to retaine it for the League, in whose name he had receiued it: it hapned otherwayes to the
 towne of *Crema*, about the which lay incamped *Ranze de Cere* with a part of the *Venetian* soul-
 diers: for, by that time the army of the foure thousand *Swissers* which *Ottavian Sforce* Bishop of
Lode and gouernour of *Millan* sent to conquere it, in the name of the expected Duke *Maximi-
 lian Sforce*, were come neare the wals, *Benedict Crisbario* what by corruption of money, and an
 ambitious desire to be created a Gentleman of *Venice*, gaue it vp to the *Venetians*; in which action
 was concurrant the consent of *Monsieur Duraz* that kept the Castle, who reposed no confidence
 for his safety in the faith of the *Swissers*.

Bressia ren-
 dred by the
 French to the
Viceroy.

Crema ren-
 dred to the
Venetians.

Immediately vpon these expeditions the Bishop of *Gurci* went to *Rome*, whom the Pope desi-
 ring earnestly to reconcile to him, gaue order to receiue him through all the dominions of the
 Church with all sortes of honours: and not sparing to enforce his nature to aduance his desire,
 he defraied his expenses by the wayes, together with all such as followed him, to whom were
 made many great feasts and liberalities: euery towne which he entred honored him, with shewes
 and offices not accustomed, both for their variety which was strange, and for their state and ma-
 iesty, most rich and sumptuous: The wayes which he passed were full of personages appointed to
 meete him, and in many seuerall places he was visited by sundry new Embassadors of Prelates &
 personages of honor of the Popes sending: yea he would that the Colledge of Cardinals should
 haue gone to the gates of *Rome* to receiue him, but the whole Colledge refusing, as a matter for
 the newnesse, hurtfull in example, and for the indignity, most preiudiciall to their reputation, they
 appointed only the Cardinals *Agienese* and *Strigonia* to go out of the gates halfe a mile into the

The Bishop of
Gurci at
Rome.

medowes, to receiue him in the name of the Pope, who with great respect & ceremony led him to the Church of *S. Maria de Popolo*, he being in the middest betweene them as *Li. II. haut ar Cesar*: there the two Cardinals left him, and from thence being honourably accompanied beside the generall multitudes that followed, he went to the Pope, who sitting in solempne habit vnder his estate pontificall, expected his comming in the publike Consistory, where not many dayes before he had in great honour receiued the twelue Embassadors of the *Swissers*, whom all the Cantons had sent to him, both to giue him publike obedience, and to make offer of their nation to be perpetuall defenders of the state of the Church, and withall to thanke him, that with so great honour he had giuen them the sword, the hat, the helmet, and the banner, together with the title to be the defenders of the Ecclesiastike liberty. When the Cardinall was arriued, & had performed his presence to the Pope, they began to debate of the establishment of the common affaires, whereof the foundation rested in this, to remoue all quarels and contentions particular, to the end that the regions of *Italy* reunited and confirmed, might with one ioynt resolution and counsell, be able to make a full resistance to the French king. The hardest matter in this action was the composition so many times practised betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*: for the Bishop of *Gurcy* could haue bene contented that *Padoa, Treuise, Bressia, Bergama* and *Cremona* could reioyne to the *Venetians*, so farre forth as they would render to *Cesar Vincenza*, renounce their claimes and rights they pretended to the townes that *Cesar* held, and pay to him presently two hundred thousand florins of *Rhein*, and thirty thousand yearly for euer in forme of tribute. It troubled the *Venetians* to acknowledge themselves tributaries for those townes which they had possessed for many yeares as proper owners: and no lesse were they grieued to giue mony, notwithstanding the Pope offered to lend them part of the summe: but the thing that troubled them most, was the restoring of *Vincenza*, in which action they alleaged they should seporate the body of their estate, and stand deprived of the commodity to passe from the head and principall parts to the other members, by which priuation the possession of *Bressia, Bergama*, and *Crema* would stand ill assured. Besides, to refuse the restitution vnder more honest colours, they sayd, they had giuen their faith to the *Vincenzins* the last time they put themselves into their hands, neuer to separate them from them. Other conditions were debated betweene the Pope and the king of *Aragons* Embassador, proponed more for reuenge and recompence of the complaints of others, then that there was hope to obtaine them: for, the Pope demanded that that king according to the contents of the confederation, should aide him to conquer *Ferrara*: he required him to leaue off the protection of *Fabricio* and *Mark. Anth. Colonne*, against who he had begun to proceede with spirituall armes, for that they had forced the gate of *Lairan*, and receiued the Duke of *Ferrara* (rebelled against him) into those townes whose iurisdiction appertained directly to the Church: he required him to renounce the protections he had made in *Tuscane* of the *Florentins*, of the *Siennois*, of the *Lucquois*, and of *Plombin*, matters done to the diminution of the rights of the Empire, and generally suspected of all *Italy*, but particularly of the Church: for that as it was not profitable to the other Potentats that he should haue so many aliances in *Italy*, so it was most dangerous for the Church, that a prouince belonging to the dominion of the same, should depend vpon his authority. To these the Spanish Embassadors replied, that they refused not to ayde him against *Ferrara*, so far forth as according to the bonds of the same confederation, he made payment of the mony due to the army both for that was past, & to make new prouision for hereafter: That it was an action neither of praise nor merit to proceed against *Fabricio* & *Mark. Anth. Colonne*, by who, if they were pursued, what by reason of their great friends and dependances, and for that they were Captaines of authority, would be renewed matter of a new warre: That the king Catholike could not leaue them abandoned, without special preiudice to his proper honor, neither did their seuerall seruices in the ioynt warres of the Pope and him against the French king, deserue that property of recompence. Touching the complaint he made of the protections of *Tuscane*, they thought it proceeded not of any good or iust zeale, but to the end that *Sienna, Lucqua, & Plombin*, should remaine a pray to his couetousnesse, condisending notwithstanding to referre themselves in those actions, to the arbitrement of *Cesar*. All the confederats agreed with full consent, that *Maximilian Sforce* should enter vpon the Duchy of *Mislan*, but *Cesar* consented not to inuest him, nor to indue him with the name of Duke or any title iudiciall. But estoones did renew the complaints of the Bishop of *Gurcy* & the *Spaniards* touching the occupation of *Parma & Plaisance*: they brought great preiudice

preiudice of the rights of the Empire, too much encrease of greatnesse to the Popes, and an apparent weakning of the Duchy of *Millan*, which had neede to be made more strong and able, or that it lay alwayes open and subiect to the first inuasions of the French: That in the capitulations of the league, the Pope had made mention of no other things then of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*: That now he vsurped that which of long time since, had not bene possessed by the Church of *Rome*, yea there was no certaine knowledge that euer she could claime interest, not in the times most ancient: That this vsurpation was vnder shadow of rights and interests, whereof appeared no authentike memory, he seeming to make the donations of Emperours none other thing then a simple writing, which might be forged or fayned according to fancy: And yet the Pope, taking the occasion of the tumults of *Lombardy*, did reason to himselfe, as in a matter manifest and notorious: These disputations could not be resolued easily: But the matter that troubled most the issue of things, was the controuersie betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*, by reason whereof the Pope did what he could, sometimes prouoking them, sometimes praying them, and sometimes threatening them, and all for a desire he still nourished to preferue the *Venetians*, both for the common benefit of *Italy*, and also for that he hoped, vnder the oportunity of their succours, to be able to reuery *Ferrara* without the forces of the *Spaniards*. In this action the *Aragon* Embassadors labored with great importunity, fearing least to a common danger, there were no cause added to the *Venetians* to turne their dispositions to the French, and be ctsfoones reunited to that nation: but they were driuen to proceed aduisedly and with temperance, both not to prouoke *Cesar* to make alliance with the Frenchmen, from whom their king had separate him with so great paine, and also for other reasons necessarily mouing him not to breake amitie with him. Lastly the *Swisser* Embassadors omitted no trauell in this action, for that being bound to defend the *Venetians*, who also in that regard were bound to pay them euery yeare 25000 duckets, they wished not to be brought to this necessitie, either not to obserue their promise, or to be driuen to make head against *Cesar* if he offered to vex them. At last, neither the Bishop of *Gurci*, being not to be drawne from the demaund he made that the *Venetians* should render *Vincenza* to *Cesar*, nor the *Venetians* disposed to giue it vp, who stood also yet disagreed touching the quantity of mony, the Pope, who aboue all things desired, the rather to reuerse the name and authority, of the Councell of *Pisa*, that *Cesar* might approue the Councell of *Latran*, protested to their Embassadors, that he should be constrained to persecute that common-weale with armes spirituall and temporall: which protestation because it moued them not, he onely was brought to confederate with *Cesar*, the Spanish Embassador refusing to deale in the action, either for that he had no commission from his king, or else for that that king sought still to nourish the *Venetians* with some hope, notwithstanding he was resolued in mind to ayde *Cesar*. It was expresse vpon the proëme of the confederation which a litle after was solemnly published in the Church of *S. Maria de Popolo*: That for that the *Venetians* had obstinately refused the peace, and the Pope by the necessitie of the Christian common-weale, had protested to abandon them: *Cesar* did now enter and accept the league made in the yeare a thousand five hundred and eleuen, betweene the Pope, the king of *Aragon*, and the *Venetians*, according as the liberty and respite was reserued for him: That he promised to cleaue to the Councell of *Latran*, disauowing and reuoking all commissions, procurations, and actes done in the fauour of the Councell of *Pisa*: He bound himselfe not to ayde any one of the subiects or enemies of the Church, but chiefly *Alfonso d'Este* and the *Bentiuoleis* occupiers of *Ferrara* & *Bologna*: And lastly he promised to call home all the bands of *Almain* footmen that were in the paies of *Alfonso*, together with *Federik de Bossolo* that held on him: On the other side the Pope promised to ayde *Cesar* against the *Venetians* with armes both spirituall and temporall, vntill he had recouered all that was contained in the league of *Cambray*: It was declared that the *Venetians* were altogether excluded out of the league and truce made with *Cesar*, for that in many sorts they had impugned both the one and the other: That they were enemies to the Pope, to *Cesar* & to the king Catholike, to whom they reserued place & time to enter the confederation, and vnder certaine conditions: That the Pope could make no couenant with them without the consent of *Cesar*, or till *Cesar* had recouered that which appertained to him, as was sayd afore: That neither the Pope nor *Cesar*, without reciprocall priuity and consent, could contract or couenant with any Prince Christian: That during the war against the *Venetians*, the Pope should do no displeasure to *Fabricio* & *Mark. Anth. Colonne*, being notwithstanding left

at liberty to proceede against *Pompey* and *Iulio* and others that had bene declared rebels. That notwithstanding he was suffered to possesse *Parma*, *Reggia* and *Plaisance*, yet by this capitulation it was not meant to preiudice the rights of the Empire. When this confederation was published, the Bishop of *Gurci* in the next session of the Councell of *Latran*, approued the Councell in the name of *Cesar*, and as his Lieutenant generall in *Italy*: and cancelling all former commissions, acts, & procurations, he testified in the presence of the whole Councell, that *Cesar* neuer consented to the conuocation of *Pisa*, disauowing all such as had vsed his name. Assoone as he had thus ratified the Councell of *Latran*, he departed from *Rome* to be present when *Maximilian Sforce* (being now come by commission of *Cesar* to *Verona*) should take possession of the Duchy of *Mil-lan*: the Cardinall of *Sion* disposed himselfe very hardly to expect and attend his comming, and also the Embassadors of the whole nation of *Swissers* that were at *Millan*, for that they would that in the demonstrations and solemnity of the actions that was to be vsed, it might appeare that the *Swissers* were the men that had chased the Frenchmen out of that state, and by their valour & courage *Maximilian* receiued it: they would that the verity and effect of that conquest might be transferred to them by such publike ceremonies as were to be vsed in the installing of him, whom their vertue only made Lord of the Duchy. But such was the working of the *Viceroy*, that, more by practise then by his authority he obtained so much, that they taried for the comming of the Bishop of *Gurci*: who, after he had ratified at *Florence* in the name of *Cesar*, the confederation made in *Prato*, & receiued certaine summes of money of the *Lacquois*, whom he tooke into protection, came at last to *Cremona*, where *Maximilian Sforce* and the *Viceroy* attended him: from thence they went altogether to *Millan*, to make their entry at the day appointed into that City, with solemnities and honors accustomed to new Princes. In which action albeit it was long disputed betweene the Cardinall of *Sion* and the *Viceroy*, which of them should giue him the keyes at the entry of the gate in signe of possession, yet in the end the *Viceroy* giuing place, the Cardinall put into his hands the keyes of the towne in the vniuersall name of the *Swissers*, and that day, being one of the last dayes of December, he did all things both in shew and act, that were necessary to make knowne that *Maximilian Sforce* receiued the possession of them: he was receiued with an incredible gladnesse of all the people, both for the desire they had to haue a Prince proper and particular, and also they hoped he would resemble his grandfather or his father, of whom the memorie of one remained very fresh in the minds of the people of that state, and touching the other, the despites they had receiued by the gouernement of strangers, had turned their hatred into good will: The working of time, with the experience of the yoke of strangers had made in that people a wonderfull conuersion, and nature in those actions workes not a little, bringing that people to reioyce at the returne of him, whose father they abhorred with a iust and vniuersall hatred. But these gratulations and ioyes were yet vnperfect vntill the Castle of *Nonaro* were recovered: a matter not long deferred, for that they within, yeelded it vp, their fortune being far inferior to their faith.

*Maximilian
Sforce resto-
red to Millan.*

The confederation made at *Rome*, had not altogether broken the hopes of agreement betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*, for that the Pope had vpon the sudden sent to *Venice* *Iacques Staffilio* his *Nuncio*, with who went accompanied three Embassadors of the *Swissers* to perswade the to accord: And on the other side, the Senat, the better to entertaine the good will of the Pope, and not to giue cause to *Cesar* to inuade them with armes, had sent to their Embassadors a new direction to cleaue to the Councell of *Latran*: they had commaunded also the men of warre assoone as the confederation was made, to retire vpon the territories of *Padoa*: and for that cause the *Viceroy* not willing to trouble the hopes of the peace, had turned his armie towards *Millan*. But all these things serued to no purpose, for that the same difficulties did yet continue touching the restitution of *Vincenza*, and the payments of money which *Cesar* demanded. That was the cause that the Pope assayed not the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom (agreement going betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*) he supposed he should be able to vanquish with the aides of the *Venetians*, together with the brute that the *Spaniards* were to come on if neede should be: otherwise he had resolved to deferre that expedition till the spring time, for that he accounted it a matter of hard actiō to take in a season of winter, the towne of *Ferrara*, the situation being strong in respect of the riuier, and greatly fortified besides, by the continuall industrie of *Alfonso*.

It may haply seeme to some, if I intangle my history with the accidents of *Fraunce* in that yere, that

that I wander or change my course, which is not to speake of matters hapning out of the bounds of *Italy*: but because the affaires of that nation haue some affinitie and relation with the businesse of these parts, and that to the successe of the one, the counsels and issues of the other were oftentimes conioyned, I am constrained not to passe them altogether vnder forgetfulness and silence.

About the beginning of May, an armie of sixe thousand English footmen sailed in vessels of *England and Spaine* to *Fontaraby*, a frontier towne belonging to the crowne of *Spaine* vpon the coast of *Fraunce*, and standing vpon the Ocean sea. The seruice and purpose of this armie, according to the couenants made betweene the father in law and sonne in law, was, together with the forces of *Spaine*, to set vpon the Duchy of *Guyen*, which is a part of the prouince of *Aquitaine*, according to the ancient names and diuisions of the same. Against this war, the French king not yet assured on the coast of *Picardy*, prepared a new pencionary band of eight hundred launces which he had erected, and waged many bands of footmen of the lower parts of *Germany* not subiect to the Emperour: and knowing of what importance for the defence of the Duchy of *Guien*, was the realme of *Nauarre*, which was both appropriate and dowrie to *Katherine de Foix*, and possessed by *John* the sonne of *Albert*, who was her husband: he called to the Court the father of the law *John*, and carefully considered how he might make him his friend & consociate. *John* serued to good purpose the death of *Gaston de Foix*, by the instigation of whom pretending the same kingdom not to fall vpon the female, & by consequent to appertaine to him, as to the next heire male of the house of *Foix*, the French king had pursued the said *John*. On the other side the king Catholike, who had set his eyes vpon that realme, required the king of *Nauarre* to stand neuter betweene the French king and him: and to suffer to passe through his realme, his souldiers that were to enter *Fraunce*: and for the assurance of these things he would put into his hands certaine places of strength, vnder promise to render them assoone as the warre should end. It hath bene a perpetuall desire in the ancient kings of *Spaine*, to impatronize theselues vpon the realme of *Nauarre*: in which respect the king of *Nauarre*, being also not ignorant whither those demands tended, chose rather to offer himself to a perill that was vncertaine, then to accept a losse certaine, hoping he should not faile of the succours promised by the French king, for whose affaires it came well to passe that the warre began in the realme of *Nauarre*: and at the same time, either to giue more leasure to such as were appointed to come to his succours, or to deliuer himselfe if he could from those demaunds, he treated with the king of *Aragon*, who according to his custome proceeded in those conferences with great cunning. But the industrie & warinesse of the king of *Aragon* hurt not more the king of *Nauarre*, then the negligence of the French king, who taking courage by the slownesse of the English army, that for many dayes since they were arriued at *Fontaraby*, had done nothing: & trusting withall, that the king of *Nauarre* was able with his owne forces to defend himselfe for a time, deferred very long to send him succours. By the commodity of which delayes, the king of *Aragon*, who had cunningly nourished and entertained the hopes of the king of *Nauarre*, conuerted thither with great expedition the bands which he had prepared to ioyne with the English: so that the king of *Nauarre* both vnprepared of himselfe, and by his priuation of hope, despairing to be able to make resistance, gaue place to his fortune, and fled into *Bearn* beyond the *Pyrene* hilles. By which accident, the realme of *Nauarre* was left abandoned, except certaine strong places which yet held out for the king, who in his feare was fled: and so without any expences or difficultie, and more for feare and reputation of the English that were at hand, then by his owne forces that were farre off, the king of *Aragon* made himselfe Lord of that kingdome. And because he could not affirme that he possessed it lawfully with any other title, he alleged that he was rightfully and iudicially impatronized of it by the authority of the Sea Apostolike. For the Pope not satisfied for the happie successe of *Italy*, had a litle before published a Bull against the French king; wherein naming him no more *Christianissimo*, but *Illustissimo*, he subiected aswell his person as whosoeuer were his adherents, to all the paines of heretikes and schismatikes, giuing sufferance to euery one to occupy their substances, estates, and all that appertained vnto them: and in the same seueritie & rigour, ioyned to an indignation that the Cardinals and other Prelates who were fled to *Millan*, had bene receiued into the towne of *Lyon*, he commaunded vnder grieuous penalties and taxations, that the *Fayre* or *Mart* accustomed to be kept at *Lyon* foure times euerie yeare, the traffike of

The Englishmen at Fontaraby against the French king.

The king of Aragon taketh the realme of Nauarre.

Marchants being no lesse plentifull, then the resort of strangers infinite, should be hereafter transferred to the citie of *Genewa*, from whence king *Louis* the eleuenth had taken it for the better of his kingdome. And lastly, he had brought the whole realme of *Fraunce* vnder the interdiction Ecclesiasticall. In his malice he omitted nothing that might appertaine to scueritie or rigour: But after the king of *Aragon* had conquered the kingdom of *Nauarre*, which albeit is but of little circuit and of lesse reuenue, yet for the situation, it is verie conuenient for the kingdome of *Spaine*, & greatly auailable to the surety of it: he determined in himselfe to passe no further, esteeming it no lesse against his profit then inconuenient for his safetie, to make war against the French king beyond the Mounts. In this respect, as also cuen from the beginning that the Englishmen arriued, he had bene dilatorie in bringing forth his forces, rather temporising with euasions and deuises, then aduancing according to the true meaning of his promise. And after the conquest of *Nauarre*, as the English solicited him to ioyne his forces with them, to the end to march together and incampe afore *Bayon*, a citie neare to *Foniaraby*, and almost standing vpon the Ocean sea: so he protracted the expedition they required, and proponed other enterprises in places removed from the sea, alleaging that *Bayon* was so manned and fortified, that there was no hope or possibilitie to carie it. These reasons were answered and auoyded by the Englishmen, who, without the towne of *Bayon*, esteemed nothing of all the other conquest of the Duchie of *Guien*. And therefore after the English armie had vainely spent much time to vrge the king, that was altogether vnwilling, they contemned his subtelties and delayes, and embarked to returne into *England* without commission or licence of their Prince. By the retiring of which armie, the French king remained assured on that side, and fearing no more the inuasions of the English by sea, for that at last he was become so strong by sea, that he commanded all that part of the Ocean from the coasts of *Spaine* to the shoares of *England*: he determined to make triall if he could reconquer the realme of *Nauarre*: to which expedition he was encouraged besides the departing of the English fleet, for that by reason of his aduersities in *Italie*, all his bands of souldiers that remained, were returned into *Fraunce*. At the time that the king of *Aragon* gaue hope to the Englishmen to enter into the war, the better to bring vnder him the whole iurisdiction of the realme of *Nauarre*, he had sent certaine regiments of men to *S. Ioh. Pie de Porto*, which is the last place of that kingdome, standing at the foot of the *Pyrene* hilles, on that side towards *Fraunce*: and afterwards as the French forces began to increase thereabouts, he had sent thither with the maine armie *Federike* Duke of *Alba*, Captaine generall of the warre. But the French army at last being become farre more mighty, by the prelence of the *Daulphin*, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, and *M. L'oguenille*, the verie floures of the realme of *Fraunce*: the Duke of *Alba* lying incaped in a strong place betweene the plaine and the mountaine, held it an action verie necessary to that seruice, to the Frenchmen for entring into the realme of *Nauarre*. The Frenchmen not able to force him out of that place for the strength of his situation, determined that the king of *Nauarre* with seuen thousand footmen of his countrey, & *M. Palissa* with his companie of three hundred launces remouing from *Sauueterre* neare to *S. Ioh. Pie de Porto*, where the whole armie lay, shold passe the *Pyrene* hilles by the way of the vale of Willowes, and drawing neare to *Pampelune* the capitall towne of the kingdome, their deuise was to occupie the way of the willowes, by the which were brought to the Spanish armie victuals, whereof the sterility of the countrey had made them suffer great want. In *Pampelune* the peoples taking courage by the nearnesse of the Frenchmen, began already to draw to mutinie, not otherwayes rebelling then to relieue their king, for whose restoring they thought it good deuotion to aduerture their liues. This was the effect of this deuise: after the king of *Nauarre* and *Monsieur Palissa* had won the way that is vpon the top of the *Pyrene* hilles, they tooke by assault the towne that stands at the foot of the hilles, wherein was *Baldes* Captaine of the gard to the king of *Aragon*, with many bands of footmen: and if to winne the way of the willowes they had vsed the celeritie that the consideration of the seruice required, famine only had bene sufficient to vanquish the Spanish armie, enuironed on all sides with enemies, with ill wayes, with ill fortune, & with wants. But the diligence of the Duke of *Alba* preuented the enemy & preserued himself, for that leauing in *S. Ioh. Pie de Porto* a thousand footmen with all the artillerie, he passed to *Pampelune* by the way of the willowes afore they came thither. So that the king of *Nauarre* and *Palissa* being disappointed of that hope, to whom also the *Daulphin* had sent a new strength of foure hundred launces, and seuen thousand Latince knights, made

made their approaches to *Pampelune* with foure peeces of artillerie, which they had drawne with great difficultie, by reason of the steepnesse of the mountaines: they gaue the assault, but with a fortune farre inferior to their forwardnesse, for that being not able to carie by their valour that they were denied by the present season (being then December) & by the want of victuals (being falne into a countrey barraine) they repassed the Mounts *Pyrene*, vpon the which they were constrained to leaue the artillerie, both for the difficultie of the passages, and for the impediments of the paſſants of those hills. And at the same time *M. de Lawtrech* who was entred *Biscay* with 300 launces and three thousand footmen, making waste and pillage of the whole country, after he had in vaine assaulted the towne of *S. Sebastian*, he repassed the mounts and returned to the armie, which now brake vp, both hope and feare ceasing on all parts, and the whole realme of *Nauarre* remaining free and peaceable to the king of *Aragon*. About this time there was a detection of a conspiracie, that *Ferdinand* son to the late *Federike* king of *Naples*, who called himselfe Duke of *Calabria*, had secretly conspired with the French king, and to steale to the French army not far from the towne of *Logrognia*, where at that time was the king of *Aragon*: who sent him to the Castle of *Sciatiua* whither the kings of *Aragon* are wont to send prisoners, personages of name and merite either for their nobilitie or for their vertue: for this conspiracie was quartered *Philip Coppola* a *Nepolitan*, who was the secret messenger to the French king in these actions: such is the alteration of the state of worldly things, that he was executed in the seruice of him, whose grandfather by the fathers side had cut off the head of *Count de Sarny* his father. The detection of this conspiracy was of some consequence for the affaires of *Italy*: for, as it had his beginning of a certaine gray Frier, which the Duke of *Ferrara* had secretly sent to *Ferdinand*; so the king Catholike hauing already an inclination to satisfie the Popes will, tooke this matter so to heart, that he commanded the *Viceroy* & his Embassadors resident with the Pope, to conuert when they thought good, his army against *Ferrara*, seeking to exact no further taxations of mony, then such as should be necessarie to entertaine them. These were the accidents of that yeare both in *Italy*, in *Fraunce*, and in *Spaine*, their issues being diuerse, as their causes were seuerall.

Now followeth the yeare a thousand five hundred and thirteene, no lesse full of occurrants 1513
strange and fundrie then the other. In the beginning of this yeare, armes ceased on all parts, for that neither the *Venetians* molested others, nor any other moued against them: only the *Viceroy* marched with three thousand footmen to incampe afore the rocke of *Tressa*, which immediatly was giuen vnto him vnder condition that the bodies that were within should depart with goods and life saued. But euerie one vniuersally was troubled with the consideration of things to come: they saw that the French king deliuered from furraine armes, and eftsoons reincouraged both for the great leaue of Launceknights he had made, and for the increase of his numbers of men at armes, had nothing in so great desire as to recouer the Duchy of *Millan*: which disposition albeit was verie violent in him, and no lesse desire to hasten the warre whilest the Castles of *Millan* & *Cremona* were yet kept by his souldiers: yet looking into the great impediments offered by the opposing of so manie enemies, & being not yet assured that the king of *England* would not make strong war against him the next Sommer: he determined to enter into no action, vnlesse he separated some one of the confederates from the common aliance, or else to winne to him the amity of the *Venetians*. Of these things, the yeare past gaue him manie hopes, that some one of them might haply succcede to him: for, at that time that the Bishop of *Gurci* went from *Rome* to *Millan*, he heard graciously by the way one of the familiar friends of the Cardinal *S. Seuerin* sent to him from the French Queene, and afterwards he had sent into *Fraunce* one of his men to make these ouertures: That the king should be bound to aide *Cesar* against the *Venetians*: That the mariage should go forward betweene the second daughter of the king, and *Charles* nephew to *Cesar*: That to the Daughter should be giuen in dowrie the Duchy of *Millan*: That the king besides, should giue vp to his Daughter and his future sonne in law the rights he pretended to the realme of *Naples*: And because simple words and promises should not stand to *Cesar* as a suretie, he required that the Daughter might be immediatly put into his hands: And that when the king should haue recouered the Duchie of *Millan*, *Cremona* and *Guia Radada* should be to *Cesar*. The king hoped likewise that he might easily ioine to him the *Venetians*, who were not a litle angrie at that time that the *Viceroy* occupied *Bressia*, but much more for the matters, which afterwards were accorded at *Rome* betweene *Cesar* and the Pope: therefore from that time,

the king had caused to come secretly to his Court *Andrew Grutty*, who being taken within *Brescia*, remained as yet prisoner in *Fraunce*: he wrought so also, that *Ioh. Ia. Trivulze*, in whom the *Venetians* reposed much, did send to *Venice* one of his Secretaries vnder shadow of other affaires there offered him withall a certaine hope to be able to compound with the king of *Aragon*, who according to his custome oftentimes to debate in his affaires by the negociation of men religious, had sent secretly into *Fraunce* two gray Friars, to the end that expressing how they were touched with a conscience and zeale to the common benefite, they might begin to negotiate with the Queene in some points, either concerning the peace vniuersall, or particular betweene the two kings: wherein neuerthelesse there was no great hope, the king knowing well enough that he would still retaine the realme of *Nauarre*, and to him it was a matter of no lesse indignity to leaue abandoned that king, who to reenter into his amity and vnder hope of his succours, was falne into that calamity: but nothing troubled so much the French king as the desire he had to be reconciled to the *Swissers*: he knew that vpon their amitie depended his assured victorie, both for the great authority that that nation had then got, and their armes no lesse feared, and for that they seemed to be now drawne into a forme of gouernment, not as souldiers nor men savage, but with a wonderfull warinesse and vigilancie, as men trained vpon a common weale well instituted, and nourished in the administration of estates and managing of affaires without suffering any stirre or leauies to be made but by good counsell and discretion. By this conformitie of theirs, there was in *Switzerland* a resort and presence of Embassadours from all Princes in Christendome: the Pope with almost all Potentates payd them yearely pensions, to be receiued into their confederation, and to haue sufferance to leaue for their proper defence in times of necessitie, souldiers of that nation. The remembrance of these things made them so proud, that weighing withall how king *Charles* the eight by their armes had first altered the quiet estate of *Italy*, and after king *Louys* his successeur by their valour had conquered the Duchy of *Millan*, recovered *Genes*, and ouerthrowne the *Venetians*, they vsed towards all men an imperious & insolent behauiour: Amongst the harmes that prosperity bringeth, this is not the least, that it rayseth men into opinion and weening, and listeth vp their thoughts through vaine and light affections, like as birds vse to do, whose naturall lightnesse conuey them to the starres. They considered not that the estate of humane felicitie is subiect to emulation, & nothing of more difficulty to worldly men then to beare well the height and greatnesse of fortune: and yet the French king notwithstanding the perswasions of many particulars of that nation, together with his owne opinion that they would stirre and draw into armes for the great offers of money that were made them, was not without hope to win them: his reason was, that albeit such as gouerned *Millan* hauing agreed with the Embassadours of the *Swissers* in the name of *Maximilian Sforce*, that he should giue them an hundred and fiftie thousand duckets so soone as he had receiued the possession of *Millan* and the Castles, and pension of fortie thousand duckets euerie yeare for xxv. years, taking him into their protection, with couenant to deliuer into his pay bands of their footmen: yet the Cantons would neuer ratifie those couenants. In which hope, in the beginning of the yeare present, notwithstanding afore he had in vaine proued to haue his Embassadors heard, which he meant to send to sollicite in those affaires, yet to purchase audience in their parliaments, he consented to giue vp to them frankly and freely the castles of the vale of *Lugan* and *Lugarna*: with so great indignity great Princes sought at that time the amity of that nation. In the end *M. Trimonulle* with commission from the king came to *Lucerna*, a place appointed to heare him in publicke assemblie; and albeit he was receiued with good shew & countenance, yet he saw he should do litle good touching the actiō of the Duchy of *Millan*: for that not many dayes before, 6 Cantons had ratified & subsigned the capitulations made with *Maximilian Sforce*, three had determined to confirme them, and touching the other three, they were not yet resolued: by reason of which doubts, the Embassador speaking no further of *Millan* nor the affaires therof, demaunded that at least they would aide the king to recouer *Genes* and *Ast*, matters not comprehended in the capitulation made with *Maximilian Sforce*. And the better to aduaunce that demand, *Trimonulle* made request that he might be at the parliamēt vnder colour to treat vpon affaires particular, wherein safeconduct was granted to him, but with this condition, that he should not sollicite in any matter appertaining to the French king: & being come to *Lucerna*, he was enioyned not to haue conference with *Trimonulle*, neither in publicke nor in priuate. At last by an vniuersall consent, the capitulations made

made with the Duke of *Millan* were ratified by all the Cantons, and all the demands of the French king denied, with this addition, that they would not suffer any leaues of footmen of that nation to serue him either in *Italy* or out of *Italy*: a matter which made the king desperate of all fauor, hope, or amity with that people, and therefore being excluded quite out where he thought to find some entrance, he saw by considerations of his affaires, that it was necessary for him to be reconciled either to *Caesar* or the *Venetians*, who for their parts solicited at the same time with *Caesar*, for that the suspicion of their reconciliation ceassing in the minds of the confederates, the Bishop of *Gurci* consented that they should retaine still *Vincenza*: but the same reasons encouraging the Senate which gaue feare to the enemies, they stood vpon this, to make no more peace if *Venice* were not rendred to them, giuing *Caesar* a recompence of a great quantitie of money. This demand seemed to containe difficultie, which made the *Venetians* to incline so much the more to the French amitie, and in that disposition contracted with the Secretarie of *Triuulce* to be confederate with the king, according to the capitulations made betweene them afore, by the which *Cremona* and *Guia Radada* should remaine to them. But the Secretarie set downe expresse mention in the capitulation, that that agreement should stand as voyd and of none effect, if within a certaine time it were not approued by the king: in whose Councell the disputations were great, which was most to be desired, either a reconciliation with *Caesar*, or a confederation with the *Venetians*: *Robert Este* a Secretarie of great authoritie, *Triuulce*, and almost all the chiefe of the Councell proued the necessitie of confederation with the *Venetians*: They alleaged that which the present experience made them to know of the inconstancie of *Caesar*, bringing no small damage to the kings affaires: They ript vp the hatred he bare to the king, together with his disposition to reuenge: They related what they had heard of personages worthie of opinion and credit, who reported how often they had heard him say in that time, that he kept precisely in minde the remembrance of seuateene iniuries receiued by the French, and that whensoever the oportunitie serued him to be reuenged of all, he would not loose the occasion, nor forget the desire: They alleaged, that these solicitations were practised by him for none other effect, then by the meane of reconciliation full of fraude and ill meaning, to haue a greater way to do harme, or at least to breake off that which he knew was practised with the *Venetians*, or else in his spite, to detract the preparations of the warre: Lastly, they gaue this as a warning and lesson, that that man was neither to be excused, nor esteemed worthie of compassion, who being once beguiled by another, returneth eftsouones to repose confidence in him: An enemy reconciled, charitie leades vs to loue him, but wisdom willeth vs not to trust him; and to a friend once disproued, there can be no greater daunger, then eftsouones to reenter into confidence with him. The Cardinall of *S. Senerin* was of another opinion, who (as his aduersaries said, crossing *Triuulce* more through enuie then for other occasion, for that with his brethren he had alwaies defended the *Gebelin* faction in *Millan*), replied in the contrarie, that nothing could be more profitable to the king and his seruices, then in ioyning with *Caesar*, to breake the vnion of the enemies, specially the confederation being made by such meanes as they might hope it would last: That it was the propertie of Princes in their counsels and deliberations to preferre alwayes profite afore good will, afore hatred, and afore other affections: And what greater benefite could be done to *Caesar*, then to ayde him presently against the *Venetians*, with hope that his Nephew should come to succeed in the Duchie of *Millan*: That *Caesar* being separate from the others, the king Catholike would not obiekt against his authoritie, as well for the interests of his Nephew, as for other good regards. Moreouer, that as nothing could more amaze the Pope then this confederation: so, of the contrarie to confederate with the *Venetians*, was full of indignitie, since there must be accorded to them *Cremona* and *Guia Radada*, members so conuenient to the Duchie of *Millan*, that to recouer them, the king had stirred vp all the world: and yet if the vnion of the others were not broken and deuided, the confederation with the *Venetians* would not suffice to obtaine the victorie. At last this opinion carried the King, the rather for the authoritie of the Queen, who desired greatly the aduancement of her Daughter: onely her desire was accompanied with this condition, so farre forth as it might be obtained, that till the consummation of the mariage the young Damsell might remaine with her; and she to bind her faith and promise to keepe her in the name of *Caesar*, as the spouse assigned for his Nephew, to whom she would redeliuer her as soone as her age and yeares made her able to the full office of mariage. But the King being afterwardes certified that *Caesar* would not agree

vnder this forme of limitation, but rather that he foisted in those offers for the time & by sutteltie, to detract his diligence, and giue him cause to proceede more slowly in his other plots, he brake off from this practise, and sent backe againe for *Monsieur de Asperos* brother to *Monsieur de Lanus*, already gone from the Court with his commission to finde the Bishop of *Gurcs*. On the other side, the feare of the vnion betweene the king and the *Venetians* increasing dayly, the king of *Aragon* aduised *Cesar* to render *Verona*, and to transerre the warre into *Burgundie*, by the helpe of the money which he should receiue of the *Venetians*, and with the *Spanish* armie. Of this aduise was the Bishop of *Gurcs*, who hoping to be able to moue *Cesar* by his presence now returned into *Germanie*, being followed not onely of *Dom Peter de Vree* which was come with him, but also of *John Baptista Spinella* Count of *Carriato*, Embassadour to the sayd king of *Aragon*, resident with the *Venetians*. And because no new difficulties should breake off the matters that were now in action, he induced first the Senate to make truce with *Cesar* for the whole moneth of March. And those Embassadours gaue them their faith that *Cesar* should render *Verona*, if they would promise him within certaine times two hundred and fiftie thousand duckats, and for yearly pension fiftie thousand.

The purposes
of Pope Iulio
and the second
his death.

In these alterations of affaires, and in these times so deuided and conspiring, the Pope fell sicke, and haply he was then more full of high conceits & traueilling thoughts then at any time before: for notwithstanding he had brought his fortune to be equall to his desires, and obtained the thing he aspired vnto, yet his deuises and plots did nothing diminish, but grew increasing by the same meane which should haue satisfied them: he had determined in the beginning of the spring and first opening of the yeare, to send to the enterprise of *Ferrara* which he so much desired, and his opiniõ was that that state was able to make no resistance, both for that it was naked of all succors, and because the *Spanish* armie was to ioyne with his companies. He had secretly bought of *Cesar* for the price of thirty thousand duckats, the Citie of *Sienna* for the behoofe of the Duke of *Urbino*, to whom (except *Pesera*) he would neuer giue any thing of the estate Ecclesiastike, to the end to referue to himself the whole glory to haue simply & only studied for the exaltatiõ of the Church: he agreed to lend to *Cesar* fortie thousand duckats receiuing *Modona* in gage: he threatned them of *Lucqua*, who in the heate of the affaires of the Duke of *Ferrara*, were become Lords of *Garsagnana*, making instance that they would deliuer it to him: he was out of conceit with the Cardinall of *Medicis*, for that he thought him to cleaue more to the king Catholike then to him: and because he knew he was not able to dispose of the Citie of *Florence* as he thought, he studied already new plots and new practises to alter that estate: he was ill contented with the Cardinall of *Sion*, from whom he tooke the name of Legat, and enioyned him to come to *Rome*, for that in the Duchie of *Milane* he had appropriate to himselfe a yearly rent of more then thirtie thousand duckats of the estates & goods of diuerse persons. The better to assure the Duke of *Urbino* of *Sienna* by intelligences of his neighbours, he had of new taken into his pay *Charles Bailon*, to chafe out of *Perousa* *John Paule*, who by affinitie was very neare ioynd to the sonnes of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, successours to the greatnesse of their father. He would of new create Duke of *Genes*, *Ottavian Fregosa*, deposing *Ianus* frõ that dignitie: an action whereunto did consent the others of the house of *Fregosa*, because for the degree that his auncestours held in that state, it seemed best to appertaine to him. He studied continually either how he might worke out of *Italie* the *Spanish* armie, or cut it in peeces by the ayde of the *Swissers*, whom aboue all others he exalted & embraced. In this deuise he had this intention, that the kingdome of *Naples* being occupied by him, *Italie* should remaine free frõ straungers, a speech that often passed out of his mouth, & to that end he had hindred that the *Swissers* did not confederate with the king Catholike. And yet, as though it had bin in his power to batter all the world at one time, he continued his accustomed rigour against the French king, and notwithstanding he had heard a message from the Queene, yet he stirred vp to make war, the king of *England*, to whom he had transferred by publike decree of the Councell of *Latra*, the name of *Christianissimo*, whereof there was already a Bull written, and in it likewise was contained the priuation of the dignitie and name of the king of *Fraunce*, giuing his kingdome to who could occupie it. In these conceptions no lesse straunge for their varietie, then great for the importance they drew, and perhaps in other thoughts, more secret & singular, (for in a minde so fierce & terrible, all sortes of imaginations how great and vaine so euer they be, are not incredible) after the continuation of his sicknesse for many dayes, he declined towards death: and feeling the end of his

his mortallitie to hasten on, and the same to prevent the execution of his high thoughtes, he caused to call together the consistorie, which albeit he could not assist in person by reason of his disease, yet by the authoritie of it, he caused to be confirmed the Bull which he had published before against such as by symonie would climbe to the Popedom: He declared that the election of his successor appertained to the Colledge of Cardinals, and not to the Councell: And that the Cardinals schismatikes could haue no presence or community there, to whom he protested there to pardon the iniuries they had done him, & prayed to God to forgieue them the wrongs they had done to his Church. After this he besought the Colledge of Cardinals, that in his fauour and for his sake, they would graunt to the Duke of *Urbino* his Nephew, the Citie of *Pefera* in patronage or Vicarage, alleaging the consideration, that by meane of the Duke it had bene recouered to the Church after the death of *Iohn Sforce*. In no other matter he expressed no priuate or particular affection: in so much as Madame *Felice* his daughter (ioyning with her the petitions of many others) beseeching him with great importunitie, to create Cardinall *Guido de Monsfalcon* being her brother by the mothers side, he answered roundly that he was not worthy of that degree; he made not his affections conformable to their desires: In that last actiō of life he shewed no partialitie in worldly causes: his present debilitie could diminish nothing of his auncient resolution, but expressed in all things the same constancie and seueritie, together with that iudgement and force of mind which he had before his sicknesse: in which firme estate and disposition of spirit, he receiued deuoutly the offices of the Church, and the xxi. day of Februarie he ended his course of these mortall and present paines: he was a Prince of incredible constancie and courage, but so full of furie and vnruled conceptions, that the reuerence that was borne to the Church, the discord of Princes, and the condition of times, did more to stay him from his ruine, then either his moderation or his discretion: worthy no doubt of great glory, if either he had bene a Prince secular, or if that care and intention which he had to raise the Church into temporall greatness by the meane of warre, had bin employed to exalt it by the mediation of peace, in matters spirituall: Neuerthelesse he was lamented aboue all his predecessours, & no lesse esteemed of those, who hauing either lost the true consideration of things, or at least ignorant how to distinguish & paize them rightly, iudged it an office more duely appertaining to Popes, to increase the iurisdiction of the sea Apostolike by armes and bloud of Christians, then by good example of life and due curing and correction of corrupt maners, to trauell for the sauiug of those soules, for whom they glory so much that Iesus Christ hath named them his Vicars in earth.

The *Viceroy* of *Naples* who was marched with his *Spanish* armie towards *Plaisance*, constrained that Citie to returne vnder the gouernement of the Dukes of *Millan*, on whom it depended by auncient tenure. They of *Parma* did the like, hauing the same feare of the *Spanish* souldiers, being followed in all places with more terrour then loue. On the other side the Duke of *Ferrara*, after he had in great speede recouered the townes of *Romagnia*, drew neare to *Reggia*: but finding no stirre nor tumult within the towne, he durst not abide there for feare of the *Spanish* armie, which lay disperfed betweene *Plaisance* and *Reggia*. Touching the estate of the Church, there appeared no other stirre nor mouing, and the Citie of *Rome* nor the Colledge of Cardinals, felt none of those difficulties which they had felt in the death of the two last Popes: so that the obsequies and funerals being ended according to the accustomed maner, foure and twentie Cardinals entred peaceably into the Cōclaue, hauing graūted afore that the Marquis of *Māruaes* son whom Pope *Iulio* kept with him for ostage, should be made free and acquitted of his faith and promise, with libertie to returne to his father. The first matter that was debated in the Conclaue, was with strait articles to moderate the authoritie of the Pope to come, which they sayd the last Pope had vsed too immoderately: and yet, as amongst men some haue not the heart to oppose against a Prince and great Lord, and some desire to enter into his grace and liking: so within small time after, they dissolued and cancelled of themselues the articles which they had made with so great aduise, and to so good purpose. The seuenth day they chose Pope without any discord of consent, the Cardinall of *Medicis*, who tooke vpon him the name of *Leo* the tenth: he bare but xxxvij. yeares of age, which albeit was so much the more maruellous & wonderfull, by how much the election was contrary to custome, yet the young Cardinals were the principall causers of it by their industry, hauing long time afore secretly agreed amongst themselues to create the first Pope of their number. The most parts and nations of Christendome reioyced much at this election,

Creation of
Pope Leo the
tenth.

euery one entertaining an assured expectatiō of his vertues, aswel by the present & greene memorie of the valour of his late father, as for an vniuersall reputation that went of his owne inclinaciōs & liberalities. To this estimation also was ioyned a generall opiniō of his continencie & life not attainted, together with a glad some hope that by the example of his father, he would be a furtherer of learning, & beare fauour to wits disposed to study & knowledge. To these hopes was much helping the maner of the electiō, being made in his person sincerely, & without symonie or suspitiō of other corruption. And it seemed that God began to approue and confirme his seate, for that the fourth day after his electiō, came into his power the Cardinals of *S. Crosse* & *Senerin*, who as soone as they heard of the death of the Pope *Iulio*, went by sea to *Rome* accompanied with the Embassadour of the Frēch king. In their passage they strooke into the hauen of *Lynorno*, where vnderstanding that the Cardinall of *Medici* was chosen Pope, they tooke lād, the one hauing cōfidence in the naturall inclination & clemencie of the Pope, & the other reposing much in the ancient friendship & strait familiarity had with him & with his brother. There they obtained safecōduct of the Capitaine of *Lynorna*, which albeit stretched no further thē the bounds of his iurisdicōiō, yet without seeking other surety, they went vp in that cōfidence to *Pisa*: in which citie they were honorably receiued, & afterwards in no lesse assurāce cōueyed to *Florence*, where they were kept with that easie & fauorable gard, that they had no dispositiō to depart: the same being the desire of the Pope, who sent to them the Bishop of *Ornietto*, to exhort them with wordes gracious and full of affection, that as well for their proper suretie, as for the present tranquillitie of the Church, they would abide at *Florence* vntill the Court had determined in what maner they should come to *Rome*. He willed them also, that whereas they had bene iudicially depriued, and their depriuation cōfirmed in the Councell of *Lattrā*, they should forbear to go in habites of Cardinals, to the end that expressing signes of humiliation, he might take the better occasion to reduce and redresse their affaires according to their desire and his determination. The first act of this new Pope was his Coronation, which was represented according to the vsage of his predecessours in the Church of *S. Iohn de Latran*. The pompe was so great both of his fastulie and his Court, and also of the Prelates and multitudes that were there, together with the popular and vniuersall assemblies of peoples, that by the opinion and iudgement of men, the pride and maiestie of that action did farre surpasse all the celebrations that had bene done in *Rome* since the tyrannies of the *Gothes* and sauage nations. In this solemnitie the *Gonfalone* of the Church was caried by *Alonso d'Este*, who hauing obtained a suspension of his Censures and paines, was come to *Rome*, with great hope that by clemencie and facilitie of the Pope, he should be able to compound for his affaires. The *Gonfalone* of the religion of *Rhodes* was borne by *Iulio de Medici* mounted vpon a stately Courser armed at all points: by his nature he bare an inclination to the profession of armes, but by destinie he was drawen to the life Ecclesiastike, in which estate he may serue as a wonderful example of the variation of fortune. One matter that made the memorie of that day wonderfull, was the consideration, that the person that then in so high and rare pompe was honored with the most supreme and soueraigne dignitie of the world, was the yeare before, and on the very same day, miserably made prisoner: the great magnificence that appeared vpon his person, and his expences, confirmed in the generalitie & multitude of men, the expectation that was had of him, euery one promising that *Rome* should be happy vnder a Pope so plentifully indued with the vertue of liberalitie, wherof that day he had giuen an honorable experience, his expences being aboue an hundred thousand ducats. But wise men desired in him a greater grauitie and moderation: they iudged, that neither such a maiestie of pompe was cōuenient for Popes, neither did the cōditiō of the present time require, that he should so vnprofitably disperse the treasures that had bin gathered by his predecessour to other vses.

Coronation of
the Pope.

Disposition of
Princes to the
warre.

But such was the disposition of Princes to warre, that neither the chaunging of the Pope, nor the presence nor feare of other accidents, were sufficient to establish and assure the tranquillitie of *Italie*: euery one discerned, that things of their proper inclination tended more to warre then to peace: for *Cesar* would heare no more speaking of the rendring of *Verona*, fearing thereby to be depriued of all oportunitie and meane to haue any easie entry into *Italie*. And albeit the truce was prolonged for the full moneth of Aprill, yet he kept no reckening of the conditions of accord that had bene debated at *Millan*: and in that minde being discontented with the instance and importunities of the king Catholikes Embassadours, he stucke not to tell the Count of *Carriato*, that for the inclination he expressed to the *Venetians*, he deserued better to beare the name

of an Embassador of *Venice* then of *Spaine*. But that which much more augmented this disposition, was the truce that was made for a whole yeare betweene the French king and the king Catholike, tending onely to the affaires on the other side the mounts: the oportunitie of which truce gaue to the French king (being now deliuered of the suspitions of *Spaine*) a great facility to renew the warre in the Duchie of *Millan*.

The king Catholike had neuer any disposition to haue warre with the Frenchmen beyond the Mounts, for that being not mightie enough in money and treasure, and therefore depending on the forces and aydes of the Barons & peoples of *Spaine*, either he had no readinesse of succors, or else by his necessities in times of warre, they would hold him with them as it were in subiection: but then principally he stood confirmed in his ancient counsell, for that together with his owne tranquillity and rest, he was so much the more assured of the realme of *Nauarre* newly conquered by him: & withall for that since the death of Queene *Isabel*, his absolute authority ouer *Castille* being embased into a gouernement limited, he had not in troubled seasons so great and firme authority: of this he had seene a late experience in the action of the kingdom of *Nauarre*, wherein albeit he had an end happie and honourable, yet it hapned not by other meane then by the negligence and slownesse of succours. And hauing no more desire to returne to the daungers which he had suffered, and not knowing yet of the Popes death, he agreed to the truce, which neuerthelesse was not published before he had receiued newes of the election of the new Pope. The better to iustifie himselfe of this vnlooked for deliberation, he alleaged that the Pope and the *Venetians* had behaued themselues towards him cleane contrarie to the league: for that since the battell of *Rauesenna* they neuer offered to pay to him the forty thousand duckets as they were bound whilest the French king possessed any thing in *Italy*: That only he had had care of the common benefite of the confederates, and yet had not attributed to himselfe the rewards of the common victorie: That he did not possesse in *Italy* so much as a small tower more then that he had before the warre: But the Pope had had regard to his benefit particular, and made proper to himselfe the things that were common: That he occupied *Parma*, *Plaisance* and *Reggia*, and nourished a continuall studie to possesse *Ferrara*: which couetousnesse of his had bene the onely impediment of the recouering of the Castles in the Duchy of *Millan* and the Lanterne of *Genes*: That touching his part, he had interposed all his diligence and authority to worke the accord betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*, but the Pope for his proper interests, laboured to exclude them out of the league: wherein he said his Embassadors had behaued themselues vndiscreetly, who not consenting (for that they knew such was his intencion) that he was named in the head of the confederation, had suffered him to be expressed in that article wherein euery one named the confederates, of which the *Venetians* were not. Moreouer, that in those negotiations and practises the *Venetians* had not answered the opinion that men had of their wisdom and discretion, holding such an estimation and account of *Vincenza*, that the feare to lose it, hath kept them from deliuering themselues from the trauels of the warre: That it was impossible to him to nourish the armie he had in *Italy* without the payes and contributions that were promised, and much lesse reasonable to sustaine the whole warre vpon the confines of his realmes, a matter which he knew all the residue did desire and procure: That the Pope could no more dissemble his desire and intencion to take from him the kingdom of *Naples*: And yet notwithstanding, neither these present iniuries, nor the consideration of other wrongs could euer moue him to haue a thought to abandon the Church and the other estates of *Italy*, so farre forth as he might find in them reasonable correspondencie to contract and capitulate with him for their common defence: a matter which he hoped they would be moued vnto, the rather by the oportunitie and meane of this truce. He caused to expresse in the instrument of the truce the names of *Cesar* and the king of *England*, notwithstanding he had nothing communicated with them: and therefore it was a thing verie scorneful & ridiculous, that at the same time that the truce was solemnly published through all parts and regions of *Spaine*, a Herald arriued euen in the action from the king of *England*, to signifie to him the strong preparations & furnitures of war which he leauied to inuade *Fraunce*, soliciting that he would likewise enter into the warre against the king on the coasts of *Spaine*, according to the articles and promises reciprocally passed betweene them.

The truce made in this maner, amazed much in *Italy* the minds of such as had any discontentment with the rule or iurisdiction of the Frenchmen, euery one holding it almost for certaine,

that the French king would not be long ere he sent an armie on this side the Mounts: & also that by the obstinacy of *Cesar* touching the cōditions of the peace, the *Venetians* wold ioyne with him, against whom it seemed a very hard matter to be able to resist, for that the Spanish army had now no more meane to be entertained, notwithstanding they had at times drawne some summes of money out of the estate of *Millan*, which stood greatly impouerished with continuall expences. Touching the new Pope, men could not discerne what was his intention: he seemed to wish secretly that the power of the French king should haue his ends and limits within the *Alpes*; & yet being newly ascended to the Popedom, and no lesse confused then the others, for the truce that was made by the king Catholike, in a time when men had greatest expectation that he would apply his thoughts to the warre, he was in great doubt and variation of mind: besides, he was angrie, for that demanding with great instance the restitution of *Parma* & *Plaisance* to the Church, he found a readinesse of hope and promise, but verie slow disposition to execute and performe, all the others desiring to preferue them to the Duchie of *Millan*, and haply hoping that his desire to recouer them, would induce him to the defence of that state. The *Swissers* seemed to be a more certaine and a more mightie defence and succour, but because the summes of mony, which according to the covenants were necessarie to wage and leaue them, could not be aduanced neither by *Maximilian Sforce* nor the residue, there was great feare, that in greatest necessitie that nation would refuse to descend to the rescue of *Millan*.

On the other side, the French king after he had finished the truce, determined to send an armie into *Italy*, the reasons afore recited giuing him great hope of the victorie. To those reasons also he added the propertie of his owne iudgement vpon the people of *Millan*, who, vexed with so many taxes and imposts of the *Swissers*, and no lesse troubled with the harbouring and payes made to the *Spaniards*, he knew had an vniuersall desire to returne eftssoons vnder his obedience: he gathered by generall argument, that hauing now compared the heauie yoke of others with the easie imperie of the French, the seuerity of the one would make the other lesse contemptible: and particularly he vnderstood by many Gentlemen, some relating to himself, and some entertaining intelligence with *Trisulce*, whom the king had sent to *Lyon*, the better to debate with them of *Millan*, that he was not to deferre to send an armie, hauing their promise to take armes and be his as soone as his armie were passed the Mounts. To these furtherances the king wanted no sort of continuall perswasions, as well of *Trisulce*, as of others that were banished, who according to such as be depriued of the libertie of their naturall countrie, omitted no reasons which might make the enterprise seeme easie, speciallie the *Venetians* being brought to ioyne with him in the action. But the matter that enforced the king to make haste, was the confidence he had to preuent with the end of that expedition, the beginning of a warre which the king of *England* meant to make vpon him, which yet he could not begin till after certaine moneths; both for that that kingdome hauing liued many yeares in peace, was vpon the sodaine disurnished of armes & armour, of artilleries, and almost of all other necessarie ablements of warre: and also in great want of horses of seruice, for that to the inhabitants of those regions, the seruice on foot is more familiar, then to make warre on horsebacke: & also the footmen lacking training and experience, the king of *England* was cōstrained for the better strength & abilitie of his armie, to leaue a great number of *Almain* footmē: matters which could not be dispatched without great tract of time. The French king in like sort made more haste to haue his army to march, for that he feared the castles & peeces that held for him wold be lost for want of victuals, but specially the Lanterne of *Genes*, which not many daies before had missed to be relieued with victuals by a ship sent for that effect: which from *Arbinga* being thither accompanied with three ships & one gallion, being entred the maine sea with a good wind, had by a strainable gale passed through the midst of the *Genoways* flecte, & cōming neare the castle of the Lanterne, she cast anker, & throwing yet with good successe her cables to those of the castle: she begā to vnlade her victuals & munitions which she had brought: but euen in the action, and before the desolate soules of the Castles could take the fruit of the benefite which their fortune seemed to offer, *Andrew Doria*, he who afterwards was so notable in marine seruice, thrust in with a great ship, wherof he was owner, betweene the castle of the Lanterne and the French ship, and cutting asunder the cable that was cast to the of the Castle, & the cables that held the ankers, he set vpon the ship with no lesse felicitie then perill, and albejt in the fight he was wounded in the face, yet by his valour he wan and caried away the ship. The king therefore

therefore being determined not to deferre the beginning of the warre, in which respect, and to be readie in all occasions, he had already sent many launces into *Burgundy* and *Dauphine*, he thought good now to hearken with diligence after the matter debated vpon so many moneths with the *Venetians*. They had bene somewhat deferred & protracted aswell by the one as by the other party, both for that sometimes the hope to haue peace with *Cesar*, & sometimes the great instance made by the *Venetians* for *Cremona* and *Guiaadadda*, had holden the king in suspence: and also in the Senate the opinions of Counsellors were diuerse, for that many of great authority in that common weale, preferred the accord with *Cesar*: wherein they shewed that it would be more profitable to discharge themselves for the present of so huge expences, with freedome from daungers, thereby to be the more ready to imbrace the occasions that wold offer, then their common weale being so ouer-wearied and trauelled, & the wealth of priuate men abated, to entangle themselves with new warres in company of the French king, whose amitie how faithfull and assured it was, they were not without a late and greene experience. Neuerthelesse the greater part seeming that rarely an occasion would rise to make them recouer their ancient estate, & that the agreement with *Cesar* (he retaining *Verona*) had not deliuer them from troubles and daungers, they reiected all thoughts and deuises for *Cremona* and *Guiaadadda*, and resolved to make confederation with the French king, in whose Court it was concluded by *Andrew Gritti* representing already more the person and place of an Embassador then of a prisoner. By this confederation, after it was graunted that *Bart. Aluiano* and *Andrew Gritti* should be set at liberty, the *Venetians* were bound to aid the king with eight hundred men at armes, a thousand five hundred light horsmen, and ten thousand footmen, and that against all such as would rise vp to let him for recouering of *Ast*, of *Genes*, and the Duchy of *Millan*. The king for his part was bound to ioyne with them vntill they had recouered all that they possessed in *Lombardy* and the Marquisdome of *Treuisana*, afore the league of *Cambray*. Vpon the resolution of this contract, *John lacques Trimulce* and *Bart. Aluiano* went to *Suso*: the one to go from thence to *Venice* by the more sure way, and the other to assemble there the armie appointed for the warre. It contained vpon the full muster fiftene hundred launces, eight hundred light horsmen, & fiftene thousand footmen, wherof eight thousand were Launceknights, & the residue of the French nation. This armie was committed to the authoritie and guiding of *M. Trimouille*, whom the king appointed his Lieutenant, to the end the action might proceed with more reputation.

In this time the French king made great request to the Pope not to hinder him in recouering his Duchie of *Millan*: and the better to containe the Pope, he offered that he would not onely not passe further after the victorie, but also would alwayes referre himselfe to him to make peace vnder what conditions it should please him best. To which motions albeit the Pope gaue gracious & willing care, and that to draw better faith to his words, he vsed to sollicite with the king by the meane and labour of *Iulian* his brother, yet many things made him suspected with the king: first the memorie of things done afore the time of his Papacie: then since he was Pope, how he had sent to him *Cinthio* his familiar and fauorite with letters & very friendly commissions, but so generall as they well declared the litle inclination of mind he bare to him or his affaires: also for that he had consented that *Prosper. Colonne* should be elected Captaine generall ouer the Duchy of *Millan*: a matter which his predecessor had alwayes hindered for the hatred he bare to the family of *Colonne*: he entred also into greater doubt by a signification which the Pope addressed to the king of *England* to continue still in the confederation made with *Cesar*, with the king Catholike & him: lastly, he wrote to the communalities of the *Swissers*, exhorting them almost to the defence of *Italie*, wherein he could not dissemble that he wold continue with them the confederation made by his predecessour, by the which they were bound to the defence of the estate Ecclesiasticke, receiuing of him a yearly pension of twentie thousand duckets: it was also a signe of his will and intention, that he had not receiued into grace the Duke of *Ferrara*, but by manie excuses deferred to render to him *Reggia* vntill his brother the Cardinall came to *Rome*, who to auoyde the persecutions of Pope *Iulio*, was withdrawne into the countrey of *Hungaria*, and liued vpon his Bishopricke of *Agria*. But the matter that aboue all other things made the king enter into suspicion against the Pope, was, that he had in great secrecie counselled the state of *Venice* to come to accord with *Cesar*: a matter cleane contrarie to the intention of the king: who also had interpreted in ill part, that the Pope declaring that he moued not for other

Desire of Pope
Leo to chase the
French out of
Italy.

respect then to satisfie his soueraigne dutie, had written vnto him in a kind exhorting, not to take armes, but rather to expresse a disposition to finish the warre with some honourable composition: a matter which the king would not haue blamed, if for the same desire to peace he had also declared to the king of *England*, that he ought not to make warre vpon the French king. Sure this suspicion of the king was not without cause, for that the Pope desired that the French might be cut off from all seate and habitation in *Italy*, either for that he thought it more profitable for the common suretie, or for the greatnesse and aduancement of the Church: or at least that he kept still fixed in his mind the remembrance of harmes receiued by the Crowne of *Fraunce*, whereunto albeit his father and other his predecessours had borne no litle affection, and in sundrie accidents had reaped many honours and profites; yet it was an iniurie fresh in memorie, that his brethren and he had bene expelled *Florence* by the comming of king *Charles*: and that the king reigning bearing fauour to the popular gouernement, had either alwayes rejected them, or if at any time he shewed inclination to them, it was to vse them as instruments to draw the *Florentines* by that suspicion to couenants of more aduantage for himselfe, without bearing respect or care to them. To this perhaps was much helping, a disdain that he was led prisoner to *Millan* after the battell of *Rauenna*; and by the kings commaundement should haue bene caried in that calamitie into *Fraunce*. But whatsoeuer was the disposition of the Pope, or howsoeuer his coniecture was caried for these or other causes, he proceeded aduisedly, and dissembled as much as he could his intention, for that both he saw he had not so strong foundations to resist, as he wished, and also he gaue eare dayly with great affection to the demands and complaints made against the king: for the *Swissers* bearing an vniuersall inclination to stirre and rise for the defence of the Duchy of *Millan*, offered to enter into the action with a farre greater number then before, so farre forth as they were furnished in prest with a certaine summe of money, which for the pouertie and weakenesse of others, could not be hoped for otherwise then of the Pope. Touching the *Viceroy*, his counsels were vncertaine, and his speeches seuerall and suttie, for that sometimes he offered the Pope to oppose against the Frenchmen, not sparing to enter openly into the cause, by sending his bands of souldiers to ioyne with him, and waging for three moneths a great number of footmen, and the rather to accompanie his doings with faith and credite, he caused to be retired his souldiers from the townes of *Parma* and *Reggia*, and lay incamped with his armie vpon the riuer of *Trebia*, leauing notwithstanding certaine bands of his souldiers for the gard of *Tortona* and *Alexandria*, such as had not stirred from thence: sometimes also he did assure that he had receiued commaundement from his king, and that at the same time that he wrote to him of the truce, to leade backe the armie to the kingdome of *Naples*. But *Ierome Vich* Embassador resident with the Pope, vsed other speeches, and yet he agreed with him in this, that his king promised, so farre forth as the Pope would take vpon him the defence of *Millan*, to begin the warre in *Fraunce*, without bearing respect to the truce that had bene made: a libertie which he said he might lawfully take without making violation of his faith promised. Therefore it was beleued of many, that the king Catholike, fearing that by the truce that had bene made not one would appeare to oppose against the French king, had commaunded the *Viceroy*, that if he saw none would proceed roundly to the defence of the Duchy of *Millan*; that he should not seeke to prouoke the French king by new iniuries, but should retire his armie to *Naples*: for which cause also he shewed to the king a contentment to hearken to the peace, offering withall to bring in *Cesar* and the king of *England*. And to make him the more tractable if he should recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, he made almost an assured promise; that his armie should beno impediment to him: so that the *Viceroy* who was determined to go his way, reuoked the souldiers that were vnder the Marquis of *Pesquero* in *Alexandria* and *Tortona*, & at the same time, as was said, did communicate his resolution to *Triunice*, to the end his departing might be more acceptable to the French king: neuerthelesse he did not execute so speedily his deuise, for that the *Swissers* very desirous to defend the Duchie of *Millan*, had sent thither by common consent fve thousand footmen, and giuen hope to supplie the seruice with a greater number: but making demonstration of the contrarie, he sent *Prosper Colonnato* debate with the *Swissers* of the place where they should assemble against the French, either that he had receiued aduertisement that the truce was discontenting to *Cesar*, or else that he was enioyned by new commissions fro his king to follow the will of the Pope, who persecuted

still in the same perplexities, suffering a conflict betweene his small hope and his proper inclination: and yet notwithstanding the *Swissers* being come vpon the territories of *Tortona*, where *Prosper* had signified to them that the *Viceroy* would come and ioyne with them, interposing many excuses, he labored then to come vpo the lands of *Trebia* to ioyne with him. By which manner of solicitation, they finding a diuersity betweene his will and his words, made this braue answer, that the *Viceroy* made no such demand to the end to go looke the enemies in the face, but to turne their backs with greater surety: they sayd they cared not whether he feared to fight with the Frenchmen or not, neither did it import them, whether he went away, or whether he tarried still, whether he followed, or whether he fled, for that their valour onely did suffice to defend the Duchy of *Millan* against all enemies.

But now was all the countrey in amuciny, and the *Count Mussocke* son to *Iohn Iacques* was got into *Alexandria* without any impediment, & after into *Alexandria*, all those bands of Frenchmen which were parted from *Susa*, marching with great diligence. The Duke of *Millan* who was come somewhat too late to enter *Alexandria*, ioyned himselfe to the *Swissers* neare *Tortona*, and they being made to vnderstand by the *Viceroy* that he was determined to go his way, retired to *Nonaro*. Of all voluble things there is nothing more light then report, & in times of mutation nothing lesse assured then the minds of people popular or commons, whom euery new occasion can carry and leade contrary to all reason and confidence (that feare and ficklenesse which they haue by nature being not able to be assured by any order or discretion:) for the inhabitants of *Millan* at the first brute of the departing of the *Viceroy*, sent Embassadors to their Duke at *Nonaro* to excuse them, if hauing no ability nor meane of defence, they compounded with the Frenchmen, to the end to auoide the extreame calamity. He was tractable according to the condition of his present fortune, and with a mind humbled with the consideration of his miseries that were towards, he accepted willingly their excuse, recommending to them with words of great affection and zeale to haue a charitable care ouer the safety of the common countrey. Vpon this occasion *Sacromoro Viscount* to whom was appointed the besieging of the Castle of *Millan*, turned to the French, and reuictualled the Castell which he was sent to batter and beate. The *Viceroy* brake vp from *Trebia* with all his armie, which was twelue hundred men at armes and eight thousand footemen, to returne to the kingdome of *Naples*, as though the affaires of *Lombardy* had bene desperate: a reason only wherein he sought to saue his armie: but receiuing the same day in the way betweene *Plaisance* and *Florenzola* letters from *Rome*, he caused immediatly the Ensignes to march backe againe, returning to the same lodging from whence he was departed: the cause was, that the Pope, to whom almost at the same time were rendred *Plaisance* and *Parma*, determining to proue if the Duchy of *Millan* might be defended by the force of the *Swissers*, gaue very secretly to *Ierome Moron* the Dukes Embassador remayning in his Court, forty two thousand ducats to send to the *Swissers*: but with this charge, that if the matter came to the knowledge of others, he should giue out, that twenty thousand of them were vpon the accompt of their pensions, and the other twentie two thousand to satisfie a pretended due to the three Cantons by his predecessor, but alwayes refused to be payed by him. This returning of the *Viceroy* with his army, together with a brute of the descending of new companies of the *Swissers*, made the *Millanois* eisthones. sorie for their sudden reuolting, and in that confusion betweene a new hope and their old feare, they gaue tokens to *Maximilian Sforce* their Duke, that they would be readie to returne to his obedience, whensoever they saw the *Swissers* and the Spanish armie ioyne together in the field. And the more to nourish them in these hopes, the *Viceroy*, with whom was *Prosper Colonne*, prepared to plant a bridge vpon *Paw*, promising from time to time to passe ouer, but neuer did put it in effect, for that hauing a speciall care to saue his armie, he determined to proceede according as things fell out: he held it very dangerous to haue the Frenchmen in his face, and the *Venetian* army at his backe, who hauing already taken the City of *Cremona*, and cast downe the bridge into the bottoome of *Paw*, were not farre from him. By this was *Bartl. Aluiano* gone from *Susa* to *Venice*: where after he had in open Councell without any contradiction, cast vpon the Count *Petillano* the fault of the ouerthrow of *Guiana*: he spake very proudly of the present warre, and by the Senate was chosen Capitaine general of their army, with the same conditions vnder the which the Count *Petillano* had bene preferred to the same degree. This estate and election happened to him much about the same time.

The Frenchmen in the Duchy of Millan.

The Pope sent money to the Swissers.

Bartl. Aluiano Capitaine general of the Venetians.

that foure yeares before he fell into the power of the enemies: so often doth fortune laugh at the ignorance of mortall men, deuising in their vaine fancies what shall happen vnto them. As soone as he was chosen Generall, he went to the army that was mustering at *S. Bonifacio* vpon the demaines of *Verona*, *Theodore Trinulce* was with him as Lieutenant to the French king, with whom he drew neare in great diligence to the gates of *Verona* the selfe same day that the French armie parted from *Susa*: the reason of this expedition was, that in that City certaine factions had conspired to receiue him in: but the day after, a strength of fife hundred Launceknights entred the towne by the riuer of *Adice*, by which impediment together with the detection of the conspiracy, *Aluiano* loosing all hope to preuaile, determined, contrary to the authority of the *Venetian* assistant, to draw towards the riuer of *Paw*, either to stoppe the *Spaniards*, or else according to the state and behauour of things, to ioyne with the French armie: a resolution which he did not imparte to the Senate, vntill he was gone from *Verona* one daye, for that notwithstanding he alleaged, that the whole depended vpon that which should succede in the Duchy of *Millan*, and that there the affaires of the Frenchmen being in ill condition, whatsoeuer should be attempted or obtained in any other place would be but vaine and not durable, and therefore it was necessary by all possible meanes, to helpe to make the French king victorious: yet he feared (and not without cause) that the Senate would be against it; not so much for the desire he had that there should be first a care to recouer *Verona* and *Bressia*, as for that certaine other of the Captaines allowed not that they should passe the riuer of *Mincia*, vntill they had first a more particular knowledge of the proceedings of the French: wherein they shewed, in case of any inconuenience, how hard it would be to retire in safety, hauing to passe by the confines of *Verona* and *Mantua*, countries either subiected, or at the deuotion of *Cesar*. *Valeggia* and the towne of *Pesquero*, fearing the threatens of *Aluiano*, yeelded themselves to him, by whose example also the Castel-keeper gaue vp the Rocke; his feare being greater then that any hope could assure him: onely he receiued by composition a small summe of money aswell for himselfe, as also to be shared amongst certaine Launceknights that were within it. About the same time certaine of the chieftaines of the Mountaine, entred into *Bressia* in fauour of the *Venetians* with a great strength of peasantes: and yet *Aluiano*, neither for the requests of the *Bressian* Embassadors which came to him to *Gambaro*, nor at the desire of the *Venetian* Assistant, could not be brought to consent to go thither and remaine there onely one day, to recouer the Castle that was kept in the name of the *Viceroy*, so great was his desire to follow without intermission his first deliberation. With which celerity being come to the gates of *Cremona*, he found that at the same time *Galeas Paluiofin* (called by certaine of *Cremona*) was entred in fauour of the French king: but hauing in him no lesse ambition then valour, and not liking that any other should participate with him in the glory of that action, he brake and put to pray his bands of souldiers, and entring the towne, he stripped *Cesar Fieramosqua* that was left there in garrison with three hundred horse and fife hundred footemen of the Duke of *Millans*. He had not to lose time to recouer the Castle, for that it had bene alwayes holden by the French king, and newly reuictualled a litle before by *Ranfe de Cere*: who as he returned to *Crema* where he was appointed gouernour, he brake a troupe of two hundred horsemen of *Alexander Sforce*, which he encountred at *Serzana*. From thence *Aluiano* encamping at the channell vpon *Paw* with the bridge made to passe ouer, he could not let his souldiers to do insolencies sometimes vpon the lands of the Pope, his discipline not being able to conaine the men, who had as great custome in spoyling as in well seruing. Afterwards he marched to *Pesqueton*, hauing already for the mutation of *Cremona*, *Soncino*, *Lody*, and other places there aboutes, aduanced the French Ensignes. But afore, as soone as he had recouered *Cremona*, he had sent to *Bressia*, *Ranfe de Cere* with one parte of the men of warre, both to assure that Citie, and to recouer the Castell, but much more to hinder the good successe of the *Almains*: for that almost as soone as he was broken vp from before *Cremona*, *Rocand* Captaine of the Launceknights, and *Feder Gonsago de Boffolo* issuing out of *Verona* with fixe hundred horse and two thousand footemen, were gone to *S. Bonifacio*, where *Aluiano* had left vnder *Sigismond Canallo* and *John Fortin*, three hundred light horsemen and fixe hundred footemen: and they being scattered in the countrey without all discipline and order, hearing of the comming of the enemies, were fled to *Colorno*, where the Launceknights following

Aluiano, taketh *Pesquero* and other places.

them in chase, entred the towne by force, and committing all the souldiers to the calamity of prisoners, they sackt and burnt the towne. Afterwards their furie redoubling with their fortune, they executed the like cruelty vpon *Soano*, and brake downe the bridge which the *Venetians* had made ouer *Adice*: yea they had with the same rigour occupied *Vincenza*, if a great strength of peasants had not suddenly entred: which maner of actions in that kind of cruelty were so much the more feared, by how much the brute ranne, that there came to *Verona* new supplies of footemen out of *Tirol*.

About this time the French Nauie contayning nine light gallies and certaine other vessels, *Genes at the* drew neare to *Genes* by sea: and *Antbo.* and *Ierome* brethren of the house of *Adorna*, appro- *denotion of the* ched by land with the fauour of those of the riuers that held their faction, with other bands of *French* souldiers that had bene leauyed with the kings money. This action was aduanced with the benefit of a great occasion, by reason of a discord hapned a litle before betweene the *Fiesquols* and the Duke of *Genes*, with whom they were at first confederate against the family of the *Adornes*. This was the manner of the accident: either for some quarrell that hapned by chaunce, or for some suspicion that could not be tempered, *Ierome* the son of *Iohn Louis Fiesqua*, comming out of the common pallace, was slaine by *Lodowike* and *Fregosin*, the Dukes brothers: for which iniurie, the violence being greater then their ability to reuenge, *Othobon* and *Simbald* his brethren, retiring to their Castels, and a litle after contracting with the French king, and conspiring with the *Adornes*, approached neare to *Genes* by another way with foure thousand footemen. The Duke was not mighty enough of himselfe to make resistance against both the families of *Fiesqua* and *Adorna* ioyned together, and by the celerity and diligence of his aduersaries, the succours which he had demanded of the *Viceroy*, could not ariue in time. And as one aduersity draweth on another, and no euill comes vnaccompanied, so the thing that in this condition of fortune, did wholly embase him, was, that a thousand of his footemen, who were possessed of the mountaines neare the towne, were ouerthrowne, their weakenesse being not able to resist the calamity that his destiny did hasten on. In which aduersity or persecution of fortune, the Duke together with *Fregosin*, hauing scarce leisure to saue his owne life, fled away by sea, leauing *Lodowike* his other brother to gard the Castell. In which oportunity the victors entred *Genes*, where the bretheren of the family of *Fiesqua* caried with furious desires of reuenge, mured and cruelly caused to be drawne at a horse taile, *Zachary* the Dukes brother, who had bene taken in the encounter vpon the mountaines, and was present with the others at the slaughter of their brother: and so *Genes* being reduced to the deuotion of the French king, *Antonio Adorna* was created gouernour in the name of the king, and as the French Nauie by sea, reuietualled the Lanterne, and afterwards sacked *Specia*, and then roade at *Pertouenere*: so there now remained no more but *Nouaro* and *Coma*, to make perfect the kings conquest; and recouering of all those estates which he had lost the yeare before: onely those two Cities through the whole Duchy of *Millan*, held out yet for *Maximilian Sforce*.

But the glory of this warre was referued to the great infamie of all others, not to the French *Nouaro be-* men, not to the *Almaine* footemen, not to the Spanish regiments, nor to the *Venetian* bands: but *sieged by the* it was an honour, a reputation, a renowne, and perpetuall praise prepared by destiny for the *French* *Swissers* only, against whom the French army, hauing first left sufficient garrison within *Alexandria*, the better to assure those peeces that were beyond *Paw*, drew neare to *Nouaro*, brauing in great arrogancy of so many happy successes, boasting of the enemies whom they had inclosed within the wals, & contemning the manifest feare of the *Spaniards*. Besides, there seemed to present to the memory of men, as it were an image and representation of things that had bene passed: That that was the same *Nouaro* wherein *Lodowike Sforce* father to the Duke raigning, was made prisoner: That in the French campe were the same leaders, *Trimouille*, and *Trunlce*: yea certaine of the same Ensignes and Captaines of those Cantons, which in another war had sold the father, did now accompany the son in this warre: This made *Monsieur Trimouille* write proudly to the King, that he would send him prisoner, the son from the same place where he had deliuered into captiuitie the father: The Frenchmen did violent executions vpon the wals of *Nouaro* with their artillery, but in a place of no lesse difficulty then danger to discend into the towne. And for the *Swissers*, they contemned them so much, and shewed to haue so little feare of their valours, that they would neuer suffer to be shut that gate of the towne that was towards

The words of
Captaine Mo-
sin to the Swis-
sers.

the campe. After the artillery had beaten downe to the earth, a sufficient space of the wall, the army without prepared furiously to the assault, but finding so valiant resistance within, and vnderstanding they did presently expect *Altosasso* a Captaine of great renowne with a farre greater supply, they doubted of the successe of the enterprise, which made them the day following to retire from the wals of *Nouaro* two miles, hoping afterwards to cary the victory more by the disorders and wants of the enemies, then by fortune or the furie of their armes. They hoped to do more by temporising then by present action, & looked that other accidents would make easie the enterprise which was almost desperate to their valour. But these hopes were made vaine by the resolute mind of *Motin* one of the *Swissers* Captaines, who calling together all the bands of soldiers vpon the market place of *Nouaro*, encouraged them with words full of resolution, and assurance, that without rarying for the succours of *Altosasso*, who was to arriue the day following, they should issue out and set vpon their enemies in their campe: he told them how farre it was necessary to their honour, and reputation of their valour, to suffer the glory and victory which they might appropriate to themselves, to become common, or rather wholly transferred to another: seeing (saith he) that as things that follow draw with them such as go afore, and the increasing of any thing couereth the part that is augmented, so the merit and praise of this figure would not be cast vpon vs, but vpon the supplies that came after: By how much the enterprise may seeme hard and perillous, by so much the issue is to be considered more easie and sure, for that the more sudden and v unexpected are accidents, the more do they terrifie and amaze the men that suffer them. The Frenchmen will rather doubt all other things at this hower then to be charged by vs, and yet where they lye incamped, they cannot but suffer disorder, the place being neither intrenched nor fortified. The Frenchmen were neuer wont to haue the courage to go to battell if their armies were not full of our men; and though of late they haue aduentured to fight without vs, yet they were neuer so hardie once to lift vp their weapons against vs: so that it cannot but bring to them great astonishment when they see them charged vpon the sudden, aboue expectation, in a time of their feare, and by those bodies whose vertue and resolution were wont to encourage and assure them. Stand not amazed with the multitude of their horsemen, nor the fury of their artillery, since we haue had many experiences, what confidence they repose in those things against vs: it is but two yeares sithens *Gaston de Foix* so braue a Captaine; notwithstanding he was strong in multitudes of launces and cannons, gaue place to our armes and suffered vs to passe by him along the plaines euen to the gates of *Millan*, and yet we were not otherwise armed then with pikes. They haue now with them many bands and companies of Launceknights, a matter that doth so much the more encourage me to the enterprise, by how much fortune doth offer vs at one time an occasion both to shew to him who with so great couetousnesse and with so great ingratitude hath contemned our trauels and our bloud, that he neuer made a worse resolution, either for the honour of himselfe, or profit of his Realme: and also to declare to those that thinke that the employment and seruice of their persons, is sufficient to make vs perish of hunger, that the Launceknights are not equall to the *Swissers*; and albeit they beare with vs one language and forme of discipline, yet they haue neither the same valour nor the same resolution: the praise they beare for seruice is lesse by their proper merite, then for their naturall vertue, more by the name of their nation and auncelors, then by any experience of their owne bodies, nor so much in deede and substance, as in report and opinion, not equall to the shew they make, and farre inferior to the vniuersall coniecture, yea they are but shadowes whose bodies be farre off: all the perill is to winne their artillery, and yet in the action you haue these comfortes, that it is not planted in a place fortified, that our inuasion is sudden, and to the enterprise beareth a speciall fauour the darkenesse of the night: and whilest we are at the fight, there can damage vs but a very small space of time, which yet cannot but be cut off with the tumult, with their disorders, with their feares, and with the sudden confusion of things. Touching the residue, this brings facility to the action, that neither their horsemen dare venture vpon our pikes, nor their vile troups of French footmen and *Gascons*, will enter the skirmish with vs. This is the counsell, this is the plot, and this is the enterprise, wherein we shall make no lesse prooffe of our wisdomes and gouernement, then of our valour and resolution. Our nation beareth that reputation and fame, that the glory of our name cannot be preferred, but by attempting some matter beyond the expectation

expectation and common vsage of all men: And since we are vpon the territories of *Nouaro*, the place it selfe speakes to vs, that in other sort we can not quench the auncient infamie we got here in the pay and seruice of *Lodowike Sforce*: It is a double honour to be reuenged of infamie: It is a vile infirmitie in a man of warre, to suffer the reparation of honour to be more slow then the infamie, and to refuse to recouer the reputation lost, is to be guiltie of the flaunder and to confirme it; a disposition most base in the minde of a souldier, who of all other sortes of men ought to be most icalous of his honor. Let vs go on then in the name of the great God, the persecuter of schismatikes, excommunicants, & all enemies to his name: Let vs march on to a victorie no lesse easie, then assured, if we haue not mindes to feare the thing we haue not proued: And by how much the danger seemeth great, by so much shall our name be made glorious, and the greater our enemies be in number, the more shall we be enriched by their spoyle: Things got with most difficultie are of most merite, and where is hope of honour, pray, and perpetuall prayse, what can be wanting to prouoke such as you are to the fight?

At these speeches of *Motin* all the bands of souldiers began to reioyce, euery one approuing his deuise by holding vp his hand: he commaunded them to go to rest, and to cherish somewhat their persons, the better to fall into array when the drum should strike. The nation of *Swissers* neuer made a more brave, nor more resolute counsell, being but a few in number, without horsmen, and without artilleries, against an armie most mightie in men, munitions, horses, & all other things meete for defence. Besides, they stood not desperate for any necessitie, for that both *Nouaro* was deliuered from daunger, and they expected the day after a great strength of souldiers: They made rather a choise of this way wherein the suretie was lesse, and the hope of glory greater, then any other, that for a greater safetie there might happen to them a lesse glory. The sixth day of Iune about midnight they issued out of *Nouaro*, bearing mindes lesse affected to safetie then to glory: their whole strength was about ten thousand men, who were so distributed and disposed, that seuen thousand were appointed to charge the artillery which was garded by the Launceknights, the residue were to be bestowed with their pikes an end vpright ouer against the men at armes. The Frenchmen, what for the shortnesse of the time, or that they doubted no such accident, or at least looked not for it so soone, had made no fortification of their campe: and albeit at the first tumult and alarme that their sentinell made of the comming of the enemies, the suddennesse of the aduecture, and the darknesse of the night, brought vpon them a great feare and confusion: yet both the men at armes drew forth with into strength, and presented themselves in battel-ray, and also the Launceknights who were followed with the other bands of footemen, fell presently into order. The artillerie shot off with great noyse against those squadrons of *Swissers* that came to assaile it, making lamentable slaughters, and deuiding their places and rankes, which was rather discerned by the cryings of men, then by the benefite of the eyes, the vse whereof was taken away by the darknesse of the night. Neuerthelesse, such was their desperate resolution, that neither respecting their death present, nor discouraged with the slaughter of their fellows lying at their feet, and for all these daungers not once breaking their order, they ranne as fast as they could vpon the artillerie: and being come to it, the Launceknights and they had together a bloody medly, the one fighting against the other with an vnappeasable furie, which in them both was so much the more redoubled, by how much in the one was infinite the humour of hate, and in the other no lesse resolute the desire of glory. There might haue bene scene (for now the sunne began to shew) the estate and diuersitie of the fight, sometimes one side to yeeld, sometimes the other: oftentimes that part to seeme to preuaile which earst was thought to haue the worst, on one side, and in one time the one bartell to sway, and the other to aduaunce, some to expect aduantage, some to lose no oportunitie, one part to inuade furiously, and another part to resist hardly, all things on all parts full of dead bodies, wounded men, and of blood: sometimes the Captaines would valiantly enter into the office of souldiers, both striking their enemies and defending themselves, and sometimes they would discretely manage the place of Captaines, encouraging, prouiding, succouring, relieuing, and commaunding: there was nothing lesse feared then death, nor any thing more obliuied the feare: the greatnesse of the perill made both sides more resolute then any other thing. On the other side the troupes of men at armes stood firme without doing any seruice, for neither the horrible, the perswasions, the commaundements, the exclamations, the threatnings, nor the example of *Triunice* and *Trimouille*, could do any thing to moue the horsmen, whose mindes

*The French
defeated by the
Swissers.*

were already made timorous : neither the consideration of their owne perill ; (which their cowardise made the greater) nor the calamities of their fellowes (which were redoubled by the feare they shewed) could once draw them to the charge : they seemed to stand and abide the daunger which by fighting they might haue auoided : it sufficed the *Swissers* to keepe them impaled in their ranks , and to let them from ministering succours to the footemen : such was the calamitie of that fight , that those found most certaintie of perill who ventured furthest for their safetie, and on such whose feare was greater then their valour, fortune threw most fauour and securitie. At last in so great a hardinesse and valour of such as fought, the vertue of the *Swissers* carried the battell, who hauing wonne the artilleries, turned them vpon their enemies , whom they put to flight aswell by that meane as by their incredible vertue. To the flying of the footemen was ioyned the breaking and running away of the men at armes , who in that seruice shewed no vertue, nor did any thing worthy of merite or prayse: onely the Lord *Robert la March* came with a vehement affection of a father, entred the battell of the *Swissers* with a squadron of horsemen, to rescue *Florango* and *Iames* his sonnes, Captaines of *Almaine* footmen, who lying sore wounded on the earth, his valour to the great wonder of the *Swissers* , drew them a huc out of that daunger. The battell continued about two houres, both parties receiuing no small discomforture. There was slaine of the *Swissers* about fiftene hūdred bodies, of which number was that Captaine *Morin* that was the first mouer of that glorious counsell : his deathes wound was by a thrust of a pike through the throat: but farre greater was the slaughter of the enemies , of whom some say were left dead ten thousand carkasses : the most part of the Launceknights dyed in fighting , and the greatest execution and slaughter on the French and *Gascon* footmen, was in flying: almost all the horsemen went away in safetie, the chase being so swift that the *Swissers* were not able to follow them: if the *Swissers* had had horsemen , they had made their calamitie equall with the footemen, their feare being greater and their disorder nothing inferiour : all the baggage and stuffe became a pray to the Victors, with two and twentie peeces of great artillerie, & all the horses assigned for the seruice of the same. The same day the *Swissers* returned into *Nonaro* almost triumphantly, but with such reputation and renowme throughout the world , that what with the consideration of the magnanimitie of their enterprise, the euident reiecting and despising of death , the resolution they shewed in the fight, and the happy and honourable victorie of the same, there were some that durst preferre this action, almost afore all the enterprises worthy of memorie which we reade set downe vpon the *Greekes & Romans*. The Frenchmen fled into *Piedmont* , from whence *Trinulle* lost time to cry after them, their feare being swifter in flying then his force able to follow them.

Vpon the report of this victorie, *Millean* with all the other places that were declared for the French, humbled themselves and sent to demanda pardon, which accordingly was graunted to them vpon bonds & conditions to disburse a great portion of money . The inhabitants of *Millean* were taxed at two hundred thousand duckats , and euery particular of the others rated according to his behaviour: the whole taxation was giuen to the *Swissers*, to whom ought iustly to be transferred, aswell the gaine as the glorie of the victorie , got with their valour and with their blood. And as men whose felicitie made them to account it to good equity to draw all the fruite they could, they entred afterwards into the Marquisdome of *Montferrat* and *Piedmont*, countreys which they charged to haue receiued the French army: there, partly by pillage, & partly by ransoming the poore peoples, they raised a great gaine, forbearing notwithstanding to touch either the life or honor of persons. The *Spaniards* also were not altogether deprived of the profits of the victory, for that *Ianus* lastly chased out of *Genes*, & *Othaniā Fregosō* (both which aspired to be Duke) being retired to the *Viceroy* after the battell; the *Viceroy* perfering *Othaniā*, for who the Pope did what he could in regard of their auncient amitie, & withall receiuing his promise to pay him fiftie thousand duckats when he should be possessed of *Genes*, he deliuered him three thousand footmē vnder the Marquis of *Pesquero*, & for his own part, went with the residue of the army to *Chiesteggio*, making semblance to passe further if need required. As the Marquis & *Othanian* drew neare to *Genes*, the brethrē of the familie of *Adorno*, knowing their owne weakenesse, abandoned the towne without any triall of resistance: and immediatly entred *Othanian* and was created Duke of that Citie, which in the course of a yeare had for gouernours the Frenchmen, *Ianus Fregosō*, the *Adorney*, and *Othanian*. *Bartlemew Aluiano* hearing of the overthrow giuen to the French armie, and fearing least he should be also put to the chase by the *Spa-*

miards, retired with speed to *Pontuquo*, leauing in the way (for loosing of time) certaine peeces of artillerie, whose inconueniencie and slownesse of cariage might haue bin an impediment to the expeditiō of his marching: frō thēce he sent *Ranse de Cere* vnto *Crema*, & after he had abandoned *Bressia* he went to *Tomba* neare to *Adice*, neuer reposing in any place longer then the necessitie to refresh his men and horses did constraîne him. The reason of his abandoning *Bressia* and disposing *Ranse de Cere* in *Crema*, was, for that he held it a matter very vnprofitable to diminish the armie, wherein were remaining fixe hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and fīue thousand footmen: he marched with the same celeritie that he retired to *Pontuquo*, & had so great feare and disfaour of the countrey, that the least companies that had followed them, might haue sufficed to haue disordered & broken them. When he saw that both feare & perill ceased, since no man followed him, he stayed at *Tomba*, where he gaue order to be conueyed to *Padoa* & to *Tre- uis*, the greatest prouisiō of victuals that he could draw frō the territories of *Verona*. And at the same time he sent to *Legnague* with lx. men at armes, & twelue hundred footmen, *Iohn P. Baillō*, who, being immediatly receiued by the inhabitants of the towne where was no garrison, gaue assault to the rocke which was garded by a hundred & fiftie footmen, part *Spanish*, & part *Launce- knights*: he first did execution vpon it with the artillerie, battering that place that had his prospect towards the greene. In this assault it may be a questtion which had more forcē, valour or fortune, for that during the fight, the fire by aduēture fastning vpon the munitiōs, by meane of certaine instruments of artificiall fiers throwen by those that were without, part of the rocke was burned: in which tumult the footmen that gaue the assault being entred some at the breach, & some by ladders, killed and tooke prisoners so many as they found within, their Captaine that was a *Spaniard* falling with much ado into the fortune of a prisoner. After the enterprise of *Legnague*, *Aluiano* caused to build a bridge vpo *Adice*, & afterwards certaine inhabitants of *Verona* giuing him hope that they would mutine against the *Almaines*, he wēt to incampe at the village of *S. Iohn* a quarter of a myle frō *Verona*: & frō thēce the morning following drawing neare to the gate called *S. Massimo*, he planted his artilleries with great furie against the tower of the gate and the wall ioyning to it, expecting in the meane while if there would rise any tumult in the towne: and after he had brought down to the earth about fortie fadome of the wal, besides the tower, whose fall was such, that the ruines serued for a very strōg rāpier to the gate, he gaue a very hot & furious assault. But there were within *Verona* three hundred horsemen & three thousand *Launceknights* vnder *Rocandolph* a Captaine much esteemed, by whō was made a valiant defence: besides, the breach was very high on the townes side, which made the descending vneasie; & lastly they of *Verona* stirred not according to the hopes that were giue: so that *Aluiano* seeing what difficulties resisted his victorie, retired his footemen from the wals, & began also to withdraw the artillerie: when changing counsell in a moment, & as was supposed, by a certaine message which he receiued frō the towne, he returned immediatly his footemen to the wals, and recontinued the assault with a greater furie then before: but he found the former difficulties redoubled, and the faction that had called him, so terrified and wearied, that hauing lost at the assault more then two hundred of his people, of whom *Tho. Fabro* of *Rauenna* Marshall of his footmen was one, he began to dispaire wholly of the victory, & retiring with great diligēce his artillerie, he returned the same day to the lodging frō whence he was departed the morning. That day he was nothing esteemed, either for his counsell or for the issue of the same, only his celeritie was renoumed throughout *Italy*, for that in one day he had done that, which hardly other captaines are wōt to do in three or foure. After all this he gaue the spoile to the cōtrei, prouing by that feare to cōstraine the inhabitants of *Verona* to come to some accord: but by this did the *Spanish* army march & come on, for that the *Viceroy* after he heard of the losse of *Legnague*, fearing least by the ill disposition of the townesmen, *Verona* would set opē her gates to the *Venetians*, determined to giue present succours to the actiōs of *Cesar*: wherein he had now no impedimēt, nor was not retained since the affaires of *Genes* had happily succeeded. Therefore after he had passed without difficultie the riuier of *Paw* at *Stradella*, & that the cities of *Bergama* and *Bressia* were rendred to him without resistance, together with the towne of *Pesquiera*, he encāped before the castell that was māned with two hūdrēd & fiftie foot- mē. This peece, notwithstanding by cōmō opiniō might haue holden out yet certaine dayes, came by force into his power, the *Venetian* ruler being made prisoner & al the residue of the footemē that were not slaine at the assault: for that the *Spaniards* approached, *Aluiano* retired to *Albero* to the

other side of *Adice*, & called to refurbish his armie, such numbers as he could, not onely certaine bands of footemen which were at *Polisena Romagna*, but also euen those regiments whom he had left within *Legnagno*. A little after the Launceknights ioyned at *S. Martin* with the *Viceroy*, who also after the recovery of *Legnagno* went to *Montagnano*: and the *Venetians* who held no more in that quarter but *Padoa* and *Trenisa*, caring for no other thing then the preservation of those Cities, ordained that the armie should be distributed in them, and that *Iohn Paule Baillon*, with whom were *Malatesta Sogliano* and the Knight *la Volpe*, should be bestowed in *Trenisa* with two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, and two thousand footemen, *Aluiano* remaining in *Padoa* with the residue of the armie. There, in considering the fortifications and state of the bastillions, and giuing perfection to many things that were vnperfect, he caused to dismantell and raze vp all the houses, and cut downe all the trees that were within three myles about *Padoa*, to make more hard and daungerous the approach of the enemies, and to giue to their diuice necessitie of multitudes of labourers and pyoners.

The Pope
seeks to ap-
pease the king.

But whilst the matters of warre proceeded in this sort, the Pope trauelled with great industry to weede out of the Church the diuision brought in by the Councell of *Pisa*: a matter as it wholly depended vpon the will of the French king, so he laboured to appease him by many meanes: he assured the king, that touching the rumour that ran that he had sent money to the *Swissers*, it was a false brute suborned by men of little fidelitie, since he referred himselfe to all his actions, wherein he had expressed to desire nothing more then an vniuersall peace, and to be the common father of all Princes Christned: and he alleaged how grievous it was to him that his dissention with the Church, depriued him of all meanes to know how naturally he was inclined to his amitie, seeing that for the honor of the sea Apostolike, and the dignitie of his person, he was constrained to proceede with him seuerally, vntill by his returning to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, it were lawfull for him to receiue him as king most Christian, and embrace him as the eldest sonne of the Church. The king also for the regard of his affaires, desired the vnion of his kingdome with the Church, the same being also demaunded by all his peoples, and the Queene no lesse concurrant then the residue: it was well discerned by the King and his counsell that there could be no hope of alliance with the Pope in matters temporal, if first they fell not to agreement for controuerfies spirituall: for which cause, either trusting indeede, or at least dissembling vnder shewes, and seeming to giue faith to his words, he sent to him as Embassador to negotiate in these causes, the Bishop of *Marzeilles*: at whose coming the Pope by decree of the Councell, reiuicteed the Bishops and Prelates of *Fraunce*, with power to purge themselves of their contumacie during the whole moneth of Nouember. Against these Clergie men his predecessour had proceeded rigorously, by way of threatning, as against persons guilty of schisme: and the same morning wherein this decree was determined, there was read in the Councell a writing subscribed by *Bernar. Carnagiall* and *Feder. S. Seuerin*, wherein forbearing to name themselves Cardinals, they approued all the actes of the Councell of *Latran*, and promised to cleaue to the same, and obey the Pope. In this action consequently they confessed themselves to be lawfully depriued of the estate of Cardinals, which priuation being done by Pope *Iulio*, had bene in his life time confirmed by the same Councell. It had bene debated afore in the consistorie to haue them restored, but the resolution was afterwards deferred for the impediment of the Embassadours of *Cesar* & the king of *Aragon*, together with the Cardinals of *Sion* and *Yorke*, who alleaged, that it was a matter vnworthy the maiesty of the sea Apostolike, and of very ill example to pardon the authors of so great wickednesse, accompanied with manifest abomination and impietie: a matter which the last Pope had constantly maintained against them euen to the last momēt of his life, & that for no other cause then for the publike benefite. But the Pope reigning inclined to that side that was least rigorous, iudging it more easie & worthy to quench altogether the name of the Councell of *Pisa*, rather with clemencie then with seueritie: besides, he would not stirre vp the minde of the French king, who was a diligent intercessour for them: neither was he caried against them by any particular hatred; for that neither was the iniurie done to him; neither before his Pontificacie he nor his brethren had bene great friends to *Federike*: for which reasons, of his owne motion he caused to be read before the fathers of the Councell, the writing of their humiliation, & assigned a day for their restoring, which was done in this maner: *Bernar.* and *Feder.* entred secretly into *Rome* by night without either habite or ceremonies of Cardinals, and the morning following being to present themselves before

Humiliation of
the Cardinals.

the Pope sitting in full consistory with the presence of all the Cardinals, except the *Swisser* and the *Engliss*, who refused to assist the action: they first passed apparelled as simple Priests, with blacke bonnets on their heads through all the publike places of the pallace of *Vatican*, where they had lodged: a wonderfull concourse and presse of people flocked to see them, euery one iudging that a punishment so honourable did serue as a cruell torment for the vnruled pride of *Bernardus*, and no lesse for the vnstayed arrogancy of *Federike*. Assoone as they were admitted into the presence of the consistory, they fell downe on their knees, and with many signes of great humility they demanded pardon of the Pope and the Cardinals: They approued all things that had bene done by Pope *Iulio*, and namely their priuation and the election of the new Pope, as an act canonicall: and they publikely reprobued the Councell of *Pisa*, to be an assembly schismaticke and detestable. When this confessiō was subscribed with their hands & solemnly enregistred, they rose vp and stood on their feete, & after reuerence done, they embraced all the Cardinals, who stirred not out of their seates: then they were reinuested & apparelled in the habite of Cardinals, & receiued by the residue to sit in the same order wherein they were wont to sit before their priuation: they recouered only by this act the dignity of Cardinals, & not their benefices and other reuenues which they had possided, for that long time before they had bin distributed to others by the liberty of vacation. In this act the Pope satisfied the French king, if not so much as he desired, at least in part of that he expected: but he satisfied him nothing in other matters, for that he sought by all the wayes he could to accord *Cesar* and the *Venetians*; a matter which seemed to him of easie actiō for the accidents that were hapned: for it was beleueed that *Cesar* stirred vp by the occasions beyond the Mounts, would be brought to be contented to be discharged of such a burden, to haue the more oportunitie to hearken to the recouering of *Burgondy* for his Nephew. And touching the *Venetians*, it was hoped that they would much more desire it, as well for that they stood amazed with the ouerthrow of the Frenchmen, as also that they knew that the French king for the many dangers hanging ouer his Realme, was not able for that yeare to do any more to the affaires of *Italy*: Besides, they saw fast vpon them the Spanish army, whereunto were to be vniued the companies that were within *Verona*: They were made dry of mony and treasure, ill furnished of souldiers, and namely of footemen: and (which was not least in their consideration) they were to resist all alone of themselves without any hope or shew of other succors: and yet the Senate answered very constantly, that they would not hearken to any accord, vnlesse they were repossessed of *Vincenza* and *Verona*.

Cesar at that time demanded of the Pope two hundred men at armes against the *Venetians*: a demand which albeit was grieuous to the Pope, both for feare least the French king should be discontented, and also he saw how inconuenient it would be for *Cesar* and him to become suspected to the *Venetians* for a matter of so small importance: yet by the obstinate importunity of *Cesar*, he sent him vnder *Troillo Sauello*, *Achilles Torello*, and *Mutio Colonno*, the numbers he required, both for that by refusing he would not shew any token not to perseuer in the confederatiō contracted with the last Pope, and also he considered he was not holden by any bond or obligatiō that he had with the *Venetians*: who besides that their army did almost expresse behauiours of hostility vpon the lands of *Parma* & *Plaisantin*, at such time as *Aluiano* lay neare to *Cremona*, yet they had not elected Embassadors to protest their obedience to him according to their custome, untill the Frenchmen being ouerthrowne, were returned beyond the Mounts. This deliberation wrought no litle amaze to the *Venetians*, not so much for the importance of such a succour, as for feare least by this beginning the Pope would passe further, taking it for a manifest signe that he would neuer be seperate from their enemies. Neuerthelesse all these dangers & shewes of calamities could not make them change their first counsels, but standing resolute to make as good head as they could against fortune, they sent to their Admirall that was at *Corfu* to assemble his Nauie, & assaile the marine places of *Powilla*. And yet considering a litle after, of what importance it would be to prouoke so much the king of *Aragon*, they reuoked that counsell, being more courageous then discrete, no lesse for the might and power of the same king, then for that he had alwayes shewed that he perswaded *Cesar* to peace.

The *Viceroy* remained at *Montagnano*, hauing as yet determined vpon nothing of that he had to do, both for that the conceptions of the Launceknights were diuerse, and very hard, and the prizes that remained to be attempted either of *Padoa* or of *Trenisa*, and the forces

farre inferiour to the difficulties : for in the army there was little more then a thousand men at armes , not many light horsemen , and onely ten thousand footemen, as well Spanish as Launce-knights : and lastly there was expectation of the comming of the Bishop of *Gurci*, vpon whose will and direction depended resolutely all things . About this time a Spanish magistrate being in *Bergamo* to gather the impott of five and twentie thousand duckats, taxed vpon that Citie at such time as it was rendred to the *Viceroy*, *Ranſe de Cere* lent thither from *Crema* one part of the souldiers , who entring by night by the helpe of certaine conspirators of the towne, tooke the *Spaniard* with all the money he had leuied, and returned afterward to *Crema*.

There was discerned about this time a preparation to new troubles in the state of *Genes*, being conformable in that plot the wils of the Duke of *Millan* and the *Swissers*, to whom *Anthonie* and *Ierome Adorno* had recourse: they declared to the Duke the affinity and dependencie which their fathers had had with *Lodowike* his father : That by the ayde of their family he had recovered and many yeares holden in peace the principality of *Genes*, from the which he had bene fraudulently deuelted by the Dukes *Fregoso* : That the family of the *Adorney* had participated with the aduersities and fortunes of the *Sforces*, for that at the same time that *Lodowike* was Duke of *Millan*, the *Adorney* were chased out of *Genes* : and therefore they perswaded that it was conuenient that they should likewise communicate in the returne of good hap and fortune , seeing the same affection and the same faith continued: That they ought not to be charged by imputation, if being not so much as heard in any one place, but abandoned of all hope , their necessity & their good will had driuen them to haue recourse to that king, by whom they had bene chased and expelled before: That on the other side he was to remember the auncient hatred of the *Fregosei*, and how many iniuries and practises had bene wrought against his father by *Baptista* and the Cardinall *Fregosa*, Dukes of *Genes* successiuelly : and lastly he was to consider how farre he was to trust *Ottavian Fregosa*, who, besides the auncient hatred he bare, refused to haue a superiour in that gouernement . To the *Swissers* they recommended the profite, the surety, and the honour that they might reape by the enterprise : that if by their meane they were effsoones restored to their countrey, they would pay a summe of money equall to that which *Ottavian Fregosa* payed to the *Spaniards* : that as by their vertue the Duchy of *Millan* had bene preferred , so to them appertained in honour the protection and defence of the thing they had gotten by their valour : wherein they were to consider what a matter it would be contrary to the surety of that state, that *Genes* a City of so neare neighbourhood and importance, should obey a Duke that depended wholly vpon the king of *Aragon* : that it were an action vnworthy their name & their glory, to suffer *Genes* (the fruit of the victory of *Nouaro*) to fall to the share and profit of the *Spaniards*, who whilst the *Swissers* with so great valour ran their bodies vpon the thundering shor of the French, were with more ease then danger vpon *Trebia*, watching as it were the issue of the battell, to rob and to vsurpe by suttlety the rewards of the victory gotten with the blood of others . Vpon these complaints, accompanied with other reasons of compassion , the Duke caused his companiesto march, & the *Swissers* aduanced 4000 footmen: but what with the threatens of the *Viceroy* against the Duke, and the authority of the Pope with the *Swissers*, the enterprise ceased euen as soone as it was begun, the affection that the Pope bare to the affaires of *Ottavian*, doing more to dash the expedition then any other thing. In this meane while the *Viceroy* went vp to *Battell*, a place about seuen miles from *Padoa*, where *Carnagial* riding vndiscretly with a small strength of horsemen to view the seat of the countrey, was taken by *Mercario* Captaine of the *Venetian* light horsemen. About which time the Bishop of *Gurci* arriuing in the army, they drew to consultation what was to be done: The Bishop gaue counſel to besiege *Padoa*, saying, he hoped so much in the vertue of the *Spaniards* & Launceknights against the *Italians*, that in the end they shold be able to overcome all difficulties: he sayd it was a matter of lesse labour to take *Trenſa*, but the honor and rewards of the victory were far different, for that to win only *Trenſa*, was not of such importace for the substance of the war, but by the taking of *Padoa*, both the townes & peeces of *Cesars* obediect should stand assured from troubles and perils of the warre, & the *Venetians* should be left depriued of all hope, to be able to reconquer the places they had lost . The *Viceroy* and almost all the other Captaines were of a contrarie opinion : they iudged it rather impossible then hard, to force *Padoa* for the incredible fortifications: it was thoroughly furnished with artilleries & all things

necessary for defence: it was double manned with souldiers, besides many young men of the Nobility of *Venice*, that were come thither as they had wont to do at other times: they alleaged that the circuit of *Padoa* was large, in which regard, as also for the multitude of the defendants and other difficulties, it required to be enuironed with a siege of two armies: a computation so farre from them, that they were not able to make one sufficient, the number of their souldiers being not great, and yet no signe of readinesse in the Launceknights, for that they murmured already for want of pay: Lastly, they had not sufficient munitions, and no lesse want of pyoners; a provision very necessary for an enterprise of that difficulty. But in the end the reasons of the *Viceroy* and the other Captaines gaue place to the authority and will of the Bishop of *Gurci*, according to whose direction the army drawing neare to *Padoa*, encamped at *Bassanella* vpon the right shore of the channell: but being subiect there to the affliction of certaine double cannons that lay pickt vpon the bastillion of the towne, they passed the channell and lodged a litle further from the towne, from whence sending certaine bands of footemen to *S. Anthonies* Church within halfe a mile of *Padoa*, they began to approach with lesse danger, & to cast trenches neare to, *S. Anthonies* gate: but for that the worke was great, and the want of pyoners no lesse, and in a countrey abandoned of all inhabitants, the trenches aduanced litle, and not without danger, for that the souldiers making many sudden sallies aswell by day as by night, gaue great damage and impediment to those that trauelled. They suffered besides great want of victuals, both for that onely a small part of the towne was inuironed by the enemies, and also the estradiots that had liberty to issue out of the other quarters of the towne, ouerrunning freely the whole countrey, gaue impediment to all that was brought to the campe: the traffike of victuals was also hindred by certaine armed barkes which the *Venerians* had set for that purpose vpon the riuer of *Adice*, for that the me that they caried, ceased not to make incursions into the vpland and plaine countrey, scouring all places, and respected nothing in the fury of their spoyle. In regard of these difficulties, the estate of things being estfoones brought into the Councell by the *Viceroy*, euery one gaue this free iudgement, that it would be a lesse infamy to correct the deliberation vndiscretely made in leauying the campe, then by iustifying the error to breede and bring vpon them some greater damage, & that not without the society of a farre greater shame. This opinion being related to the Bishop of *Gurci* by the *Viceroy* in the presence of many Captaines, for that he had refused to be at that Councell, he made answer, that for that the discipline and practise of warre was not his profession, it was no shame to him to confesse his ignorance in the seruice & guiding of war: only touching the counsell he had giuen to pitch the campe afore *Padoa*, it moued not by any singularity of credit in his own wisdom, but in the action he was caried by the opinion & authority of the *Viceroy*, who both by letters & expresse messengers had counselled the Emperour, and giuen him great hope to cary it. At last the difficulties not ceassing neither for their complaints, nor for their debating, no rather the dispaire of the enterprise daily increasing, the campe brake vp, after it had lien xvij. dayes afore the wals of *Padoa*: and hauing both at their breaking vp, and vpon the way, the light horsemen at their backes, they withdrew to *Vincenza*, which then was voide of inhabitants, and lay as a pray to who was maister of the field.

In this meane while the souldiers of the Duke of *Millan*, to whose ayde the *Viceroy* had sent *Antio. de Lena* with a thousand footemen, tooke *Pontuiguo*, wherein were two hundred footme in garrison for the *Venetsians*, who neither amazed with the thunder of the artilleries, nor discouraged with the mines that were made, were constrained at the end of a moneth to yeeld for want of victuals, after they had valiantly sustained the assault. About the same time *Ranfe de Cere* issuing out of *Crema* ouerthrew *Siluiso Sauello* marching with his bands and foure hundred Spanish footmen to *Bergamo*, whither the Duke of *Millan* sent him. And a litle after a Spanish officer being returned to *Bergamo* to gather mony, *Ranfe* sent thither a strength of three hundred horsemen and five hundred footemen, who tooke together with the officer the *Rocke* whereunto he was fled for his safety with the money he had leauied. In this *Rocke* were very few men of warre for that lx. men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, and seuen hundred footemen, with two thousand paisants of the Mount of *Brianzo* were gone from *Millan* vnder the leading of *Siluiso Sauello* and *Cesar Fieromosquo*, to reconquer *Bergamo*: and they encountering vpon the way five hundred light horsemen and three hundred footmen, sent by *Ranfe* to *Bergamo*, were forced to flight, by whose example the residue that afore had occupied *Bergamo* abandoned it,

*Padoa beseged
by the Viceroy.*

leaving onely a garrison in the Rocke, which standeth out of the City vpon the Mountaine called the Chappell.

The *Viceroy* and Bishop of *Gurci* remained certaine dayes at *Vincenza*, and sent one part of the *Spaniards* vnder *Prosper Colonne* to sacke *Basciano* and *Marostiquo*: not that they had offended, but that the substances of that wretched people should minister nouriture to the army, wherein the payes did fayle, *Cesar* standing alwayes oppressed with his accustomed difficulties, the king of *Aragon* not able of himselfe to beare out so great a burden, and the Duchy of *Millan* being excessively taxed by the *Swissers*, was no more able to contribute to the reliefe of the residue. The army abode at *Vincenza*, not without great discommodities, by the continuall vexations of the light horsemen, who ouerrunning day and night the whole countrey, stopped all traffike and passage of victuals, vnlesse they were garded with a great strength, and that of necessity must be of men at armes, for that they were very few light horsemen: therefore to be out of these torments, the Bishop of *Gurci* went to *Verona*, very much discontented with the *Viceroy*, who following him by small iournies, got into *Albero* vpon the riuer of *Adice*, where he remained certaine dayes to giue opportunity to them of *Verona* to make their haruest, the incursions of the light horsemen not ceasing for all that, who tooke from the *Almains* euen neare the gates of *Verona*, the oxen that drew the artilleries. The *Viceroy* had layd a former plot to bestow the army in garrison in the countries of *Bressia* and *Bergamasqua*, and at the same time to molest *Crema*, which was all that the *Venetians* held on the other side the riuer of *Mincia*: which deuise being published, had so assured the countries thereabouts, that the territories of *Padoa* were full of inhabitants and goods, the same being the cause that the *Viceroy*, who had no other meane to feede his army then by prayes and pillage, altered his plot, and calling backe the *Almains*, went to *Montagnana* and to *Esse*, and from thence to the village of *Bonolento*, where after he had driuen away great flockes of cattell, the souldiers consumed with fire many faire houses that stood thereabout: Still the desire of pillage caryed them on, and being the rather encouraged that the bands of the *Venetian* footemen were distributed to the gard of *Padoa* and *Trensa*, the *Viceroy* marching in pillage from *Bonolento*, determined to approach *Venice*, but against the opinion of *Prosper Colonne*, who told him that no lesse was the danger of the enterprise then the counsell rash: so that after they had passed the riuer of *Bacquillon*, and sacked *Pieno de sacco*, which is a borough both great in situation, populous, and ful of all things, they went to *Mestro*, & so to *Marguera*, which standeth vpon the salt waters: from that place, to leaue a more honourable memory of this expedition, they discharged towards *Venice* x. peeces of great artillery, whose bullets pierced the Monastery of *S. Secondo*. And as in war where discipline is at liberty, there insolencies be infinit, so they proceeded still in pilling & waisting the whole countrey, whose inhabitants being fled, they made with great iniquity wars against the wals: for, not content with the rich prayes of cattell and other wealth, in their cruelty they burned *Mestra*, *Marguera*, and *Lissafusina*, together with all the other villages and townes of the countrey, not sparing any house or pallace which had any extraordinary representation or apparance. In these insolencies, the impiety of the Popes souldiers and the other *Italians*, was not the least, but so much the greater by how much it was more infamous in them then in the forreiners, to vse cruelty against the magnificence and ornaments of their proper countrey. But they of *Venice* discerning within their towne the smoke by day, and by night the fire thorough the whole countrey, and hearing within their owne houses the noyse of the artillery of the enemies, which was planted for no other purpose then to encrease their ignominy, were touched in their minds with right great indignation & sorrow. It seemed to euery one a hard and grievous chance of fortune, that in place of so great glory & so many victories obtained in *Italy* afore time both by sea and land, their eyes should behold at that instant a small army in comparison of their auncient force and power, to offer to the maiesty of their common-weale so great a brauery, to their perpetuall reproch & ignominy. In regard of which indignities, the deliberations of that Senate being enforced, who till that day stood resolute, what hopes soeuer were offered, to eschue to make any experience of fortune: they now consented by the hawty perswasions of *Bart. Aluiano*, that resembling all the souldiers, and stirring vp all the villages as well of the plaines as of the mountaines, they should assay to stop the returne of the enemies: a matter which *Aluiano* proued to be of very easie action, for that their rashnesse hauing brought them in the midst of *Venice*, *Trensa*, and *Padoa*, and being laden with burdens of pray and spoyle, they could not retire without great danger,

danger, as well for the incommodie of victuals, as for the impediment of riuers and hard passages: and now the *Spaniards* vnderstanding of the musters and preparations that were in hand, marching a good pace, were by this time come to *Citadella*, which whē they saw they could not get for a succour of souldiers newly entred, they lodged a litle beneath neare to *Brenta*, to passe to the village of *Conticella*, a place where the riuier of *Brenta* was passable by foord: but they durst not venture to passe ouer for feare of *Aluiano*, who stood on the other side with his companies ranged in battell, and his artillerie planted along the shoare of the riuier, carefully prouiding for the safety not only of that place, but also of many others: wherunto, if resistance had not bene made, the enemy had had easie passage. It hapned (such be the stratagems of souldiers) that as the *Viceroy* continued his shewes and demonstrations to passe ouer at the place below, to the which *Aluiano* had turned all his forces, he passed the night after without anie impediment at the passage called the new crosse, three miles about *Citadella*: frō thence with great diligence he tooke his way to *Vincenza*, but *Aluiano* seeking to stop his passage ouer the riuier of *Bacquillon*, preuented him. *Io. P. Bailon* and *And. Gritti* with a strength of two hundred men at armes, & two thousand footmen of the forces of *Trenisa*, came and ioyned with *Aluiano* neare to *Vincenza*: they with the other *Venetian* Captaines were of counsell not to fight with the enemies with banner displayed and in open place, but garding well the passages of strength and places most conuenient, they should labour to stop their way on what place soeuer they came, drawing now towards *Vincenza*. To this end they had sent *Ioh. P. Manfron* to *Montebio* with foure thousand men trained: and to *Barberano* to hinder their passage in the mountaines, were sent fīue hundred light horsmen with many other bands of the paisants: they had also stopped in the villages all the passages that led into *Germany*, & fortified thē with trēches, with stones, & with trees cut downe & layd athwart the wayes: *Aluiano* left *Theo. Trinnice* to gard *Vincenza* with a garrison sufficient, and himselfe with the residue of the armie encamped at *Olmo*, a place within two miles of *Vincenza*, vpon the way that leades to *Verona*: this passage with another fast by, was so choaked with trenches, ditches, and artilleries planted vpon the places comming to it, that it was almost impossible to passe. As the way towards *Verona* was full of these impediments, so it was likewise hard for the *Spaniards* that marched along the mountains, to go larger through the countries that were full of marishes and waters, and no lesse hard to take the way of the mountaine, which was narrow, and garded by many armed men: in so much as being enuironed almost on all parts with enemies, their perill all one both before, behind, and in flanke, and continually chased by great troupes of light horsmen, they could make no deliberation wherein the difficultie was not greater then the danger. After they had spent certaine time in skirmishing, they encāped towards the entry of the night, within half a mile of the place where the *Venetians* lay, and there the Captaines drawing to counsell what was best to do amid so many aduersities and perils, they chose as least dangerous to turne their ensignes towards *Germanie*: they iudged that the best way, to returne to *Verona* by *Trenia*, notwithstanding what for the longnesse of the way, & the smal garrison they had left there, they had almost an assured opinion that the celeritie of the *Venetians* would preuent their purpose. In this sort then did they march at the dawning of the day towards *Bassan*, turning their backs to the enemies, a matter then the which there is nothing more timorous nor pernicious to armies: and albeit they marched in order, yet their fortune had left them so small hope of safetie, that they thought the losse of their baggage and horses of cariage would be the least harme that could happen to them. What by their secret discamping without sound of trumpet or drumme, & the commoditie of a thicke myst falling that morning which tooke away the benefit of his eyes, *Aluiano* was not so speedily aware of their breaking vp: but he was no sooner aduertised of their departing, then he set to follow thē with all the army, wherein was thought to be a thousand men at armes, a thousand stradiots, & sixe thousand footmen: the stradiots vexed them continuallie on all sides, and infinite troupes of paisants descending from the Mountaines, were no litle trouble to them with their small shot: so that with their danger the difficultie of the wayes increased continuallie, both for the multitude of their cariages, and the great quantitie of their pray, & also for that they were driuē to passe through wayes straight & ful of ditches, which they had not had oportunitie to inlarge or make plaine with mattockes and spades: and yet notwithstanding by how much their aduersities were great & apparant, by so much greater was their necessity of speed and haste, their extremities could not make them forget to march in order, the

same proceeding as well of the vertue of the souldiers as the care & good office of the Captaines: neuerthelesse, after they had marched two miles with so many perplexities of wayes and trauell, they iudged it would be hard to hold out long in that sort, their griefe being greater by the wearinesse of their bodies, then by any feare of the perilles they saw at hand. But the enemies by their rashnesse had not patience to expect till so faire an occasion might be ripened, which already was come to his perfection: for *Aluiano* according to his custome being not able to containe himselfe, charged vpon the rearegard of the enemies guided by *Prosper Colonne*: he went to the charge not in disorder, but with the armie arranged in battell, and his artilleries planted ready for the execution: and it was said for certaine, that being long in preparing to the charge, *Loredano* a ruler among the *Venetians*, rebuked him with verie sharpe words, that he went not to the charge, whose slownesse, said he, gaue oportunitie to the enemies being already broken, to saue themselves. By these prouocations so valiant a Captaine was compelled to run headlong to the fight, and in great furie gaue the signe of the battell. Some other affirme that *Prosper Colonne* was the cause of all the actions of armes that day, by whose counsel the *Viceroy* had rather proue the vncertaine chaunce and fortune of the fight, then otherwise to follow so small a hope of safetie: and it is said that hauing made a shew that he would returne towards *Vincenza*, *Aluiano* had caused to be bestowed in the suburbs of *Vincenza*, *Iohn P. Baillon*, with those bands that were come from *Trenis*, and himselfe with the residue of the armie was incamped at *Creatia* within two miles of *Vincenza*. In this place is a litle hill that gaue a conuenient commodity for the vse and seruice of the artillery against the enemies, and at the foot of it is a valley capable of a maine armie ranged in battell, but it hath no way of access but onely by one straight way that runneth vp along the hils, and is almost incompassed with marishes. It is said that *Prosper* knowing what incommodities this place gaue to the enemies, perswaded to set vpon them in that quarter, hauing there the oportunitie and seate of the place to set forth their valour: but whatsoeuer it was, *Prosper* began to go to the charge with a resolution worthie of the reputation he bare, and hauing sent to call the *Viceroy* which brought on the battell, & on the one side, & at one time the Spanish footmen aduancing by the direction of the Marquis of *Pesquaire*, & on the other hand the squadrons of the Launceknights, they brought vpon the *Venetians* so hot and furious a charge, that their feares being redoubled by the terrour and valour of their enemies, the first assault almost sufficed to put them all to flight: the footmen threw downe their pikes and fled with more shame then hope of safetie, their ignorance or want of courage making them vnable to sustaine the fury of the charge: the footmen of *Romagnia*, whose Coronell was *Ra. de Naldo Brisquello*, were the first that serued to the others as an example of cowardise and infamie: the residue of the armie tooke the same course, no man almost being seene to fight, or once looke his enemy in the face; yea, the vertue of *Aluiano* was so abated and confused by this sodaine flying away, that without stroke striking he left the victorie to the enemies, to whom the artilleries with all the baggage remained a pray: the footmen were scattered into diuerse places; and for the men at armes, some fled to hide their shame in the mountaines, and some sought their safetie in *Padoa* and in *Trenis*, whither fled in like sort *Aluiano* and *Gritti*. In this encounter were slaine *Anth. Pio* an ancient Captaine, with *Constance* his sonne, *Meleager Furdy*, and *Lodo. Parma*, and the fortune of *P. S. Ange* was litle better, who though his life was reserued, yet he escaped not without manie miserable and mortall wounds. The prisoners were *Io. P. Baillon*, *Iulio* the sonne of *Iohn P. Manfrè*, *Malatesto Soligiano*, with manie other Captaines and persons of name and marke. *Loredano* the *Venetian* ruler fell into this calamitie, but with a worse fortune; for that two souldiers struing whose prisoner he should be, the one of them killed him against all humanitie. Touching the generall slaughter of this conflict both of dead bodies and prisoners, there remained about foure hundred men at armes, & foure thousand footmen, the slaughter being so much the greater, by how much there could be no expedition of flying by reason of the marishes: this also brought great damage to such as trusted in the chafe, that *Theo. Triunlice* shut the gates of *Vincenza*, and would receiue in no kind of person, for feare least the Victor and the vanquished should enter pelmel together: by which impediment manie struing to passe further, drowned themselves in the next riuer, amongst whom were *Hermio Bentiuole* and *Sacramoro Visconte*.

Overthrow of
the Venetians
armie.

This was the ouerthrow that fell vpon the *Venetians* the seuenth day of October neare to *Vincenza*, worthy to be remembred, both for the example it gaue to Captaines not to haue confidence touching

touching matters of armes, in the *Italian* footmen not experienced in battels pitched and ranged, and also that almost in the turning of a hand the victorie was transferred to those in whom was least hope of safetie. This ouerthrow had put in daunger either *Trenis* or *Padoa*, notwithstanding with the residue of the armie *Aluiano* was retired to the one, and *Gritti* to the other, if both the season of the yeare when raynes began to fall, had not bene contrarie, & the townes bearing good fortifications, and the Captaines much troubled to dispose to new enterprises the souldiers that were not yet paid. Neuertheles, albeit the *Venetians* stood afflicted with so many aduersities, & no lesse confused with an accident so far cōtrarie to their hopes, yet they forbore not according to the time & their ability, to refurbish those cities, to the which, besides other prouisiōs they sent many yong gētlemen of the nobility, as they had wont to do in times of greatest perill.

After this battell, things began to draw from armes to cogitations and deuises of peace, which was negotiated with the Pope: towards whō was gone the Bishop of *Gurci*, principally to protest obedience to him in the name of *Cesar* & the Archduke: in which action he was followed by *Frauncis Sforce* Duke of *Bary*, to performe the like for his brother *Maximilian Sforce*. And albeit the Bishop of *Gurci* represented in *Italy* the full person of *Cesar*, as he did at other times, yet laying now aside his pompe and accustomed magnificence, he entred more modestly into *Rome*, & forbore by the way to weare the cap of Cardinal which the Pope had sent to him at *Poggibonso*. At his comming was compounded a compromise by him & the *Venetian* Embassadors in the person of the Pope, of all the controuersies that were betweene *Cesar* and their common weale: but it was a compromise more in name & apparance then in effect & substance, for that neither of the parties for the importance of the cause would be referred to an arbitrement suspected, vntill they had seuerally & secretly receiued promise of him, that he would not giue vp his arbitratō without their consent & priuity. The Pope by this authority of compromising, declared in writing, that there should be a surceasing of armes betweene the two parties, which albeit was ioyfully accepted by them both, was yet ill obserued by the *Viceroy*: for that being come betweene *Montagnana* & *Este*, besides that he had done no other thing since the victory, then made pillage & ouer-run the whole countrie, hauing withall sent part of his souldiers to *Policena*, he committed in sundrie places manie insolencies and harmes: sometimes he excused his doings, in that they were vpon the lands of *Cesar*, and sometimes he alleaged that he expected new intelligence from the Cardinall of *Gurci*: lastly, the end of the compromise was no more happie then had bene the midst & the beginning, by reason of difficulties that fell out in the negociatiō of affaires: for, *Cesar* would not consent to the accord, but with condition to retaine part of the townes, and for the other to receiue a great proportion of money: and of the contrarie, the *Venetians* demaunded all the townes and offered a very small summe of money: It was beleeued also, that the king Catholike did secretly disswade the accord, notwithstanding openly he made demonstration to desire it: yea it was said, that to make it more hard, he had at the same time put *Bressia* into the hands of *Cesar*, a place which the *Viceroy* neuer till that day would giue vp, alleaging that he kept it to make him more inclined to the peace: but the causes were cōiectured diuersly, either he had so far offended the *Venetians* that he iudged he wold no more entertaine with them a true and assured amitie, or else he knew that his reputation and greatnesse in *Italy* depended vpon continuing and keeping on foot the army, which for want of mony he was not able to feed & nourish but by racking & ransoming the peoples that were his friends, & in making pray & pillage of the countries that were enemies. These difficulties, together with the vntowardnesse of the parties, made the Pope leaue the matter vnperfect, when a litle after the *Almaines*, by the helpe of the exiles and banished men, tooke *Marano* vpon the sodaine, a seafaring towne in the countrie of *Friull*, & so descended to the like action vpon *Montefalcon*: & albeit the *Venetians* both for their honour and profit desired to reconquer *Marano*, being 60 miles frō *Venice*, & in that disposition did assaile it both by sea and land, yet their fortune being all one in all places, they receiued losse and vexation on all sides: only *Rauise de Cere* in that time sustained the name & credit of their armes, to his great praise and merite: for, albeit there was a great rage of plague and hunger in *Crema* where he lay in garrison, and that the bands of *Spaniards* and *Milanois* being disperfed into the townes therabout by reason of the season, he was as it were besieged, yet he gaue a sodaine charge vpon *Calcinia*, a towne of the countrie of *Bergamo*, & stripped *Cesar Fieramosquo* with fortie men at armes and 200 light horsmen of the regiment of *Prosper Colonne*: and not many dayes after,

he entred by night into *Quinsawo*, and tooke the Lieutenant of the Count *S. Senfrin*, and spoiled fifty men at armes, and within *Treny* stripped ten men at armes of the company of *Prosper*.

About this time things were quiet enough in other places of *Italy*, sauing that the *Adornei* & the *Fiesqueis* with 3000 mē of the coutry, accōpanied perhaps with the secret fauor of the Duke of *Millan*, drew neare the walles of *Genes*, after they had taken *Spetia* and other places of the riuer of *Leuant*: but their fortune being far inferiour to their valour, they went away almost ouerthrowne, hauing lost part of the men they brought to the enterprise, and certaine peeces of artillerie. There appeared also in *Tuscane* certaine beginnings of new iniuries: for, the *Florentines* began to molest them of *Lucqua*, trusting that through feare of the Pope, they should redeeme peace in restoring to them *Pietrasanta* and *Mutrona*. They alleaged besides, that it was not conuenient that they should enioy the benefite of that confederation, which they had broken in ministering secret succours to the *Pisans*. Against these suggestions they of *Lucqua* complained to the Pope & to the king Catholike, in whose protectiō they were, but seeing there grew no remedy to them, they were at last contented (to auoyd greater mischiefs) to refer a compromise to the person of the Pope: who hauing like authority for the *Florentines*, pronounced that they of *Lucqua*, who had afore rendred to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Garsagnana*, should leaue to the *Florentines* the places of *Pietrasanta* & *Mutrona*, and that there should remaine betweene them a perpetuall peace and confederation.

About the end of this yeare the Castles of *Millan* and *Cremona*, who for the necessity of victuals had agreed to yeeld if they were not succoured in a certaine time, were deliuered into the power of the Duke of *Millan*: so that there remained no more that the French king held in *Italy*, but the Lanterne of *Genes*, which in the end of the yeare the *Genowayes* assayed to cast downe by mines: they approached to it vnder the benefite of a caske or vessell of wood containing thirty fadoms in length and twenty in breadth: within which was stowage for 300 men, & set round about with packes of wooll the better to defend the shot: at the first shew it caried great arte and deepe inuention, but being brought to triall, it serued to litle vse, as most often is seene by those new and strange workes.

The end of the eleuenth booke.



THE TWELFTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

The king of England makes warre vpon the French king. The Venetians recover Friull. The Pope as arbitrator pronounceth peace betweene the & the king of Romaines. King Louis the xij. dieth. Francis the first commeth to the Crowne, and descendeth into Italy to reconquer Millan.

Here hapned the same yeare in the regions beyond the Mounts, most daungerous warres, whereof I will make present discourse, both for the same reasons, and with the same shortnesse that I haue touched them in the narration of the yeare before.

The beginning of these preparations and stirres grew vpon a resolution which the king of *England* made to inuade that Sommer the realme of *France*, with a maine armie both by sea & land: & to make the victory of this enterprise more easie, he had agreed with *Cesar* to furnish him of an hundred & twenty thousand duckets, to make an entry at the same time into *Burgundy* with

an armie of three thousand horsemen, & eight thousand footmen, part *Swissers* and part *Almains*. He promised also to the *Swissers* a certaine porportion of money, the rather to induce them to ioyne in the action with *Cesar*, who was contented to put into their hands in pawne one part of *Burgundie* vntill he had fully satisfied the of their payes: Lastly also the king of *England* occupied this perswasion, that his father in law the king Catholike, cleauing to the confederation of *Cesar* & him (which he had alwayes protested and assured) would open the warre on his side at the same instant. By reason whereof, the report of the truce made by the English with the French King (and yet for all that the desire to make warre was nothing diminished) was so ill brooked not onely by him, but by all sortes of states and peoples in *England*, that the commons had done violent execution vpon the *Spanish* Embassadour, if the kings authoritie had not resisted their furie. To these things were added the oportunitie of the estate of the Archduke, not so much that he letted not his subiectes to take pay against the Frenchmen, as for that he promised to giue sufferance and passage of victuals out of his countreys into the English armie.

It behoued the French king to omit no sortes of prouisions against so great preparations and dangerous threatening: by sea he furnished a strong nauie to encounter the Admirall of *England*, ^{Prouisions of the French against the king of England.} & by land he leauied men from all parts, labouring specially to haue as great a strenght of Launce-knights as he could. He had also afore made great instance to the *Swissers*, that since they refused to ayde him in the warres of *Italie*, at least, that they would so farre fauour him as to deliuer him a porportion of footemen to helpe to defend the Crowne of *Fraunce*. But they being wholly re- solued to protect and assure the Duchie of *Milan*, refused in any wise to minister to him, vnlesse he would estsoones returne to the vnitie of the Church: and giue vp the Castell of *Milan* which was not yet rendred: and also cancelling his rights and interests to that estate, he would promise to more to molest neither *Milan* nor *Genes*; limitations no lesse vnprofitable to the French king, best contrary to his honour, and preiudiciall to the soueraigne dignitie of the crowne of *Fraunce*. Likewise the French king, the more to terrifie the English, and make them more intangled with heir owne affaires, had called into *Fraunce* the Duke of *Suffolke* as Competitour and aspirant to the Crowne of *England*: a deuise little helping the purposes of *Fraunce*, and of great daunger to he race and progenie of the Duke, for that in reuenge of their dealing, the king of *England* by or- linarie course of the iustice of his Realme, cut off the head of his brother, who till then had bene olden prisoner in *England*, since the time that *Phillip* king of *Castille* sayling into *Spaine*, deliue- red him into the hands of the king his father. The French king also was not without hope to haue peace with the king Catholike: for that when the king Catholike vnderstood of the league made betweene the French and the *Venetians*, he began to distrust much of the defence of the Duchie of *Milan*, and sent into *Fraunce* one of his Secretaries to practise new offers: and it was belee- ued, that considering how much the greatnesse of *Cesar* & the Archduke might alter his govern- ment of *Castille*, he could not in good pollicie stand well contented with the embasing of the realme of *Fraunce*. Besides all these, omitting no oportunitie wherin occasion might be taken, the French king forgot not in these actions to stirre vp *James* the king of *Scots* his auncient confederate, to the end that he opening the warre vpon the frontiers of *England*, he might with more salicitie make defence against so many and mightie inuasions. The *Scottish* king was moued to this warre by the consideration of his proper interests, for that the aduersities of *Fraunce* could not but be dangerous to the crowne of *Scotland*, in which regard ioyned to the respect of consideration, he prepared himselfe to the action with all diligence, demaunding of the French king no other ayde then fiftie thousand frankes to leaue munitions and victuals. Neuerthelesse the French king was very slow in gathering together his forces and prouisions, both for that he had turned all his thoughts to the enterprise of *Milan*, and reposed not a little in the truce made with the king Catholike. Lastly, his accustomed negligence was no little impedimēt to the expedition of businesse, a vice most hurtfull to the affaires of Princes, to whom is seldome scene to returne the effect or fruite of their expectation, when they stand to temporise vpon euery new occasion, after the re- solution is set downe and things referred to action. And touching the king of *England*, he consu- med many moneths in measuring his proportions, in leauying his prouisions, in rating the state & maner of his payes, and in distinguishing the sortes of his souldiers and their fashions of armour & weapons, for that his subiectes hauing bene many yeares without warres, & no lesse chaunged the maner of warfaring, both their bowes & their other vsual natures of armes being become vnpro-

*Terwaine be-
sieged by the
English.*

fitable, he was constrained to make great prouision of forreine armours, artilleries, and munitions, and by the same necessitie to leaue as souldiers trained many bands of Launce knights and horsemen, the auncient custome of the English being to fight on foote: for these impediments the English armie passed not the seas sooner then the moneth of Iuly: and after had for many dayes run vp into the champaine countrey neare vnto *Bollesme*, they went to incampe afore *Terwaine*, a towne standing vpon the marches of *Picardie*, and in the region of those peoples whom the Latins call *Morini*. The person of the king of *England* passed the sea a little after, who had in his maine armie fise thousand horses of seruice, and more then fortie thousand footemen: An armie not more notable by the multitudes of souldiers and consideration of their valour, then most glorious by the presence and maiestie of their king, in whose person appeared at that instant, being in an age disposed and actiue, all those tokens of honour and magnanimitie, which rising afterwards to their full ripenesse and perfection by degrees of time, study, and experience, made him the most renowned and mighty Prince that liued in his age in all this part or circuite of the earth which we call Christendome. After the English were drawne into campe, which according to their custome they enuironed with trenches and with carts, and so rampired it with wood and other firme matter, and then planted it roundabout with artillery, that they seemed to be in a walled towne: they began to batter the towne of *Terwaine* in many places, and to make many mines, but they forbore to giue the assault, perhaps their prouisions being lesse then their vertue, though their valour was nothing inferiour to the report that went of them. The towne of *Terwaine* within was very well furnished with artilleries, and manned with a strength of two hundred and fiftie Launces, and two thousand footemen: which though it was a garrison very small in regard of the importaunce of the place, yet their daunger was no greater then their hope of succours: for that the French king was come to *Amiens*, to the end that by his nearenesse he might giue courage & comfort to those that were besieged, making great the difficultie to rescue the: he was very carefull to assemblé his army, which by true mustering was supposed to containe two thousand fise hundred launces, ten thousand Launceknights guided by the Duke of *Gueldres*, and ten thousand footemen leauied in the parts of his realme. The greatest affliction within the towne, was feare to want victuals, for that (except of bread) they had not sufficient prouision of any one nature, a want which perhaps made them more bold and busie then otherwise they would, and least the same necessitie might grow to a desperate extremitie, though they durst not come to triall of their generall forces, yet they forbore not to make practise of seruice, and vexed continually the English campe with the artillery, in which execution the great Chamberlaine of *England* was slaine, and one legge taken away from *Talbot* then Captaine of *Callice*. The daunger of *Terwaine* troubled much the king, but for that by common negligence of *Fraunce*, and the difficultie to leaue Launceknights, he was long ere he began to put order to his affaires, his whole army was not yet assembled: neither was he of minde (what aduersities soeuer fortune brought vpon him) to hazard the fight with the enemies, for that in loosing the battell, the whole realme and state of *Fraunce* had stood in manifest perill: he hoped also, that winter comming on, the which in those cold climats beginneth betimes, the enemies would be driuen to dissolue, the ill oportunitie & season of the yeare driving them fro the enterprise, which the feare of the enemies could not make them to leaue: & yet his army being assembled & his owne person remaining still at *Amiens*, he sent it forth to *Aire* neare to *Terwaine* vnder the gouernment of *Monsieur Longuenille*, otherwise called the Marquis of *Rasselm*, Prince of the bloud, and Captaine of an hundred Gentlemen of ordinaunce, ioyning with him in the charge *Monsieur Palissa*: their commission was, that eschuing all occasions to attempt the battell, they should see to the well reuictualling of the towns thereabouts, which till that time had bin ill furnished, being subiect to the same negligence that the whole seruice was, and withall to do what they could to put into *Terwaine* a succour of men and reliefe: a matter of it selfe very vneasie, and yet made more hard by the small agreement that was betweene the Generals, either of them attributing seuerally to himselfe the whole direction and gouernement, the one for his noblenesse and disceding, & the other for his long experience in warre. Notwithstanding, what by the necessitie of the time brooking no long delay, and what by the importunitie of them within the town, crying out for a succour of men, there was a strength of a thousand fise hundred launces that aduentured to approach the town on that side that was furthest remoued for the English. And albeit there was a regimēt of three thousand English bestowed at certaine passager to stop them,

yet the artillerie of the towne executed so furiously vpon them, and the residue of the armie being vnprofitable to their rescuing, by reason of certaine ouerthwart trenches and ditches cast by the towne, that Captaine *Frontailas* ouercomming the perill by his vertue, got to the gate, and put into the towne a supply of lxxx. men at armes without horses as they had required: and afterwards with the same felicitie he retired with the residue of his companies, finding easie by experience the enterprize that was made hard by report, & ouercomming by his vertue the danger that without practise was holden desperat: he might vnder the same aduenture, haue put victuals into the towne, if he had caried any with him, his fortune and the state of the perill being all one.

By this experience the French Captaines were encouraged to make their approaches another day with a great quantitie of victuals, hoping in the same felicitie: but the English that tooke warning by the last example, had raised new fortifications on that side, to stop them, and on the other side, had sent out their horsemen and fiftene thousand *Almain* footemen to cut off their way: in so much that as they were vpon their returne, the fortune of the first aduenture taking from them all suspition, and being remounted vpon their little nagges of iourney that were led spare, as men beguiled with opinion of securitie, they were suddenly set vpon, euen in the greatest coniecture of their assurance and safetie, and as men being passed from a perill they feared most into a danger they doubted least, they suffered the terrour of the accident to take from them all resolution, & put themselves to flight without any resistance, loosing in that disorder three hundred men at armes, with whom were taken prisoners the Marquis of *Rottelin*, Captaines *Bayard* and *Faiette*, with many others of marke and name: *Monsieur Palissa* was also taken prisoner, but escaped away by aduenture, his pollicie no lesse fauouring his safetie, then his fortune. It was thought that if the English had taken the oportunitie and offer of that dayes fortune, they had in that action opened to themselves a way to be maisters of the whole realme of *Fraunce*: for that behind, stood a great battell of Launceknights which had followed the men at armes, who if they had bene shocked and ouerthrowen, it had bene with so great damage to the French armie, that it is certaine that the French king vpon the first newes beleeuing that they had bene broken indeede, would haue giuen so desperate a sentence of his own safetie, that he would looke how he might flye into *Britaine*. But there was difference betweene the intention of the English and offer of their fortune, for, after they had giuen the chase to the horsemen, hauing nothing of more studie and care in their minde then the conquest of the towne of *Terwaine*, they presented the French ensignes and prisoners before the wals: a spectacle which moued not a little the towne to despaire of succour: and ioyning to it the view and consideration of their other calamities, and the Launceknights withall murmuring to endure without hope the last extremity of victuals, they agreed to leaue the towne, the horses and liues of the souldiers saued, if they were not rescued within two dayes. And it is not to be doubted, that their holding out by the space of fifty dayes, was not a thing that greatly profited the Realme of *France*, who by the benefite of the long suffering of *Terwaine*, had respited to temporise and prepare against many other greater afflictions, which otherwise so mighty an armie of enemies would haue brought vpon them, euen to the shaking of the Crowne of *Fraunce*. A little before, *Maximilian Caesar* was come in person into the English armie, reuiewing and laying out those places wherein in his youth, he had with so great glorie ouerthrowne the armie of the French king *Louis* the eleuenth: who whilest he remained in the campe, the affaires of the warre tooke their chiefest direction and gouernement from him.

The French king was not onely trauelled with the English armies, but also with greater daunger, he had his vexations by the *Swissers*: for the communalities of those regions desiring with an vniuersall minde that the king should disclaime from all titles and rights which he pretended to the Duchie of *Millan*, wherein for that he did nothing, their hatred redoubled towards him, they had entred against him many actions of hostilitie, & set on fire many houses of priuate persons of *Lucerna*, whom they suspected to beare fauour to the affaires of the crowne of *France*: and proceeding continually against all men noted of like suspition, they had brought all the chieftaines and principals of them, to sweare to suffer all the pensions to go in common, and so falling into armes by publike order, they entred almost by heapes into *Burgundie*, their numbers being xx. thousand footmen, & a thousand horsemen. In which action they had certaine proportiōs of artillerie. *Caesar*, who, either according to his incōstancie, or for ieaiousie he had of the, refused to go either in person, nor withstanding he had promised both to the king of *England*, & to the French king.

drawne into this strength and power of warre, they went and incamped afore *Dyon* the chiefe towne of *Burgundie*, wherein was *Monsieur Trimouille* with a thousand Launces and sixe thousand footmen. These natures of commons and popular peoples, hauing some doubt of their Capitaines, who began already to communicate with the French, tooke vpon them the managing of the artilleries and fell to batter the towne, of whose defence *Trimouille* doubting much, he had recourse to the last remedies, and made with them a sudden accord without expecting any commission from the king, on whose behalfe he made this contract, to renounce all the rights and claimes he pretended to the Duchie of *Millan*, and to pay them sixe hundred thousand crownes within a certaine terme: for the obseruatiō of which couenant he gaue him foure ostages, persons very honorable and of great condition: and for the *Swissers* they were bound to no other promise then to returne to their houses, a matter which tyed them not to remaine for afterwarde friends to the French king, but left them at libertie to returne when they list to the inuasions of his kingdome. As soone as they were possessed of the ostages, they brake vp and dissolued their armie immediatly, alleaging for their excuse with the king of *England*, for entring into this couenant without his consent, that they receiued not in time conuenient, the money he had promised them. It was thought that this capitulatiō was the cause of the sauing of the whole realme of *France*, for that the taking of *Dyon*, had put into the hands of the *Swissers* a free power to run vp without resistance euen to the wals of *Paris*. And it was not vnlikely that the king of *England* passing the riuer of *Somme*, would haue taken the field to ioyne with them: a matter which the French could not let, for that neither the Duke of *Guelldres* being then come, nor in the armie aboute sixe thousand Launceknights, they were constrained to keepe themselves inclosed within townes. But the king was not a little discontented with the resolution, complaining not a little against *Monsieur Trimouille*, both for the summe of money he had promised, and much more that he had bound him to the resignation of his titles and interests, as an action of too great preiudice, and farre vnworthy his greatnesse and the glory of the crowne of *Fraunce*: for which cause albeir the daunger had bene great if the *Swissers* in their wrath had estloones returned to assaile him, yet reposing much in the approach of the winter, and in the difficultie that they could not reassemble so soone, and being withall resolute to runne all fortunes rather then to depriue himselfe of his rights in that Duchie (which he loued dearly) he determined not to ratifie the agreement: yea rather he began to propound to them new offers, which much lesse that they did hearkē vnto, seeing they did constantly reiect them, with these bloody threats, that if the ratification came not within a certaine time, they would cut off the heads of the ostages.

Terwaine being taken, whereunto the Archduke aspired by pretence of his auncient right, & the king of *England* chalenged it to be his by the iust prerogative of conquest and warre: *Cesar* and he fel to this point for the auoyding of discord, to cast downe the wals to the ground, notwithstanding such violence was forbidden by the capitulatiōs made with them of *Terwaine*: immediatly after, *Cesar* went from the armie, giuing this iudgement vpon the experience and triall he had scene, that in matters of warre the English were more resolute then well aduised, and lesse futtle and politike then well disciplined and trained. From *Terwaine* the king of *England* went to incampe before *Tournay*, a towne very strong and rich and of great deuotion of long time to the crowne of *Fraunce*, but so enuironed with the countreys of the Archduke, that it was impossible to the French to rescue it so long as they were not maisters of the field. The French king was not a little glad of this enterprise, fearing least the enemy caried with victorie and wealth, would transferre his forces into the body and parts of his realme of more importance: a feare which put him into no small perplexities: for, notwithstanding he had now areared a mighty army, wherein (besides the five hundred Launces which he had bestowed in garrison in *S. Quintin*) were two thousand Launces, eight thousand light horsemen *Albanois*, ten thousand Launceknights, a thousand *Swissers*, and eight thousand footmen of his owne nation: yet it was farre inferiour to the power and multitudes of the English armie, which, by the continuall flocking of souldiers, was (as the report went) resupplied to the number of foure score thousand fighting men. By the consideration of which inequality of forces, the French king who had no great hope to be able to defend *Bolesine* and those parts of the countrey that are beyond the riuer of *Somme*, which he feared the English would oppresse, looked how to defend *Abeuille* and *Amiens*, and the other townes that are vpon the riuer of *Somme*: his deuise was also to let them for passing the riuer, and so to rem-
pōtise

The English
armie afore
Tournay.

porise either until the cold season came, or else that the Scottish king in whom he hoped much, were readie to aduance and draw them from that warre: his armie marched all the meane while along the riuier of *Somme*, to let the enemies from winning passage. It was beleueed that the persuasions of *Cesar* were the cause of this enterprise of the English, for hope that if the towne of *Tornay* were takē, it might either the or at som other time diuolue into the power of his nephew to who it was thought it did appertain: perhaps it moued ypo a feare the armie had to be afflicted with wāt of victuals if they had bin in another place, or haply other places wherunto they might haue gone, had borne a more facility to be succoured by the enemies: but the towne of *Tournay* which was not manned but with bands of straungers and forreiners, and therefore of lesse expectation to be succoured, was so battered with artilleries in many feueral places, that after it had made a small resistance, it yeelded, vnder safetie of goods and liues: and to aduance an hundred thousand duckets towards the defrayment of the warre, and to defend them from pillage.

*Tournay taken
by the English.*

The fortune of the French men was no more gracious in other places, for that the Scottish king comming to battoll with the English armie vpon the riuier of *Twede*, where the Ladie *Katherine* then Queene of England was in person, was ouerthrowne with a verie great slaughter, the kings person being then slaine with one of his owne sonnes, who was Archbishop of *S. Andrew* with manie other Prelates and Nobles of that realme, and of the common souldiers more then twelue thousand bodies. After these victories about the end of October, the king of *England* leauing a strong garrison within *Tournay*, dismissed his horsemen and footmen of the *Almaines*, & so disposed himself to returne into *England*, reaping the great towne of *Tournay* as a fruit of his wars and great expences: for touching *Terwaine* whose walles he had throwne downe to the earth, the naked seat and resemblance remained in the power of the French king. One cause that made the king of *England* repasse the seas, was, that the season of the yeare taking away all oportunities to continue the warre in those cold regions, he held it a matter vnprofitable to nourish an armie there with so great charges: and another was, that he thought to take order for the institution & gouernment of the young king of *Scots*, who was in minoritie, and the sonne of his owne sister, the Duke of *Albany* being gone thither, who was also of the bloud of the same king.

By the returne of the king of *England*, the feare of the Frenchmen being taken away, their king dismissed all his armie except the regiments of Launceknights: he saw himselfe deliuered of the care of daungers present, but not of feare to fall into them againe the next yeare with farre greater difficulties: he gathered this iudgement by the behaiours of the king of *England* at his going away, who vsed many high threatnings against the Crowne of *Fraunce*, promising that he would giue it a greater shake the next sounner: wherein he began already to make new preparations to auoide the discommodities of his former delayes, & with more readinesse to open the warre as soone as the season of the yeare would suffer: besides the French king knew that *Cesar* had the same intention to annoy him, & feared withall least the king Catholike who with sundrie subtleties had excused himselfe of the truce made, least he shold wholly aliene the frō him, wold not also take armes with them: of this suspition he had great tokens by the discourse of a letter intercepted, wherein the king Catholike writing to his Embassadour resident with *Cesar*, & expressing an intention quite contrary to his manifest speeches, which testified an earnest desire to make warre against the infidels, & to go in person to recouer *Ierusalem*, he perswaded him to deuise diligently by what means the Duchy of *Millan* might be brought to *Ferdinand* their comon Nephew, yonger brother to the Archduke. In this perswasion he occupied this maner of encouragement, that the estate being rāged, it wold not be hard to reduce the residue of the regions of *Italy* to their deuotion, and with the same facilitie ioyned with his succours, *Cesar* might make himselfe Pope, whereunto he had alwayes aspired since the death of his wife, and being once possessed of that soueraignty, he should resigne to the vse and profite of the Archduke the Crowne imperiall: neuertheless he concluded that matters of so high nature and weight could not be led to perfection but with time and with occasions. Besides all these, the French king doubted nothing of the will of the *Swissers*, whose obstinacies he could in no wise moderate, notwithstanding he made them offers aboue their merit: & they were of new incensed more then before by the euasion of the ostages deliuered by *M. Trimouille*, who fearing the daunger of their liues for want of obseruation in the king, were secretly stolne away and fled into *Germany*: so that it was not without cause that he feared least by the occasion of so many other his aduersities, they would

rise to assayle presently, or at least the yeare after, the countrie of *Burgundy* or *Dauphine*. These difficulties were partly the occasion that made him fall to agreement with the Pope for causes spirituall: of which agreement the principall article contained the absolute rooting out of the Councell of *Pisa*, which point was debated many moneths with verie great difficulties, specially for the regard of things done either with the authority of the same Councell, or against the maiestie of the Pope: such as it seemed verie vnworthie for the sea Apostolike to approue, and to cut them off there could not but happen right great confusion: so that there was a delegation of three Cardinals to deuise of some means by the which such a disorder might be met withall. This bred also one difficultie, that it seemed not conuenient to graunt to the king the absolution of penalties vnlesse he sued for it: whereunto the king would not consent, least by imputation his person and Crowne of *Fraunce* were noted of schisme: but at last the king was made weary with these perplexities, and no lesse ouerlaboured with the importunities and willes of the people of his realme; desiring with vniuersall affection to be reunited to the Church of *Rome*: but most of all he was stirred and moued by the deuotion of the Queene, to whom those controuersies were grievous. In which respects he determined to yeeld to the will of the Pope, and not without some hope, that vpon the reappearance of these quarrels the Pope would some way ioyne to his ayde; whereunto with great arte he seemed to expresse to haue a good intention: and yet a new complaint was added to the ancient iniuries, for that the Pope by a speciall writ, had commanded the *Scottish* king to attempt no damage or grievance to the Crowne of *England*: neuerthelesse in the viij. Session of the Councell of *Latran*, which fell in the latter end of the yeare, the French Agents in the name of their king, and protesting his commission, disclaimed from the Councell of *Pisa*, and stuck to the Councell of *Latran*: they promised besides, that sixe of those Prelates that did assist the Councell of *Pisa*, should go to *Rome* to do the like in the name of the whole French Church, and that others of the Clergie should come to dispute vpon the pragmatike, with intention to referre themselues to the declaration of the Councell, of which in the same Session they obtained full absolution of all things committed against the Church of *Rome*. These were the accidents and actions done in *Italy*, *Fraunce*, and *England*, in the yeare 1513.

1514.

In the beginning of the yeare following, *Anne* the French Queene passed from this life to a better, hauing scarcely tasted the sweet fruit of the vniō with the Church which she had so much desired: she was a verie vertuous & Catholike Queene, and for those parts her death was greatly sorowed of all the realme, & of her naturall peoples of *Brittaine*. When the realme of *Fraunce* was thus reduced to the obedience of the Church, and by that meane both the name and authoritie of the Councell of *Pisa* vtterly remoued: some of those that had feare of the greatnesse of the French king, began to stirre and feare least his power were too much embased: but specially the Pope, who notwithstanding he continued in the same desire that the Duchie of *Millan* should not be recouered by him, yet fearing least the king, made amazed with so great daungers, and remembring eftsoues the matters of the yeare past, would giue himselfe so daingly to accord with *Cesar* (with whose will was alwayes concurrant the mind of the king Catholike) and cōtract his daughter with one of the Nephewes of those two kings, induing her for a dowrie with the Duchy of *Millan*: he begā to perswade with the *Swissers*, that for too great hatred against the French king, they would not put him into necessitie to do a matter which should be no lesse prejudiciall to them then to him: He told them they were not ignorant of the ill mind that *Cesar* & the king Catholike bare to them, who if they obtained the Duchy of *Millan* by vertue of accord with the French King, it would be a matter no lesse to the daunger of their liberty and authority, then hurtfull to the prerogatiue of the Church, and perill to the whole state of *Italy*: That they ought to perseuer in their resolution, not to suffer the French king to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, yea they ought also to take heed, least (as it often hapneth in the doings of men) to auoyd too much one extremitie, they fell not into another extremitie more hurtfull and daungerous: That to assure themselues more then need was, that that estate should not reuert to the French, they were not the cause to make it fall into the hands of others, with so much the more perill and ruine to all, by how much lesse they should be found able to make resistance to a farre stronger power then the greatnesse of the French king: That the common weale of *Swissers* hauing made notable their name and reputation in the actions of warre with so many glorious and worthie victories, was to make themselues no lesse famous & renowned by the practises of

of peace: That they were to foresee presently the daungers that were to come, and to remedie them with wisdom & counsell, without suffering things to slide & fall into places, from whence they can not be drawne out & readdressed, but by armes and valour of the hand: That according to the testimony of dayly experience, it hapned often in warre that the valour of men was smothered by the too great power of fortune: That it was a better counsell for them, to moderate in some part the accord of *Dion*, specially the king offering them greater paiments, and promise to make truce for three yeares with the state of *Millan*, so farre forth as they would not constrain him to resigne his interests: which resignation being of greater consequence in apparance then in effect (for when oportunity shall returne to the king to reconquer it; the action of resignement shall be no other impediment to him then he list) things for that difficultie ought not to be reduced to so great a daunger. On the other side he aduised the French king with many working reasons to make election of the lesser ill, and rather to dispose himselfe to ratifie the accord of *Dion*, then to returne to the daunger of oppression by so many enemies in his realme the next sommer. That it was the office of a wise Prince to auoide the greater ill, and to embrace for good and profitable the election of the lesser: That it was contrarie to the wise gouernement of a king, to take himselfe out of one danger and disorder, to runne into another of greater importance and greater infamie: That it could be no honour to him to graunt the Duchie of *Millan* with so manifest a note of cowardize to his naturall enemies; who had pursued him with so manie deceits and subtleties: That it was neither rest nor securitie to him, by diminishing so much his owne reputation, to enlarge the power of such as conspired altogether to pull downe the Crowne of *Fraunce*: That himselfe was a good witnesse that he could not be assured of any promise, of any faith or oath that they make; a matter which he had well knowne by the experience of other times to his great harmes: That truly it was a hard matter to resigne his rights, but the infamie was so much the lesse, by how much a litle billet or writing made not his enemies more mighty: That since it had bene promised without his priuite or consent, it might be said, that it was not his deuise from the beginning, but in the execution he would be so much the more excused, being as it were constrained for the promise made by his people, to keepe somewhat his faith: Besides, the world doth know from how great and desperate a state of daunger, that accord at that time had deliuered the realme of *Fraunce*: That he allowed well that by other meanes and offers he laboured to induce the *Swissers* to his intention: And that touching his part, as he desired for the surety of his kingdome, that in some sort there were made an agreement betwene them & him, so in that action he would omit no good office of amitie and trauell to draw the *Swissers* conformable to his will; but if they would be obstinate, he exhorted him in grauitie & fatherly deuotion to obey time and necessitie, though not for other regards, yet not to take from him the excuse to depart from the alliance he had with his enemies. The king knew that those reasons were full of fidelity and truth, and yet he could not digest them without murmure, for that the Pope had cunningly mingled threats with perswasions: and albeit he confessed that his necessitie constrained him to make some resolution that might diminish the number of his enemies; yet he was at a point rather to giue himselfe vp to all daungers, then to resigne his rightes to the Duchie of *Millan*: whereunto besides his owne inclination, he was encouraged by the importunities and counsels of those of his Court, to whom albeit it was grieuous to follow the warres any more in *Italy*, yet respecting the dignitie of the Crowne of *Fraunce*, it was farre more intollerable to see their king so infamously constrained to disclaime his properties in the Duchie. There was discerned the same obstinacie in the Parliaments and assemblies of the *Swissers*: to whom notwithstanding the king made offer to pay presently foure hundred thousand Crownes, & eight hundred thousand a sundrie tearmes: and albeit the Cardinall of *Sion* with many other of their rulers inclined to accept those conditions, weighing the estate of the danger, if the French king shold ioyne with *Cesar*: & with the king Catholike: yet the commons of that nation increased in their generall hatred to the name of *Fraunce*, and made proud by so manie victories, tooke to themselves a confidence to defend the Duchie of *Millan* against all Princes knit in one strength: the authoritie of the Cardinall of *Sion* was much diminished amongst them, and their other chiefe rulers were suspected by reason of the pensions which they were wont to receiue from the French: matters which made the Cantons with more obstinacie to stand vpon the ratification of the accord of *Dyon*: and besides giuing themselves ouer to rashnesse and disobedience to counsell, they debated

to enter of new into *Burgundy*, an action which the Cardinall and other Chiefestaines amongst them laboured to hinder, not only with manifest authority, but indirectly & with many sleights, deferring from one day to another that resolution. Therefore the French king standing neither offended with them, nor assured of them, forbore not to continue with the king Catholike the practise of the mariage, in the which (as before) the principall difficulty was, whether the Dam-sell should remaine in the power of her father in law, till time had made her able to the consum-mation of the mariage: for that the father retaining her, it seemed to *Cesar*, that he could in no sort be assured of the effect. The king was content to entertaine the difficulties that hapned in this action, for that he saw there was some hope that the brute of this match (which he diligentlie spread abroad) might to his profite mollifie the minds of others, by reason of the interests they had in it. The king Catholike sent to him *Quintaine* his Secretary, who in that negociation he had sent to him the yeare before: and he going afterwards by his consent to *Cesar*, returned est-soones to the French king: at whose returne, to the end the difficulties of the peace might be resolved with greater commoditie and respite, the king and *Quintaine* in the name of the king Catholike prolonged yet for another yeare the truce that had bene made the yeare before: the prolongation was vnder the same conditions that were before, sauing that they suffered a secret addition of this article, that during the truce the French king should not molest the estate of *Millan*: in which article *Genes* nor *Ast* had no comprehension. This condition, which the king concealed as much as he could, the king Catholike caused to proclaime it solemnly through all *Spaine*, a thing which made the world vncertaine which was most true, either the negatiue of the one, or the affirmatiue of the other. In the same couenant was reserved to *Cesar*, and the king of *England*, a respite of three moneths, to enter into the agreemēt: which albeit *Quintaine* did assure on both their behalves, yet touching the king of *England* there was no apparance, and in that he beguiled himselfe much: but for *Cesar*, the king of *Aragon* who alwayes stood resolved not to haue warre on the part of *Spaine*, had perswaded him that there was no better meane to compass the mariage that was sollicit. This prorogation of the truce aggrauated the Popes suspicion, that betweene those three Princes were either made already, or at a point to be made some conclusion of greater things to the harme of *Italie*: and yet for all that, not going from his first deliberation, that it would be a matter verie hurtfull to the common libertie to suffer the Duchie of *Millan* to diuolue into the power of *Cesar* and the king Catholike, and of no lesse perill to haue it recovered by the French king, he found it a hard matter so to temper and proceede in things, that the means which ayded one of his intentions, should not hurt the other, since one of the daungers came of the embasing and the feare, and the other of the greatnesse and suretie of the French king. Therefore to deliuer the king from necessitie to agree with them, he continued his perswasions to the *Swissers* (to whom the truce that was made was suspected) that they had reason to compound with him: and to the end to make to the king in alleuents the dis-cending into *Italy* more hard, he tooke more paines then euer he did to agree *Cesar* with the Senate of *Venice*: who for their parts iudging that to make truce, would be to assure the matters of *Cesar* in the townes that remained to him, stood resolved with a wonderfull constancie of mind: either to make an absolute peace, or to continue the warre, not retiring from so honourable resolution for any accident or ill aduenture whatsoeuer: for, besides so manie aduersities hapned in the warre, and the dispaire, that that yeare the French king would send no armie into *Italy*, they had against them this token both of the anger of heauen, and ill disposition of casuall accidents, which are vainly surmised to depend vpon the power of fortune, that in the beginning of the yeare a great fire kindled in *Venice*, which, beginning in the night at the bridge *Rialto*, was caried by the violence of the North winds, resisting all remedies of the diligence and trauell of men, and consumed the most rich and populous part of the citie.

But because the Pope shewed such forwardnesse to haue them accorded, there was est-soones made betweene the a new compromise in his owne person: which bare full power without limitation, and was not restrained to any time, and yet with a secret promise vnder his hand, to pronounce nothing but by the consent of both parties: and after the arbitration was giuen vp, he enioyned by writ both the one and the other to surcease from armes, an order very slenderly obserued by the *Spaniards* & *Almains*, for that those copanies of the *Spaniards* which were in garrison at *Polesina* & in *Este*, made pillage of the whole conntrie thereabout, and the *Viceroy* sent men

to *Vincenza*, to the end to be in possession at the time when the sentence should be given. Besides these insolencies, Captaine *Frangipan* did many harmes in the countrey of *Friull*, and the *Venetians* not standing carefully vpon their guard, the *Launceknights*, by an intelligence with certaine banished men, tooke *Marano* a towne in *Friull* neare to *Aquilea*, & hath his situation vpon the sea. To encounter these doings the *Venetians* sent thither by land *Baltazar Scipion*, with a certaine proportion of souldiers, & *Ierome Sauorgnano* with many other bands of the countrey men, who being there incamped, and holding the towne strait by the army at sea, there came to the succours of the towne, five hundred *Almaine* horsemen, and a regiment of five thousand footemen: for whose comming those that were within the towne issuing out to assaile the *Venetian* companies, they were put to flight with a great slaughter of men, and no lesse losse of artillery, besides that with certaine ships they tooke from them a gally with many other vessels. After this victory the *Almains* tooke *Monfalcon* by force: and not many dayes after foure hundred horsemen & xij. hundred *Launceknights* that had bene at *Vincenza*, came as a strength to them of *Marano*, who ioyning with the other bands of horsemen and footemen newly come into *Friull*, ouerran the whole countrey. By reason of which oppressions, *Malatesta Sogliano* gouernor of the countrey with fixe hundred horsemen and two thousand footemen, together with *Ierome Sauorgnano* and two thousand of the countrey men, who were now withdrawne into *Vdino*, seeing neither by their valour nor by their fortune they were able to make resistance, passed on the other side of *Liuenza*, giuing succours where they could: but the *Almains* being deuided, one part of the tooke *Feltro* & occupied the whole countrey thereabout with roades and incursions: amid which insolencies the *Venetians* that commanded all the passages, charged certaine bands of them at *Bassan* where they kept no guard. And albeit they were lesse in number, yet they put them to flight & killed three hundred footemen of the five hundred that were there, and tooke prisoners two Captaines & many souldiers. The other part of the *Almains* was gon to incampe at *Oss* standing vpon the top of a sharpe mountaine, and after they had executed vpon the Cattle with their artillery, & giuen many vaine assaults, they hoped to carry it by besieging, hauing some assurance from them within of a want and necessity of water: but the benefit of the heauen remedied that want by the sudden falling of sundry great showers, whereupon they continued afresh the assault, but with so ill successe, that finding neither fruit in the assault, nor fauour in the siege, they leuiued their campe. These matters were not a litle grievous to the Pope, but the thing that troubled him most, was, that he could find no meane of agreement to content both parties: for that because of the continuall variation of things, the hopes changing according to the successe of the same, it fell out that when *Cesar* had consented to leaue *Vincenza*, keeping still *Verona*, the *Venetians* refused vnlesse they were repossessed of *Verona*: and when the *Venetians* much embased by their calamities, would be contented with *Vincenza* onely, *Cesar* on the other side, not satisfied with *Verona*, required also *Vincenza*. These difficulties made wearie the Pope, who though he supposed that his declaration would not be accepted, yet to shew that it was not long of him that they were not reconciled, he pronounced a peace betweene them, with this clause, that armes should be presently layd aside on all sides: he reserued to himselfe this power, to expresse within one yeare the conditions of the peace, wherein, as also in the surceasing of armes, the king Catholike should be comprehended: That *Cesar* should depose out of his hands *Vincenza*, and all else that he and the *Spaniards* possessed in the countries of *Padoa* and *Trenisan*: That the *Venetians* should do the like for *Crema*: And for other things, euery one vntill the publication, should hold what he possessed: That either party should ratifie his sentence within a moneth, and vpon the ratification the *Venetians* to pay to *Cesar* xxv. thousand duckats, and as much more within three moneths next: That if both parts did not ratifie, the sentence should be of none effect. He chose this manner of arbitrating and iudgement not accustomed, as the most indifferent not to displease neither side: and because there was no man had power to ratifie for the king Catholike, notwithstanding his Embassador gaue assurance of his consenting, he reserued to either party so much time to ratifie, as the commission and faculty to do it might conueniently require. But because the *Venetians* were resolute not to ratifie it at all, desiring that at the same time the conditions of peace might be pronounced, the sentence tooke no effect.

The Popes sentence touching the controuersie betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*.

In this time the affaires of the *Venetians* stood in good case touching the defence of *Crema*, which was afflicted within with plague and penurie, and without was besieged with the campe

of the enemies: *Prosper Colunno* was come on the one side to *Efeungia* with two hundred men at armes, two hundred and fiftie light horsemen, and a strength of two thousand footemen: and on the other side was come to *Vmbriana* *Silvio Sautolo* with his guidon of horsemen, and a regiment of two thousand footemen. Both the places were not about two miles distant from *Crema*, from whence the souldiers made many sallies to skirmish with the enemies: who as they were in their lodgings at *Vmbriana*, neither making doubts, nor keeping guard, *Ranse de Cere* with one part of his companies that were within *Crema*, issued out one night, and gaue them a Camuesado in their lodging, when suffering the paines of their owne security and negligence, the most of them were put to flight, and many of their footemen past by the sword. This made *Prosper* retire with his companies, esteeming it little to his safety to remaine there, where the negligence of his fellowes had opened so manifest a gappe to his perill. A few dayes after, the occasion was offered to *Ranse* to passe the riuer of *Adda* by foard, by reason of the lownesse and shalownesse of the water, and hauing drawne ouer his companies at *Chastillon Lodigiano*, he stripped a regiment of fiftie men at armes that lay there, reaping no lesse prayes of these enterprises both happie and full of industry, then were due to him by iust merite vpon the vniuersall beginning: the reputation of his valour and celerity made him to be esteemed one of the principall Captaines in all the regions of *Italy*, wanting nothing to his worthinesse, that either nature or fortune could giue him. These doings drew the *Venetians* to a resolute counsell and courage to proceede to the reconquering of *Friull*, in which expedition they sent thither *Aluiano* with two hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horsemen, & seuen hundred footemen: as they marched along the high way of *Portonovo*, where lay part of the strength of the *Almains*, his light horsemen that scoured before, encountered out of the towne with Captaine *Rissan* an *Almain*, accompanied with two hundred men at armes and three hundred light horsemen, by whom at the first encounter they were repulsed; but *Aluiano* comming to the reskew with the residue of his companies, the skirmish was estoones recontinued with greater fury and danger, & no lesse doubtfull the issue, till Captaine *Rissan* being wounded in the face, was taken prisoner by *Malatesta Sogliano*. The chance of the fight threw the next calamity vpon the souldiers of *Rissan*, who seeking their safety by disorder and flying, retired in their calamity to *Portonovo*: but fearing they should fayle to defend the towne, that were not able to keepe the field, in their feare they fled from the place that earst they ran vnto for succour, abandoning the towne which immediatly was put to sacke, and many bodies of the countrey men slaughtred. After this *Aluiano*, in whom no one vertue was more commendable then his celerity, tooke the way to *Osofo*, which *Frangipan* had newly besieged with the other part of the *Almains*, who hearing of the comming of *Aluiano*, leuied their siege, notwithstanding they lost much of their baggage and artilleries, by a charge which the light horsemen gaue vpon their taile. By the same of these encounters, bringing alwayes with them their victories, almost the whole countrey of *Italy* became returned to the obedience of the *Venetians*: and *Aluiano* attempting a vaine enterprise vpon *Goritia*, retired with his army to *Padoa*, hauing by his owne certificate to *Rome*, subdued what by the sword and prisoners, two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, and two thousand footmē. But by reason of his departing, the number of the *Almains* being increased, they tooke of new *Cromonio* and *Monfalcon*, and constrained the *Venetians* to breake vp their siege from before *Marano*, where not many dayes before, Captaine *Frangipan* had bene taken by ambush and led prisoner to *Venice*: for the *Venetians* feeling supplies and succours to flocke, brake vp from thence in disorder, and as it were discomfited: and a litle after their estradiots being put to flight, *Iohn Vetturio* their assistant was taken with an hundred horsemen. These changes and alterations hapned oftentimes in *Friull* by the neighborhood of the *Almains*, who were not serued in that quarter with other souldiers then trayned and disciplined, and such as after they had ouerrun, and pilld those quarters, and that they perceiued the comming of the *Venetian* regiments, with whom many of the countrey ioyned, they retired immediately to their houses, returning alwayes to the seruice as occasion serued. The *Venetians* sent thither a new supply of companies, by reason whereof the *Viceroy* gaue order, that *Alarson* one of his Spanish Captaines, which lay betweene *Este*, *Montagnano*, & *Cologno*, should go to *Friull* with two hundred men at armes, an hundred light horsemen, & fife hundred footmen: but vnderstanding on the way that a truce was made in the countrey by reason of the haruest, he brake off his purpose and returned from whence he came.

Thus

Thus as the warres of *Italy* proceeded mildly and in an easie course, so also the practises of peace and agreement were not discontinued: for the French king being not altogether deprived of hope that the *Swissers* would consent to receive recompence of money in place of resignation of his interests and rights, sent to sollicite them in that point with great instance. But the Communalities were so farre estranged from the king and his affaires, that after they had compelled with many threatnings the gouernour of *Genuea* (when the ostages fled) to deliuer them as prisoner the president of *Grenoble*, whom the king had sent to that City to negotiate with them: they examined him with many torments, whether any of their nation receiued any increase of pensions, or intertaind secret intelligence with the French king: wherein no humanity nor iustification was sufficient to stop the course of their barbarous cruelty. Besides, the French king was not without suspicion, that the Pope, who for the diuersitie of his plots and intentions, was constrained to sayle with great warinesse amongst so many rockes, would secretly worke the *Swissers* not to couenant with the king without him: not that he doubted he would stirre them vp to make war, from which he dissuaded them so much as he could, but to remaine firme in the accord of *Dion*, or else for feare lest with this beginning they were brought to be separate from him. In these regards the king threatned that he would make hast to come to accord with the residue, for that he alone would not stand thrust out to the battery of the whole world: he was also wearie of the intollerable expences and insolencies of souldiers, for that hauing called into *Fraunce* twenty thousand Launceknights, whom he could not haue altogether, but when the king of *England* lay before *Tournay*, he would not send them backe againe, but retained them in *Fraunce*, to haue them ready for employment in due time according to occasion and necessity. These were they that did infinite harmes in his countrey, with whom his authority was little respected, that by force was not able to repress their insolencies. In these difficulties, and in so great confusion of affaires, the only matter that began to open to the French king the way to his surety and hope to repossesse his first power and reputation, was, the incredible discontentment that the king of *England* receiued of the renouation of the truce which his father in law had made: a matter contrary to his faith and promise many times reiterated, to make no couenant nor contract with the French king without his consent: he complained so much the more publikely of this, by how much it was the third time that his father in law had dallied with him, and therefore he began more and more to estrange his mind from the renewing of the war against the French. The Pope was not negligent to take the oportunity of the kings disposition, and began to worke with the Cardinall of *Yorke* to perswade his king, that contenting himselfe with the glorie he had gotten, and remembring what correspondencie of faith he had found in *Cesar*, in the king Catholike, and the *Swissers*, he would forbear to trauell any more with armes the Realme of *Fraunce*: which the Cardinall tooke vpon him, either for a feare he had that the French king (in case the king of *England* would inuade him) would make peace and parentage with *Cesar* and the king Catholike, as he alwayes threatned: or else he thought that peace ensuing betweene them, it were good for him to aduance himselfe as an actor, and win some fauour with the French king in an action which was not in his power to let. It is most certaine, that when the Pope was told that the French king would take armes against the Duchie of *Millan*, being once assured of the king of *England*: he answered, that he knew well enough the estate of that daunger, but on the other side was to be considered, the perill that might breede of the disunion of those kings: that in a matter of so great importance it was hard to ballance things perfectly, and to find a counsell that were wholly cleare from those dangers: That in all euent the *Swissers* would defend the Duchy of *Millan*: And lastly he answered that it was necessary in deliberations so vncertaine and difficult, to referre one part to the arbitrement of aduenture and fortune. Whatsoeuer was the cause, either for the authority of the Pope, or by the proper inclination of the parties, there began immediatly a practise of accord betweene the king of *England* and the French king: the motions and forespeeches of it were begun by the Pope with the Bishop of *Yorke*, and were with diligence caried into *England*, whither for that businesse the king sent the Generall of *Normandy*, but vnder colour to treat for the deliuey of the *Marquis of Rhabelin*: Assoone as he was come there was proclaimed a surceassing of armes by land onely betweene the two Realmes, so long as the Generall remained in *England*. The king of *England* inclination to peace was increased by the occasion of new iniuries: for where *Cesar* had promised not to ratify without him, the truce made by the king Catholike, he sent notwithstanding to the same king the instrument of ratification, and by a letter which he wrote to the

The hopes of
the French
king.

Treaty of
peace betwene
England and
Fraunce.

French king, he ratified in the name of *Cæsar*, but retained the instrument the better to vse his artificiall senblaunces and demonstrations. Assooe as the negociation was begun betweene the two kings, the Pope desirous to purchase grace wch them both, sent by post into *Fraunce* the Bishop of *Tricarò* to offer him all his authority and faculty, and to that end he arriued in *England* by the sufferance of the sayd king. At the first opening of this practise for peace, there fell out many difficulties, for that the king of *England* demaunded *Boleine* in *Picardy*, with a great summe of money: but at last all the differences fell vpon the towne of *Tournay*, the king of *England* striuing to retaine it, and the French obiecting some difficultie: in so much as the king of *England* dispatched in post to the French king the Bishop of *Tricarò*, whom he charged, without imparting in what nature of particularitie consisted the difficultie, to declare to the king from him, that in regard of so great a benefite, he should not stand vpon so many futtle difficulties, but to consider that in a Prince reason should beare more imperie then passion. The French king, because he would neither do wrong to his Crowne, nor ill content his people, the towne of *Tournay* being verie Noble and loyall to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, caused the matter to be debated in full Councell, wherein was an assistaunce of the principall of his Court, who aduised him with one voyce to embrace peace, yea vnder the condition offered. And yet in that time the king Catholike did what he could to breake it, offering the king many plots and deuises, but specially to minister to him all his meanes and fauours to conquer the Duchie of *Millan*: but the aunswere being returned into *England* that the French king stood contented with the resolution of *Tournay*, the peace succeeded, and was concluded in the beginning of August betweene the two kings during their liues, and for one yeare after their death.

In the capitulation it was expressed that *Tournay* should remaine to the king of *England*, to whom the French king should pay fixe hundred thousand crownes, and that in such sort of distribution that the French king should make payment of an hundred thousand frankes every yeare, till the full payment was satisfied: That they should be bound to defend their estates mutually and reciprocally with ten thousand footemen if the warre went by land, and with fixe thousand onely if the warre were made by sea: That the French king should be bound to serue the king of *England* in all his affaires with twelue hundred launces, and the king of *England* likewise to minister to his seruices with ten thousand footemen: the expences to be defraied by either of them that should haue neede of the men: Both the one and other of them named the Scottish king, the Archduke, and the Empire: But *Cæsar* and the king Catholike were not named: The *Swissers* had a nominatiõ, but it bare a cõdition, that who so euer would defend against the French king, the estate of *Millan*, *Genes*, or *Ast*, should be excluded out of the dominatiõ. This peace which was made with a wonderful readinesse, was cõfirmed by the mariage of the kings sister of *England* with the French king, vnder condition that he should acknowledge to haue receiued foure hundred thousand crownes for her dowry. The contract or handfastings were made in *England*, where the king Catholikes Embassador was not in presence, for the great hatred the king of *England* bare to the king his maister. And euen vpon the conclusion and resolution of this peace, came to the Court of *Fraunce* the instrument of ratification which *Cæsar* had made, together with his commission and the king Catholikes, for conclusion of the mariage that was solicited betweene *Ferd. d' Austriche* and the second daughter of *Fraunce* not yet foure yeares of age: but the practise of that mariage vanished presently by reason of the peace that was now established: and the French king to satisfie better the king of *England*, gaue order that the Duke of *Suffolke* Capitaine generall of the Launceknights that were in his pay, should depart the dominions of *Fraunce*, in whom the honours and recompences that the king made to him ouercame all occasions of discontentment, the bounty and liberality to the one, being no greater then the affability and disposition of the other.

The Fr. King
married the Lady
Mary sister
to the King of
England.

Actions of the
Pope.

The Pope had also in this time made new aliances, for that according to his dissimulations, he wished on the one side that the French king should not recouer the Duchy of *Millan*, and on the other side he sought to entertaine the king and the other Princes as much as he could with sundry meanes: and therefore he had dealt with the king by the Cardinall *S. Seuerin*, who managed his affaires in the Court of *Rome*, that seeing the times suffered not to knit betweene them a more

great

great and more discovered alliance, that at least there might be layd a beginning and foundation, whereupon might be raised a hope to accomplish at another time a more strait intelligence: to those ends he sent him the particularities of articles. But the French king, notwithstanding he made demonstration to like well of the motion, did not answer so directly and speedily as was looked for: he was fifteene dayes in resolving, either for the impediment of other affaires, or that he expected some answer from another place, to the end to proceede according to the trayne of affaires, by which delaying the Pope entred into new capitulations for a yeare with *Cesar* and the king Catholike, which yet comprehended no other matter then the defence of their common estates: for the king Catholike was entred afore, not without cause into suspicion that he aspired to the Realme of *Naples* for *Julian* his brother, and had already entertained in that action some practise with the *Venetians*. This new confederation was scarcely established and concluded, when the French kings answer came. By it he approued all that the Pope had propounded, with this onely addition, that since he was to bind himselfe to the protection of the *Florentines*, of *Iulio de Medici* his brother, and *Lawrence* his Nephew, whom the Pope had aduanced to the administration of the affaires of *Florence*, that he would reciprocally be bound to the defence of the Crowne of *Fraunce*. But the Pope excused himselfe touching the action of capitulation with *Cesar* and the king Catholike, that seeing how long he deferred to make answer to a demaund so reasonable, he could not but enter into some doubt: and yet the confederation was but for a short time, & contained no matter preiudiciall to him, nor to hinder the perfection of the practise begun betweene them. These iustifications were accepted by the king, & so they passed the couenant, not by instrument authentike, to hold it more secret, but by a priuate writing subsigned by both their hands.

The peace betweene the king of *England* and the French king, was more sudden and easie then was expected, being vnlikely that so great hatreds redoubled by new iniuries, should with such facilitie be conuerted into amitie and alliance: haply the peace was not liking to the Pope, who as wel as others was perswaded, that there might grow betweene them rather a truce then a peace, or at least if it resolved to the nature of a peace, it would either intangle the king with harder conditions, or at least with obligation not to assaile the Duchie of *Millan* for a certaine time. But it brought incredible discontentment to *Cesar* and the king Catholike, who, as there is none euill in humane actions which hath not ioyned with it some good, so he assured notwithstanding that he receiued by it in his minde two contentments: the one, for that the Archduke his Nephew being out of hope to giue his sister for wife to the French king, and entring withall into distrust of the king of *England*, would be now compelled to do nothing without his counsell and authoritie: the other, for that the French king standing now in good possibilitie of children, the succession of *Monsieur de Angoulesme* was put in doubt, to whom he bare no little hatred, for that he nourished a great desire to restore the king of *Nauarre* to his estate: onely the *Swissers* gaue it out, that they reioyced all at that accord, notwithstanding they retained against the French king the same hatred they did before: the reason of their gladnesse grew of an opinion they had, that the French king being now at libertie, would take occasion to recontinue the warrè in the Duchie of *Millan*, by which meane they should estsoones begin to declare to all the world their vertue and their faith. And truly it was not to be doubted, that the French king, being now deliuered almost of all feare to haue warre beyond the Mounts, would not be touched with his old desire to reconquer the Duchie of *Millan*: onely it could not be discerned whether he would presently dispose himselfe to armes, or deferre it till the yeare following, for that the facilitie of the enterprise appeared to all men, but there was none that discerned any signe of preparations. In which vncertainty the Pope, notwithstanding that conquest was grieuous to him, stirred him vp not to deferre nor corrupt the present occasions: wherein he gaue him to vnderstand that all things were ill prepared to make resistance, both for that the *Spanish* armie was diminished and ill payd, the peoples of *Millan* reduced to great pouertie and straitnesse, and also none was able to aduance money to make the *Swissers* march. These perswasions caried so much the greater force and authoritie, by how much a little before the peace of the king of *England*, the Pope expressing a desire that the French king should recouer *Genes*, had giuen him a certaine hope to induce *Ottavian Fregoso* to compound with him. Assuredly the Pope in this action proceeded not with sinceritie and good meaning, which disposition moued in him as was supposed, for that seeing every one ill furnished, & no lesse doubting least the French would make that expedition without

his counsell since he had his men at armes in readinesse, and many leauies of Launceknights at his deuotion, thought by that meane to preuent and winne his friendship: perhaps (and in this he proceeded with greater sutteltie) he was induced by the knowledge he had that the Emperour and the king Catholike were of opinion, that it was not lawfull to the French king to inuade the Duchie of *Millan*: an opinion which though they supposed to be true, yet the French king denied it, auowing that it was good in him, and he was not forbidden to take armes against the estate of *Millan* during the truce. By reason whereof, the Pope perswading himself that the king would not enter into the enterprise, thought he would expresse to him a good disposition of will, which also should serue him for excuse, if another time he required succours of him, and the matter succeeded according to his opinion: for, the king being resolved, either for that cause, or for his present necessitie of money, or lastly for the nearenesse of the winter, not to enter into armes afore the spring time, and making shew that he had confidence, that euen in that time the Popes fauour would not fayle him, he wrote answer to him, alleaging many excuses touching his deferring, but concealed the excuse of the truce which yet endured, and perhaps was the principall. Neuerthelesse he had desire to attempt the reconquering of *Genes*, or at least to succour the *Lanterne*, which the same yeare by his direction, had bin reuictualled many times with certaine proportions of victuals by the aduenture of sundry small vessels, who making as though they would enter the port of *Genes*, dissembled with the warders, and were profitable to them of the lantern. But at last the extremitie of victuals growing about all remedie, and no lesse diligence of the enemy to keepe them suppressed in that want, and their calamitie not able to temporise and expect any longer after succours, the garrison within, was driuen to yeeld it vp to the *Genowais*, who in their spite rased it from the foundations: a matter not a little displeasing to the king. And albeit the losse of this fortresse tooke wholly from the king all cogitations to vrge a present war against the *Genowais*, yet it diminished nothing his disposition to the action of *Millan*, whereunto he turned all his preparations, to inuade the yeare following that state with maine armies: he hoped that the Pope, both for the deuout intention he protected, and for the good disposition he had shewed in the negociations with the English and the *Swissers*, and lastly for that he had prouoked him to the enterprise, would ioyne with him & fauour the action, the rather for that he had made him many generall offers, and particularly had promised to ayde him to reconquer the Realme of *Naples*, either to the vse of the Church, or to the benefit of *Iulio* his brother: but there hapned new occasions for the which the king began to enter into some distrust of him. The Pope would neuer put end to the affaires that the Duke of *Ferrara* had with him, notwithstanding at his first aspiring to the Popedom, he had giuen him many faire hopes, promising to render to him *Reggia*, at such time as his brother the Cardinall should be returned from *Hungaria*: but he was more liberall to promise, then ready to performe, for that after the returne of his brother, he went alwayes in deferring with many excuses: and yet he forbore not to confirme to him the selfe same promises not onely with words, which might be vaine and vnassured, but by writing set out vnder the authoritie & testimonie of his name, in which he consented that he should take the reuenues of *Reggia*, as a degree to the whole which was to returne vnder his dominion: it was well knownen that the Popes intention was farre otherwise, dissembling in meaning the things he had simplie spoken with his mouth: his inclination and desire to occupie *Ferrara* were stronger then his promise and true meaning, whereunto happily he was caried by *Albert de Carpie* *Cesars* Embassadour & great enemy to the Duke, and also by the reasons of many others, setting before his eyes the glory of *Iulio* which was perpetuall, for that he had so greatly aduanced and augmented the dominion of the Church: and sometimes they preferred the occasion to bestow an honourable estate vpon *Iulio* his brother, who thirsting after too great things, and nourishing himselfe with hopes immoderate, had voluntarily consented that his Nephew *Lawrence*, should retaine at *Florence* the authoritie of the house of *Medicis*: so that the Pope being entred into these thoughts, obtained of *Cesar* who was alwayes needy of money, to deliuer to him in morgage the citie of *Modona* for fortie thousand duckats according to the capitulation made with him a little afore the death of the late Pope: he made his reckening to vnite that citie with *Reggia*, *Parma*, & *Plasance*, and to giue them in patronage or perpetuall gouernment to *Iulio*, adding to them *Ferrara*, if euer the occasion serued him to get it: he sought to do a thing by authoritie and fauour of times, which he could not do by equitie or lawfull course of iustice. But that maner of morgaging out the French king

The Lanterne of
Genes rased by
the people.

king into great suspicion, for that in his conceit it caried a manifest signe of straight alliance with *Caesar*, being also no lesse discontented that the Pope had giuen him money: whereof notwithstanding, the Pope excused himselfe, alleaging that *Caesar* had deliuered *Modena* to him for assurance of the inuacy which he had receiued of him afore. The king on the other side augmented his suspicion, for that vpon a victorie which the *Purke* got vpon the *Sophy* king of *Persia*, the Pope constituting it to the vniuersall danger of Christendome, wrote letters to all Princes, aduising the to depose armes amongst themselves, to resist or inuade the common enemies of the faith: he protested one thing vnder his letters, and practised another by operations secret, proceeding alwayes with faire apparances, and yet holding his intentions dissembled: but the matter that almost altogether disclosed his purposes, was, that he sent vnder the same shadow & pretence, to *Venice*, *Peter Bembo* his Secretarie, and afterwarde Cardinall, to dispose that state to agree with *Caesar*, towards whom the same difficulties continuuing that had bin before, the *Venetians* would not be wrought, but manifested to the French king the occasion of his comming: a dealing that did so much discontent the king, that the rather for that the Pope sought to depriue him of his succours at a time when he was ready to aduance armes, he renewed enmities with the king Catholike the ancient practices, & that either to the end the Pope should be touched with that feare, or at least if he were carelesse, to conclude absolutely: so hore he was about all other things in the expeditiō of *Millan*.

In those times there were not in any quarter of *Italy* other stirres or emotions, then against the *Venetians*, against whom were raised many secret ambushes and conspiracies: for, according to the testimonie of their Chronicles, certaine *Spanish* footemen faining to be fugitiues from the enemies campe, entred *Padoa* with mindes to kill *Aluiano* by direction of their Captaines, who hoped by the trouble and disorder of the people for the death of such a Captaine, they should be able with their campe to carie the towne: So different at this day are the stratagemes of war from the vertue of the auncients, who much lesse that they would suborne an instrument to so great a treason, but of the contrary hauing knowledge of it, they would lay it open to the enemies, to the end that by their vertue they might vanquish the infidelitie pretended: but the conspiracy being detected, the Magistrates committed the traitors to the due paines of their offence.

The *Spanish* armie, being now well diminished in numbers, lay incamped betweene *Montagnano* *Cologno*, & *Este*: and the *Venetians*, to the end to constraine them to returne to the kingdom of *Naples*, leauied an armie at sea, and made their Admirall or Captaine generall *Andrew Gritti*, whom they thought to send to inuade *Pomilla*: but for many difficulties that happened, that expedition went no further, being alsoone discontinued as it was thought vpon. Afterwarde the *Spaniards* came to the towne neare *Vincenza*, by the perswasion of the *Almains* that were within *Verona*, to the end to ioyne with them in an enterprise to wast and ouerrunne the corne of the *Padoans*. But after the *Spaniards* had taried in that place in vaine many dayes, being both reduced to a very small number, and not able to accomplish the promises vnder the which they had called them, they left there their enterprise to spoyle their corne, forbearing in such rashnesse to do a violence which would draw with it a greater reuenge then was the iniurie: and after they had got of the *Almains* xv. hundred footmen, they marched with seuen hundred men at armes, seuen hundred light horsemen, and three thousand five hundred *Spanish* footemen, to incampe before *Citadella*, wherein were three hundred light horsemen: they marched with great diligence all the night, & came to the place within two houres in the morning, & falling to batter it with their artilleries, they caried the towne the same day at the second assault: they made prisoners all the light horsemen that were there, and so returned to their campe lying within three myles of *Vincenza*, *Aluiano* making no resistance: he had receiued speciall commaundement from the Senate not to fight, and lay incamped vpon *Brenta* with seuen hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and seuen thousand footmen, and the place being strong by situation and defence, gaue him great oportunitie to vex the enemies with his light horseme. Neuerthelesse a little after, he retired to *Barfollō* almost afore the gates of *Padoa*, to the end to draw his army into a place of suretie: but the whole countrey being turned into spoyle & wast, by the pillages that were made by both the armies, the *Spaniards* hauing great want of victuals, retired to their first lodgings from whence they were come, leauing abandoned the Citie of *Vincenza* and the rocke of *Brendola*, which is about seuen myles from it. They relieued themselves with no other subsidies or paymētts, then with the taxes which they imposed vpon *Verona*, *Bressia*, *Bergama*, & other places thereabouts.

Vpon the retiring of the *Spaniards*, *Aluiano* bestowed himselfe with the armie betweene *Batello* and *Padoa*, the place being strong and proper: and there vnderstanding that there was within *Este* a very small & negligent garrison, he sent thither by night foure hundred horsemen & a thousand footemen, who being entred afore they were discerned, tooke fourescore light horsemen of Captaine *Cornero*, who saued himselfe in the Castell, and with that pray retired to the armie. But the *Venetians* hauing sent to the armie fresh bands of souldiers, *Aluiano* drew neare to *Montagnano*, and presented the battell to the *Viceroy*, who refused to accept it being farre inferiour in forces, and so retired to *Polesina de Ronigno*: an oportunitie agreeing to the courage of *Aluiano*, who hauing now no more impediments beyond *Adice*, made dayly incursions euen to the gates of *Verona*: the same so touching the *Viceroy* with the daunger of that Citie, that leauing within *Polesina*, three hundred men at armes and a thousand footemen, himselfe with the residue of the armie went to the defence of that Citie, disposing his forces not sufficiently according to the estate of his perils, but aswell as he was able according to the necessitie of the time.

Farre greater difficulties began to kindle towards *Crema*, which was almost besieged by the companies of the Duke of *Millan* bestowed in the townes and villages thereabouts: for the towne suffered great affliction of famine, great stroke of plague, great disorder of souldiers for want of pay, vniuersall lacke of munitions, with other particular prouisions which had bene many times demanded: aduersities which *Ranse* distrustful to be able no longer to sustaine, had made him almost to protest to the *Venetians*: & yet the same fortune following him with some fauour and countenance, he set vpon *Silvio Saueila*, whose strength was two hundred men at armes, an hundred light horsemen, and fiftene hundred footemen, and tharging him vpon the sudden, he so put him to discomfiture, that he fled to *Loda* onely with fiftie men at armes, seeking safetie rather at aduenture and by chaunce, then by confidence in his valour and prowesse. After this the *Venetians* reuiſtalled *Crema* the second time, and the Count *Nicholas Scot* put into it fiftene hundred footemen: in so much as both the forces and courage of *Ranse* rising increased, he entred a few dayes after the Citie of *Bergamo*, being called in by the townesmen, and the *Spaniards* flying to the Chappell. At the sametime also *Mercurio* and *Malatesta Baillon* tooke three hundred horsemen that were stragling without: but not long after, as *Nicholas Scot* went from *Bergamo* to *Crema* with fise hundred *Italian* footemen, he was encountred with two hundred *Swissers*, who ouerthrew his companies, and tooke him prisoner, & led him to the Duke of *Millan*, who caused his head to be stricken off. This losse of *Bergamo* awaked the *Viceroy* and *Prosper Colonne*, who went and incamped there with fise thousand footemen ioyned to the regiments of the *Spaniards*, and to the bands of the Duke of *Millan*: they planted their artilleries against *S. Katherines gate*, which though it made valiaunt resistance, yet *Ranse* being within, and seeing no possibilitie of long defence, left the towne to discretion, compounding to depart with the liues & goods of all his souldiers, but without sounding of trumpet, and with their ensignes wrapped vpon the *Viceroy* taxed the inhabitants of *Bergamo* at fourescore thousand duckats. But amid these actions and seruices at *Crema* and *Bergamo*, another exploit of greater worthinesse and more full of industry and celeritie, was executed by *Aluiano* in the towne of *Ronigno*, wherein was a garrison of two hundred men at armes *Spanish*, who thought themselves to stand in suretie, for that they had the riuer of *Adice* betweene them & the *Venetian* bands: *Aluiano* when was least doubt of him, cast a bridge neare the towne of *Anguillaro*, and by his industry and diligence made him a passage ouer the riuer, with a company of souldiers resolute and trayned, and no impediment of fluffe or baggage to hinder the enterprife, which was to be executed as much with celeritie as with valour. And as he was arriued at the towne, and had possessed the gate by the stratageme of a hundred footemen attired like paystants whom he had sent before vnder the colour and occasion of the market that was kept there that day, he easily made himselfe Lord of the whole, and tooke prisoners all the men at armes that he found there. In this enterprife he preuailed as much by pollicie as by vertue, which two properties in a man of warre are equally required: & turning neither the one nor the other into rigour nor bloud, he accompanied his valour with clemencie, and spared the liues of those whom his fortune & the course of armes offered to the edge of his sword. By reason of this aduenture, the residue of the *Spaniards* that were lodged at *Polesina*, retired into the Abbey, as to the strongest place in the countrey, and afterwarde leauing abandoned all *Polesina* and *Legnagna*, they fled towards *Ferrara*, carying with them more feare then hope of safetie.

safety. Immediately after the taking of *Rouigno*, *Alusano* marched with the army to *Oppiano* neare to *Legnagno*, whither he caused to be brought by the riuer certaine armed barks: & so he went on to *Villacero* neare to *Verona*, with this resolution, that if from that place he should not be able to take *Verona*, wherein was a strength of two thousand Spanish footemen, and a thousand Launceknights, at least he would keepe it in vexation and torment all the winter long: but being aduertised that an army of three hundred men at armes, five hundred light horsemen, and six thousand footemen of the enemies, were gone vp towards *Legnagno*, he came out of that place, fearing least they would either stop his victuals, or constraîne him to fight: he came within the view of them going towards *Adice*, which they passed at *Albareto*, with no small difficulty of victuals, by reason of the impediments which the light horsemen and the armed barks gaue them: and hearing thereof that the Spanish army after the recovery of *Bergama*, returned towards *Verona*, he determined to abide them no longer, for which cause he sent the companies of men at armes by land to *Padoa*, and passed in person by night by the riuer of *Adice*, with the footemen: he caried with him by water, the artilleries and baggage of the army, both to auoide the raines and mires which were great, and also for feare to be charged by the enemies to whom the waters that were then risen very high, gaue great impediments: and as soone as he had taken land, he retired with his accustomed celerity to *Padoa*, where the men at armes were entred two dayes before: afterwards he distributed his army betweene *Padoa* and *Treuisa*: and the *Viceroy* and *Prosper Colonna*, after they had sent their men to lye in garrison at *Polesina de Rouigno*, went vp to *Isppruch* to consult with *Cesar* vpon the estate of the affaires.

This yeare the countrey of *Friull* remained in tranquillity more then was wont for the taking of Captaine *Frangipan*, the only man that afflicted it more then any other: and therefore the *Venetians* knowing how much it imported them to retaine it, had refused to render it in exchange of *John Pawle Baillon*: he, for that solicitation had bene made at *Rome* to exchange him for *Carnaiial*, had got leaue of the *Spaniards* to go to *Rome*, giuing his faith to returne prisoner, if the permutation could not be agreed vpon: But for that during the treaty, it hapned that *Carnaiial* dyed, *John Pawle* affirmed, that by the benefit of the accident, he was at liberty, and so holding himselfe acquitted, he would no more returne to him whose prisoner he was. About these times and towards the latter end of the yeare, the families of the *Adorney* & *Fiesquey* entred *Genes* by night, by a secret fauor and working of the Duke of *Millan*, as was supposed: and albeit by conspiracy and intelligence they were come as farre as the pallace greene, yet their fortune being somewhat inferior to the valor of their enemies, they were chased out againe by *Ottavian Fregoso*, who going out against them euen vntill beyond the barriers accompanied with the footemen of his gard, fought valiantly in his owne person, and put them to flight: he was not otherwise wounded then in the hand, being recompensed (besides the honor of the victory) with the persons of *Simbould de Fiesque*, *Ierome Adorno*, and *John Camilla* of *Naples*, as his prisoners.

Amid these affaires of warre and seruice, it is not vnworthy of memory, to report that this yeare there were seene at *Rome* two Elephants, a nature of creatures which happily had not bene seene in *Italy* since the triumphs & publike playes of the *Romaines*. *Emanuel* king of *Portugall* sent to the Pope a very honourable Embassage, and withall; presented him with two huge and stately Elephants which his ships had brought by sea from *India*: their entring into *Rome* was celebrated with a very great concourse of people, some wondring at the strange forme and stature of the beasts, some maruelling to what vses thier nature inclined them, and some coniecturing the respects and purposes of such a present, their ignorance making their wonder farre greater then their reason.

Two Elephants
presented to the
Pope.

But about those times the French king, who had other cares in his mind then pompes and spectacles, solicited all sorts of prouisions for the warre: and albeit he was determined resolutely to prosecute the enterprise of *Millan*, yet, desiring to be assured of the Popes will, he prayed him to declare himselfe in his fauour: wherein to draw him on the rather, he confirmed to him the offers he had made to him afore, assuring him for end, that if he were disappointed of his amity and the expectation of it, he would estoones ioyne himselfe to those conditions of *Cesar*, and the king Catholike, which he had already refused. In this demaund he debated with him the power of his kingdom, the strength of his confederations, and the proportion of succors promised by the *Venetians*: how at that time the forces of *Cesar* & king Catholike were smal in *Italy*, & how both

the one and other were very needy of mony, and hauing no meane to pay their owne souldiers, much lesse that they were able to defraie the *Swissers*, who would not descend from their mountaines without good certainty of pay: That the popularity of *Millan* hauing proued the hard yoke of others, expected with an vniuersall desire the returne of the French iurisdiction: That the victory of *Millan* ought not to giue cause to the Pope to arme and band against him, both for that the greatnesse of the kings of *Fraunce* in *Italy*, and his owne authority, had bene in all seasons profitable to the sea Apostolike: And also standing alwayes contented with the things that of right appertained to them, they rose not higher into humors of ambition, nor once lifted vp their minds to aspire to the residue of *Italy*; a matter well testified by so many experiences: That the intention of *Cesar* & the king Catholike was far other, hauing aboue all other things thirsted after the whole Empire of *Italy*, & to subiect the regions thereof, either by armes, by alliances, or by pollicies: That they haue nourished a perpetuall disposition of mind, to reduce into thralldom, no lesse then other states, the sea Apostolike & the Popes of *Rome*; a desire which all the world knew to be very ancient & resolute in *Cesar*: That therefore, he wold at one time prouide for the safety of the Church, defend the common libertie of *Italy*, reestablish the greatnesse of the family of *Medicis*, & that he should not be curious to employ the present occasion, which wold not be eftsouenes presented, neither with the fauor of a better time, nor with the opportunity of better alliance then his. On the contrary, for *Cesar* & the king Catholike, there wanted no perswasions full of affection & efficacy, that he would ioyne with the for the defence of *Italy*: wherein was not forgotten to be alleaged, that if they conioyned altogether, they were able to chase the French king out of the Duchy of *Millan*, & their power was no lesse sufficient to defend it against him: That he was to remember the wrong that he had done to the king the yere past, sending mony to the army of the *Swissers* at such time as the French campe marched into *Italy*: Lastly that he had to consider that if the French king obtayned the victory of *Millan*, he would not be vnmindfull to reuenge all the wrongs he had receiued, and to assure himselfe of all dangers and suspitions to come. But the Pope was much more moued with the authority & offers of the *Swissers*, who, continuing in their first oblinacies, offered to command and defend with 6000 footmen the passages of the Mount *Senis*, of the Mount *Geneure*, & *Finalo*, receiuing one by the moneth 6000 florins of *Rhein*: and in case their payes might be aduanced to forty thousand florins by the moneth, they offered to inuade *Burgundy* with twenty thousand footmen. These perplexities made the Pope doubtfull in himselfe, & as feare withdrew him from the thing whereunto his will did driue him, so amid so many variations of mind, he deferred as much as he could, to declare his intention, giuing to euery one words and answers general. But being continually importuned by the French king, at last he made him this answer, that there was no person that knew better then himselfe, how much he was inclined to his affaires, being not ignorant with what affection he perswaded him to passe into *Italy*, at a time when he might haue victory without danger or great effusion of blood: That his perswasions, for that things were not kept secret as he had oftentimes required him, were now come to the knowledge of others, to the common detriment of them both: for that for his part, he saw himselfe in danger to be assailed by others, & that the difficulties were become the greater for the enterprize of the king, since others had giuen such order to their affaires, that he could no more enter into the victory but with manifest perill and lamentable slaughter of men: That the power and glory of the Turkes being newly increased by so great a victory and successe, it was neither conuenient to his condition, nor conformieable to the office of a Pope, either to giue fauor or counsell to Princes christened, to make war amongst themselues: and that therefore he could not otherwise aduise him, then to temporise & surcease, expecting some other facility & better occasion, which when it hapned, he should find in him the same disposition to his glory & greatnesse, which he hath so well discerned certaine moneths passed: an answer, which (albeit it did not in other sort expresse his conception) if it had come to the knowledge of the king, it had not only depriued him of all hope of the Popes fauor, but also haue certified him that the Pope would haue ioyned and banded against him, both with counsell and with armes: These were the accidents of the yeare 1514.

1515
The death of
King Louis the
twelfth

But death, who bringeth with him this law and authority, to cut off the vaine counsels of men euen in their greatest hopes, was the cause that the warre so forward in apparence, burst not out to action with that speede that was expected: for, whilst the French king gaue himselfe ouer to behold too much the excellent beauty of his new wife, bearing then but eight years of age,

age, nothing considering the proportion of his owne yeares, nor his decayed complexion, he fell into the rage of a feauer, which drawing to it a sudden fluxe, ouercame in one instant the life, that nature gaue quer to preserue any longer; he dyed the first day of the yeare 1515, a day of memory for the death of so great a Prince: he was a king iust and much beloued of his peoples, but touching his condition, neither afore he was king, nor after he had the Crowne, he neuer found constancy or stability in either fortune: for, rising from a small Duke of *Orleance* with great happinesse to the Crowne, & that by the death of *Charles* yonger then he, & two of his sons, he conquered with a very great facility the Duchy of *Millan*, and the kingdom of *Naples*, and almost all the residue of the regions of *Italy* being gouerned for many yeares by his direction: he recouered with a very great prosperity, the state of *Genes* that was in rebellion, and vanquished with no lesse glory the armies of the *Venetians*, being in person at both those victories. But on the other side, euen when he was in youth and best disposition of body, he was constrained by king *Louis* the xj. to marry his daughter, that was both barren and deformed, & yet could neuer get the good will nor countenance of his father in law: and after his death, such was the greatnesse of the Lady of *Burbon*, that he could neuer get the institution of the new king being then in minority, being almost compelled to retire himselfe into *Brittaine*: where being taken in the battell of *S. Aubin*, he liued two yeares in the calamity of a prisoner. To these afflictions may be added the siege & famine of *Nouaro*, the many discomfites he had in the Realme of *Naples*, the losse of the estate of *Millan*, *Genes*, and all the townes which he had taken from the *Venetians*: and lastly the grievous war he had in *Fraunce* against very mighty enemies, his eyes beholding into what lamentable perils his Realme was brought. Neuertheless afore he died, it seemed he had conquered all his aduersities, & fortune shewed good tokens of her reconciliation, both for that he had defended his kingdome against mighty enemies, & also established a perpetuall peace, & aliance with the king of *England*, with whom by how much his amity was great and assured, by so much it gaue him hope to be able to reconquer the Duchy of *Millan*.

After *Louis* the xij, ascended to the Crowne *Francis d'Angoulesme*, who was the next heire male of the blood royall, & of the same line of the Dukes of *Orleance*: he was preferred to the succession of the kingdom before the daughters of the dead king, by the vertue & disposition of the law Salike, a law very ancient in the Realme of *Fraunce*, which excludeth from the royall dignity all women, so long as there is any issue male of the same line. The world had such a hope in his vertues, & such an opinion of his magnanimity, & such a conceite of his iudgement & wit, that euery one confessed that of very long time there was none raised vp to the Crowne with a greater expectation: he was made the more agreeable to the fancies of men, by the consideration of his age, bearing the but xxij. yeres, his excellēt feature & proportiō of body, his great liberality, & general humanity, together with the ripe knowledge he had in many things: but specially he pleased greatly the Nobility, to whom he transferred many singular & great fauors. He tooke vpō him together with the title of the French king, the name of the Duke of *Millan*: a dignity which he sayd, appertained to him not only by the ancient rights of the Dukes of *Orleance*, but also as cōprehended in the inuestiture that was made by *Cesar* in the treaty of *Cambray*. Besides, there liued in him the same desire to recouer it that died with his predecessor: whereunto not only the working of his owne inclination, but the perswasions of all the Noble yong Gentlemen of *Fraunce* did induce him, no lesse by the memory of the glory of *Gaston de Foix*, the for the monumēt of so many victories as the kings reigning next afore had obtained in *Italy*: and yet (not to warne others afore the time not to prepare to resist him) he dissembled his desires by the aduise of his graue counsellors, & in the meane while fell to practise the amities of other Princes: from whom were sent to congratulate with him many Embassadors, whom he receiued with countenance affable & gracious, but specially the Embassadors of the king of *England*, who desired to continue with him the amitie begun with his predecessor, the iniuries he had receiued frō the king Catholike being yet fresh in memory. There came at the same time an Embassage from the Duke of *Austrich*, whereof the Lord of *Nausan* was chiefe, & in this Embassage, for the regard of the Earle of *Flānders*, whereof the kings of *Fraunce* are soueraignes, were discerned demonstratiōs of great submissiō, in acknowledging of superiority. Both the one & the other of these Embassages had a ready & happy expectation: for touching the king of *Englād*, the cōfederatiō betweene him & the late king was cōfirmed vnder the same cōditions so long as either of the should liue, reseruing a respite of iij. yeres for the

Francis the first comes to the Crowne.

The French king assumeth the title of Duke of Millan.

Scottish king to enter in it: and for the Archduke, many differēces ceased, which many men supposed would haue giuen great impediments to the action of the peace: but the Archduke being now in full maority, & newly taken vpon him the government of his estates, was drawne to the peace for many causes: first for the instance of the people of *Flanders*, who would in no wise haue war with the Realme of *Fraunce*: secondly for a desire he had to be assured of such impediments as might be opposed against him by the French in the succession of the Realme of *Spaine*, where the death of his grand father shold happen: and lastly for that he thought it too great a danger, to dwell without any league of amity in the midst of the powers of *England* and *Fraunce* being conioyned together. And on the other side, the king desired greatly to take away all occasions that might restrain him to be gouerned by the authority & counsell of his grandfather, either by the fathers or mothers side: so that at last there was enacted betwene them in the towne of *Paris*, a perpetual peace & confederatiō, reseruing faculty to *Cesar* & the king Catholike (without whose authorities the Archduke contracted) to take their place in this peace within three moneths. In this capitulation was promised the accomplishment of the mariage betwene the Archduke & Lady *Renee* daughter to king *Louis*, solicited so many times before: & that the king should endue the mariage of Lady *Renee* with sixe hundred thousand crownes and the Duchy of *Berry* in perpetuity aswell for her children as for her. This dowry, in respect of her insufficient age at that time, shold be assigned to her assoone as she shold come to the age of ix. yeres, vnder this conditiō notwithstanding, that she shold renounce al rights of inheritance either by the father or mother, & namely such as might appertaine to her of the Duchy of *Millan* & *Brittaine*: that the king should be bound to ayde the Archduke with men & ships to go to the kingdom of *Spaine*, after the death of the king Catholike. At the request of the king, the Duke of *Guelares* was also named: & as some write, besides the matters afore rehearsed, it was agreed that in both their names ioyntly, Embassadors shold be set to the king of *Aragon*, to require him to publish the Archduke Prince of the realmes of *Spaine*, such is the title of him to whom the succession appertaineth: That he would render the kingdom of *Nauarre*, & abstaine fro the defence of the Duchy of *Millā*. Here it is not to be doubted, that both these two Princes making this confederation, looked not more to the present comodity that appeared, then to the obseruation of the same in time to come: for what foundatiō could be layd vpon the mariage that was promised, the Lady *Renee* beeing as yet scarcely foure yeares? And how could it please the French king that that damsell should be the wife of the Archduke, who (her eldest sister being the kings wife) had her action prepared vpon the Duchy of *Brittaine*? for that the *Britons* desiring once to haue a particular Duke, at such time as *Anne* their Duchesse married the second time, agreed that the Dukedome shold appertaine to the youngest of the children and descendants of her, if the eldest were preferred to the Crowne of *Fraunce*. In like sort the French king treated with the king Catholike to prolong the truce made with his predecessor, but to leaue out this condition not to molest the Duchy of *Millan* during the truce: he hoped he shold afterwards compound easily with *Cesar*. By which reason he kept in suspence the *Venetians*, who offered to renew the league made with his predecessor, wishing that he were in his liberty to accord with *Cesar* against them. But the king Catholike, notwithstanding he stood still possessed of his desire not to haue warre in the frontiers of *Spaine*, considering how great suspition the prolongation of the truce might giue to the *Swissers*, which might also be the cause that the Pope, who till then had bene in doubt, might turne to the French amity, refused at last to prolong the truce, but vnder the same conditions it had bene renewed with the last king: so that the Pope, shut out of that hope, and lesse expecting to contract with *Cesar* against the will and counsels of that king, reconfirmed with the Senate of *Venice* the league, in the same forme it had bene made with his predecessor. Now there remained the Pope & the *Swissers*: Touching the *Swissers* he required that they would admit his Embassadors, but they refused to giue the safe conduct, vsing the same rudenesse they had done before. And for the Pope, vpon whose will depended wholly the *Florentins*, he required no other thing of him, then that he would keepe him out of all bond, to the end that when by the traine of affaires he shold be counselled to resolue, it might be in his power to make choyce of the better, perswading him that he shold neuer find in any, either for his owne particular or for the aduancement of his house, a greater amitie, a more assured faith or more honourable conditions.

After the king had layd these foundations for his affaires, he beganne with great care to leue provisions

prouisions of money, and to increase the bands of his men at armes to the number of foure thousand: he published that he made those preparations, not of intention to make war for that yeare, but onely to make head against the *Swissers*, who threatened him to inuade *Burgundy* or *Dauphine*, if he would not accomplish the covenants made at *Dyon* in the name of the late king. Many beleueed him in the semblances he made, th^o rather for the example of the kings of *Fraunce*, who haue alwayes forborne to entangle the first yeare of their raigne with new warres: but that coniecture caried not such impression in the minds of *Cesar* and the king of *Aragon*, to whom the kings youth was suspected, and the facilitie he had (more then other kings) to commaund the forces of the kingdome of *Fraunce*, and the loue of his people opening a way and readinesse to all that he would desire. Besides, they were not ignorant of the great preparations that king *Lewys* had left, the same making demonstration, that seeing he was assured of the king of *England*, he did not of new determine to make warre, but rather did entertaine and recontinue the plot that was laid before. Therefore because they would not be taken vnprovid^d, they fell to sollicite a confederation with the Pope and with the *Swissers*: but the Pope entertaining both parties with words gracious, and studying to nourish them all with diuerse hopes, deferred still to make any certaine declaration. And touching the *Swissers*, their former hatreds did not only still continue, but by time were made greater by increase of occasions, for that the causes that had taken their beginning of griefes publike, both for the deniall of the augmentation of their pensions, for the calling of Launceknights to the kings pay, and for the disdainfull and iniurious words deliuered against their nation, were redoubled and reincreased of priuate sorowes, displeasures, and ambitious desires: the same rising both vpon an enuy which the Commons bare to many particulars receiuing gifts and pensions of the King, and also for that those factions that most hotly objected themselues against such as followed the French amities, which commonly were called at that time *Gallizzanti*, being by that meane aduanced with the fauour of the Commons, into reputation and greatnesse, feared a diminution of their authority, if the common weale were of new reallied with the French: in so much that the counsell and disputation of affaires passing, not in a course of publike zeale, but with ambition and diffentions ciuill, and these bearing more credit then the *Gallizzanti*, it was obtained that they should refuse the vnreasonable offers of the French King.

In this disposition of minds and affaires the Embassadors of *Cesar*, King of *Aragon*, & Duke of *Millan*, assembled and met afore the *Swissers*, and contracted with them in the name of their Princes, a confederation for the defence of *Italy*, reseruing a respite for the Pope to enter, vntill the Monday of the lent following. In this capitulation it was agreed, that to compell the French King to disclaime all his rights & interets in the duchy of *Millan*, the *Swissers* receiuing monethly of the other confederates thirty thousand duckets, should inuade either *Burgundy* or *Dauphin*: & the King Catholike with a mighty army should make strong war vpon the realme of *Fraunce*, either vpon the side of *Parpignan* or *Fontaraby*. By these inuasions the confederates pretended, that the French King compelled to applie to the defence of his owne realme, should haue no opportunitie to molest the Duchy of *Millan*, though he had made a resolution agreeable to his will: this deliberation of the King was kept secret vntill the moneth of Iune, but at last, such was the greatnesse & care of the feuerall preparations, that they could no longer dissemble so great & apparent stirres. The prouisions of money were great and vniuersally reached to all the parts in the realme, he leauied many bands of Launceknights, he caused to be drawne towards *Lyon* great store of artilleries: & had lately sent into *Gusen* to leauy ten thousand footmen from the marches of *Nauarre*, vnder *Peter* of *Nauarre*, who was newly entred into his pay: this was the reason that he ioyned himself to the French seruice, the King of *Aragon* was discontented with him, & charged him most of all others with the ill successe of the battell of *Rauenna*: he wold not pay his ransom that was rated at 20000 duckets, which the late King had giuen to the Marquis of *Rottelin* to recompence in some part the hundred thousand Crownes which he had paid in *England* for his ransom: but the new King electing him to his seruice, defrayed his ransom at his first comming to the Crowne, & tooke him into his pay: which yet the said *Peter* of *Nauarre* wold not accept, til, for the safety of his honor, he had sent to the King of *Aragon* to excuse himself, that being abandoned of him, he gaue place to necessity, renouncing notwithstanding the estates which he had giue him in the kingdome of *Naples*. By this time it was manifest to all the world, that those preparations tended to make war vpon the Duchy of *Millan*, & that the king determined to go thither in

*Preparations
of the French
king against
the Duke of
Millan.*

person: so that the king began in demands and speeches disclosed, to require the Pope to ieyne with him, wherein he vsed besides, manie other instruments and perswasions, by the meane of *Iulian* his brother, who had newly taken for wife *Hilberia* sister to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*, & aunt to the king by the mothers side, his dowrie being assigned to him vpon the hundred thousand Crownes which the Pope gaue him. This gaue the king some hope that the Pope respecting the alliance, would be readily inclined to embrace his amitie, and the rather for that he hauing before treated with the king Catholike to marrie *Iulian* with one of his parêts which was of the house of *Cardona*, it seemed he had preferred that alliance to the other, more for his owne regard then for other reason: he doubted not also that *Iulian* would not willingly help forward for desire to get by that meane some estate, by the which he might furnish the expetices conuenient to so great a marriage, and withall the better to establish the perpetuall gouernment which the Pope had newly giue of the cities of *Modena*, *Reggia*, *Parma*, & *Plaisance*: which being not supported by the fauor of mightie Princes, he had litle hope to be able to keep the after the death of his brother. But the king began euen now to fall frō his hope, both for that the Pope had transferred to the king of *Aragon* for two yeares the moneys & collections called the Croissards of the realme of *Spaine*: whereof it was thought, he would draw by way of contribution about a million of duckets: and also for that he heard with great inclination *Alberto Carpy* and *Ier. Vich* Embassadors of *Cesar* and the king Catholike, who did not onely keepe almost alwayes about him, but also it seemed the Pope did communicate with them all his counsels: neuertheless the Pope entertained the king in suspence, both giuing good words, and shewing sound intention to those that negociated for the king, but alwayes without any resolution: as one that desired about all other things that the Duchie of *Millan* should not be possessed by forraigne Princes: therefore the king, whom it imported to be better assured of his intention, addressed to him new Embassadors, amongst whom was *William Buda* of *Paris*, a man in science of humanitie either Greeke or Latine, of most absolute and onely erudition of all the learned men of our time: afterwards he sent to him in the same Legation *Anth. Maria Paluioism*, a man verie acceptable to the Pope, seeking to omit no meane wherein might be any oportunitie to aduance his purpose: but all was labour lost, for that before his coming, euen from the moneth of *Iuly* he had very secretly contracted with the others for the defence of the estate of *Millan*: notwithstanding seeking to keepe couered that resolution untill the necessity of affaires constrained him to declare himself, and desiring withall to publish it with some excuse: sometimes he required the king to cōsent that the Church might retain *Parma* & *Plaisance*, & somtimes he preferred other demands, to the end that any one of the things which he demaunded being refused, it might appeare that necessitie more then will, had caried him to knit with the kings enemies: and at that time, distrusting not to be denied of some one of those things which altogether he would not prefer without some honest colour; he made diuerse answers doubtfull, futtle, & irresolute. But as for the doings of mortall men there is reserued in the infallible iustice of God an equall measure and like proportion of recompence, so there were others that vsed towards him the same sleights and futilities wherewith he abused the king: for *Ostauian Fregosa* Duke of *Genes*, fearing on the one side the great preparations of the French king, and on the other side holding for suspected the victorie of the confederates for the inclination of the Duke of *Millan* and the *Swissers* to their aduersaries, had made a very secret cōtract with the French king by the mean of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and yet verie firmly assured the contrarie to the Pope, both in the time of the action, and after it was resolved: yea, because *Ostauian* was one of the ancient friends of the Pope, and of his brother *Iulian*, to whom they had borne no small fauours at such time as he was created Duke of *Genes*, the Pope did so simply beleeeue him, that the Duke of *Millan* suspecting things for the rumours and brutes that went, and determined to inuade him with foure thousand *Swissers* already come to *Nouaro*, together with the faction of the *Adorney* and the *Fiesquey*, the Pope was the cause that the enterprise brake and passed no further.

Ostauian Fregosa Duke of *Genes* cōpōnds with the French king.

This was the capitulation of *Ostauian Fregosa*: That the towne and iurisdiction of *Genes* should be rendred to the king, together with the castle: That *Ostauian* should beare no more the name of Duke, but take vpon him the name of perpetuall Gouernour of *Genes* for the king, with power to dispose the offices of *Genes*: That the king should giue vnto him 20 hundred men at armes, the order of *Saint Michael*, and a yearely pension during his life: That the king should

Should not recdifie the fortresse of *Codisa* verie hatefull to the *Genowayes*, and should also re-continue and graunt to the citie all those capitulations and priuiledges which had bene reuerfed and burned by king *Louys*: That he should giue a certaine proportion of Ecclesiastike reuenues to *Pederico* Archbishop of *Salerno*, and bother to *Ostauian*, and to himselfe certaine places in *Prouence*, if euer it hapned that he were chased out of *Genes*. Whē these matters were spread abroad, it was not hard for *Ostauian* to iustifie his resolution, for that it was discerned of all men, that he had great reason to feare the Duke of *Millā* & the *Swissers*: the only thing that was noted in him, was, that he had so many times denied the truth to the Pope, of whom he had receiued so many benefites, and had broken his promise and faith, in entring into couenants without his priuie: and yet in a long letter which he wrote to him afterwards for his iustification, he discoursed at large with great care and humilitie, the causes that had moued him, together with all the excuses wherin he might reasonably defend his honour and the propertie of the action: he told him nothing was done in despising the respect and deuotion which he owed him, acknowledging in his person the full maietie of Pope, and his chiefe raiser and aduancer: his conclusion was, that it would be more hard for him to be iustified, if he wrote to persons priuate, or to any Prince, that measured the affaires of estate according to regards priuate: but writing to a Prince wiser aboue all others of that time, and to whose wisdom it was seene he could not otherwise saue his estate, that it was matter superfluous to offer excuses to him that so well vnderstood and knew what was lawfull to Princes, or at least what they were wont to do, not only when they were reduced to those necessities, but also when they went about to increase or make better the conditions of their estate.

But by this time matters were wrought from words & counsels to deeds & execution: for the king that was now come to *Lyons* accompanied with the whole presence of the Nobles of *Fraunce* & Dukes of *Lorraine* & *Gueldres*, cauled to march towards *Italy* his power, which was the most mightie & flourishing armie that had bene seene of long time: he stood assured to haue no troubles beyond the Mounts, for that the king of *Aragon*, who fearing at first least so great preparations might be turned against him, had armed his frontiers, and perpetually vnitied the realme of *Naples* to the kingdome of *Castille*, to make those peoples more readie to defend it: and as soone as he had credible vnderstanding, that the warre should be made in *Italy*, he dismissed all the companies he had leauied, holding no more reckening of his promise made that yeare to the confederates to make warre vpon *Fraunce*, then he had done of all other couenants and contracts made to them the yeares before: so ready he was to be caried by occasions, and so light to lay downe his faith and word, more to the profite of his affaires, then preservation of his reputation and honor.

At the brute of the descēding of the French king, the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, who hauing bin many moneths as it were in truce with the *Venetians*, & now come to the country of *Vincenza*, to draw neare to the enemies that lay incamped in a verie strong place neare *Vincenza*: remoued his army to *Verona*, to go (as he said) to the succours of the Duke of *Millan*: and the Pope dispatched into *Lombardy* his companies of men at armes, with the regiments of the *Florentines*, vnder the gouernement of his brother, chosen Captaine of the Church, to minister likewise to the aide of *Millan*, according to his resolution not many dayes before with the other confederates. Neuerthelesse he forbare not to preserue in his faire shewes and semblances, making the world to beleue that he sent out that strength only for the gard of *Plaisance*, *Parma*, and *Reggia*: wherein he had so cunningly proceeded with the Embassadors of *Fraunce*, that the King now doubting no more to fall to agreement with him, had dispatched from *Lyons* to his Embassadors, a new commission, with authoritie to conclude, consenting that the Church should remaine possessed of *Plaisance* and *Parma* vntill he had satisfied it with such a recompence as the Pope should hold himselfe contented. But all these remedies were but cures vnperfect, whose sores burst out after againe: they were shadowes whose bodies were farre off, yea they serued for nothing, for those causes that hereafter shall be expressed: for it was a destinie set downe that the defence or losse of the Duchy of *Millan* should be excuted only with the danger & bloud of the *Swissers*, who not staying for any impediment or small quantity of money in prest, descended by such heapes and trowpes into the Duchie of *Millan*, that their armie there was aboute twentie thousand, of whom tēue thousand were drawne neare to the mountaines. It was a counsell taken

The Swissers amongst them, to keepe against the French, the straight passages of those valleyes which being at
seeke to stop the the foot of the *Alpes* that deuide *Italy* from *Fraunce*, come to open the felues vpon the plaines
passage of the of *Lombardy*.
Frenchmen.

This counsell of the *Swissers* troubled greatly the mind of the king, who afore had promised to himselfe an assured victorie by the greatnesse of his forces, not remembering that the successe of warre respecteth other considerations then the multitudes of souldiers: he had in his armie two thousand fiue hundred launces, xxij. thousand Launceknights led by the Duke of *Gueldres*, ten thousand footmen of *Peter Nauarre*, eight thousand Frenchmen, and three thousand labourers that were paid according to the rate of the other footmen. The king considered with his Captains that in regard of the valour of the *Swissers*, it was impossible to driue them from those straight and strong passages, but with a farre greater number: and yet considering the nature of those straights, so great numbers could not be but hurtfull to the seruice: and much lesse in so litle time could they do any thing of consequence, and least of all be able to nourish any long season so great an armie in a countrey so barraine, notwithstanding there was continuall traffike of victuals to the mountaines. Amid these difficulties, some of the Captaines that were of opinion rather to diuert and draw them away then to set vpon them, gaue counsell to send out eight hundred Launces through *Prouence*, and *Peter Nauarre* by sea with his ten thousand country men, which should all ioyne together at *Sauonne*: others were of aduise that to go so farre about were to loose too much time, that it would weaken the armie, and increase too much the reputation of the enemies, who would not doubt to boast that they had not the courage to encounter with them: so that it was resolued, that not retiring so much from that straight, they should assay to passe by some other way, that either was not kept by the enemies, or at least not so strongly defended: and that *Emard de Prio* with foure hundred Launces and fiue thousand footmen should take the way to *Genes*, not in hope to draw them downe from their mountaines, but to make warre vpon *Alexandria* and the other townes beyond *Paw*.

There be two wayes in the *Alpes* that leade ordinarily from *Lyons* into *Italy*, the one is called *Monfane* (a mountaine within the iurisdiction of the Duke of *Sauoy*;) it is the shortest way, the straightest way, and most beaten way: the other is called the mount *Geneure* within the gouernment of *Dauphine*, a way longer then the other, and leades by crookings and turnings to *Grenoble*: both the one and the other falleth into the way of *Susa*, where the plaine beginneth to enlarge: but the French armies are alwayes wont to passe by the mount *Geneure*, notwithstanding it be a way somewhat longer, because it hath a facility of passage, & more cōuenient to draw the artillery. The *Swissers* that were careful to keep those two passages & the other paths therabouts, were lodged at *Susa*, the cause was, that the passages which be lower drawing towards the sea, were so straight & steepe; that it seemed impossible to draw any artillerie, being verie hard to passe thither the horses of so great an army. On the other side *Triunlce*, to whom the king had giuen that charge, being followed with verie many pyoners, and hauing about him men painefull & experienced to draw artilleries, whom he sent to search the places that were there, went sounding the passages, if he could find libertie of way without impediment of the *Swissers*: by which occasion, the armie that for the most part was disperfed betweene *Grenoble* and *Briançon*, marched slowly, expecting what should be determined, whereunto there was a constraint by a necessitie to abide the prouisions of victuals.

The king of About this time the king of *England* sent a Gentleman to the French king, who was now departed from *Lyons*, to tell him on the behalfe of his king, that he ought not to passe into *Italy* for feare
England sends to trouble the vniuersall peace of Christendome. The cause of so great variation and change of
to the French that king was, that he was iealous of the alliance betweene *Fraunce* and the Archduke, fearing
king not to least the affaires of that Crowne would take a course too happie: in which considerations he began
passee into Italy afterwards to giue willing care to the Embassadors of the king Catholike, who with continuall reasons put into his mind, how hurtfull the greatnesse of the French king would be to him, in whom he could not hope for any other affection then of an enemy, as well for the naturall hatred of that nation, as for his late actions of war and hostility done against him: but the thing that most moued him, was the emulation and enuie of his glorie, which he thought would be raised to too high degrees if he wonne the victory in the state of *Millan*: he thought in himselfe, that notwithstanding he found his kingdome in rest, and verie populous for the long peace it had

had liued in, together with a great masse of treasure which his father had gathered, yet he neuer had the courage till within certaine yeares, to inuade the Realme of *Fraunce*, alone and enuironed with so many enemies, and broken with so many aduersities: That now the French king, somewhat younger then he was, at such time as he came to the crowne, albeit he found his kingdome ouerweared and made poore with so many warres, durst yet in the first moneths of his raigne, go to an enterprize, for the which so many Princes were banded against him: That touching him, with all his huge preparations, and so many occasions, he had not brought into *England* any other profite then the Citie of *Tournay*, and that with expences intollerable and infinite: But the French king would returne with great glory into his kingdome, bringing with him the conquest of so braue a Duchie, and would open the way, and haply take the occasion afore he retired his armie out of *Italie*, to inuade the Realme of *Naples*. These were the motions that easily renewed in his mind his auncient and naturall hatred: but for that he was not at that time prepared to giue impediment to the French king with armes (wherein haply he sought some occasion and colour) he thought good to send him this message. The king nor his army forbore not for al that to march, taking their way from *Lyon* to *Dauphine*, where he met with the armie of the Launceknights, otherwise called the blacke bāds, guided by *Robert de la Marche*, together with all the regimēts of low *Almaines*, so greatly esteemed for their valour, their faith, and loyaltie, which they had alwayes shewed in the French seruices.

At this time *Iohn la Trinuice* aduertised the king that his artilleries might be caried ouer the Mounts, neare the Alpes of the sea descending toward the Marquisdome of *Saluzze*: he wrote that the passage was full of many difficulties, but yet the strength of men & instrumēts would make that easie which by nature was hard: and because on that side, neither on the tops of the Mountaines, nor in the entry of the vallies, there was no gard, he perswaded the king that it was better to assay to overcome the difficulties of mountaines and the straitnesse of vallies (an action with paine, but not with daunger of men) then to aduenture to winne the passages from the *Swissers*, whose valour was not more terrible then their obstinacie, being desperate either to vanquish or lye. Besides, the armie could not stay there many dayes, if any resistance were made, for that no power or preparatiō was able to bring through places so impassable & barreine, sufficient prouisiō of victuals to feede so many mouthes. This counsell was allowed and followed, and immediatly he artillerie that lay in a place conuenient to be turned on all parts, began to march that way. And as *Trinuice* had aduertised the king that the difficultie to passe the artilleries was very great, so also he sayd the experience would be found harder, when it was put to action and triall: for first they must of necessitie mount vpon very high and sharpe mountaines, and that not without extreme difficultie, both for that there was no oportunitie of pathes or wayes, nor yet so much argenesse of roomth as the artilleries contained, but such as was made by the ayde of the pyoners from hand to hand. There were many of those labourers that marched before, whose seruice was ready, sometimes to breake downe and enlarge the straites, and sometimes to digge vp the hillocks and lumpes of earth that gaue impediment to the passage of the artilleries: from the tops of those mountaines they descended by broken cliffes, whose onely aspect gaue feare to the beholders, into most deepe vallies of the riuer of *Argeniero*. By the difficultie of these cliffes oftentimes the artilleries could not be sustained, neither with the horses that drew them, whose number was great, nor with the shoulders of the labourers that guided the, & therefore very often they were driuen to dismount them, and in fastning them to great cables, they found a way to make them descend by the hands of the footemen, whose readinesse in these painefull actions, was nothing inferiour to the greatnesse of the trauell. The labour ceased not when they had overcome the first mountaines & the first vallies, for that they found others, which of necessitie they must passe with the same difficulties. At the last, about the end of fise dayes, the pollicie of the leaders and paines of the labourers opened a way for the artillerie through the mountaines into the enlarged places of the Marquisdome of *Saluzza*: but with such hardnesse and importunitie of trauell, that if either they had encountred any resistance, or the Mountaines had bene couered with snowes as they were wont to be the most part of the yearē, it is most certaine that they had takē in vaine so great trauell. The matter that deliuered them from the resistance and impediments of men, was the opinion and perswasion of the troublesome & impassable mountaines, which abusing the *Swissers* with security, made them to lodge without suspicion at *Susa*, carefully garding and watching the

places which of necessity must be passed by such as descend the mount *Senior Geneura*, or the mountaines adioyning to the: & the season of the yeare, being then vpon the tenth of August, had taken from them the impediment of snowes which were already melted. At the same time passed the men at armes and bands of footemen, not without the same difficulties, some by that way, and some by the passage called *la Dragoniera*, and the residue by the high tops of the rocke *Perotta & Cunie*, passages more lower towards *Prouence*. By these passages *Monsieur Palissa* passed, to whom an occasion was offered to do an act worthy of memory: he departed from *Singlaro* with foure cornets of light horsemen, and after he had marched long with great diligence by the guiding of the countrey men, he arriued without any suspicion at *Villafranco*, a towne seuen myles from *Salsissa*, and of the which goeth a greater fame and reputation then the qualitie of the towne requireth, for that the head of that notable riuer of *Pau* riseth out of a place very neare it: in that towne lay lodged with his companies, *Prosper Colonno*, doubting no daunger by the far distance of the enemies, in whom he feared not that diligence and celeritie, which himselfe being of nature slow and heauie, had not wont to vse: some suppose that he meant the same day to depart and ioine his strength with the *Swissers*: a matter wherein he might in some sort abuse his carefulnesse. But what propertie of destinie soeuer did guide him, it is sure that as he was set at the table at dinner, the bands of souldiers of *Palissa* arriued, being not discerned of any, till the certainty of the perill tooke away all their pollicie to auoyd it: they were vpon the counterscarpes of his lodging, afore he could be perswaded that they were come: so profitable is celeritie in an enterprise, and so effectually sudden feare against enemies surpriseth: he was holpen in this action (besides his industry and speed) by the townesmen, with whom *Palissa* thirsting after so goodly a pray, had first secretly conspired, and by their aydes was seased vpon their scouters and sentinels: so that *Prosper Colonno* a Captaine of so great name, and in whom aswell for his authoritie in gouerning an armie, as for the credite he had in the Duchie of *Millan*, rested no small importance for this war, was made prisoner the xv. day of August, far otherwise then appertained to his ancient glory: *Peter Alargano* a Romaine was companion with him in this fortune, together with part of his companies, and the residue at the first brute fled in their feare to diuerse places.

The descending of the French armie ouer those inuincible passages, together with the calamitie of *Prosper Colonno*, chaunged the counsels of euery one, and confused wholly the estate of all affaires, kindling new dispositions in the mindes of the Pope, the *Viceroy*, and the *Swissers*; for the Pope, who was constantly perswaded, that the French king could not passe the Mounts for the impediments of the *Swissers*, and reposing no lesse in the vertue of *Prosper Colonno*, was now galled and grieued in courage, commanding his Nephew *Laurence* Captaine generall of the *Florentines* to march but slowly: To him he had giuen charge to leade the armie into *Lumbardu*, for that *Julian* his brother was constrained to abide at *Florence* by the occasion of a long & painefull feuer: this *Laurence* being come to *Modena* three dayes after the aduenture of *Prosper*, tooke occasion to recouer the rocke of *Rubiero* that had bin occupied by *Guido Rangon*, for the which he payd him at last two thousand duckats, and consumed many dayes in the countrey of *Modena* and *Reggia*. Moreouer, the Pope hauing recourse to his accustomed practises, dispatched very secretly to the French king, *Cintio* his familiar friend, both to excuse himself of things that had bene passed till that day, and also to begin, by the meane of the Duke of *Sauoy*, to sollicite to compound with him, to the end that by that beginning he might haue more felicitie to passe further, if the defence of the Duchie of *Millan* fell not out well. But the Cardinall of *Bibienna* with certaine others, carried more by their priuate passions, then by the respects & interests of their Prince, induced him to take a counsell more constrained and sudden: for they told him there was daunger, for the reputation of the succeffe and fortunes of the French, and haply by the perswasions & ayde of the king, the Duke of *Ferrara* would not now stirre to recouer *Modena* and *Reggia*, and also the *Bentinoleis*, to repesse their estate in *Bologna*: and therefore as amid so many other trauels and perplexities, he should finde it a very hard matter to contend against so great a number of enemies: so, it imported him much more both in safetie and discretion of counsell, to labour to winne them with some propertie of benefite, and in all chaunces and chaunges, to make them his assured friends, dissembling the remembrance of iniuries past, till time brought about a better opportunity to reuenge. They aduised him to reestablish the familie of the *Bentinoleis* within *Bologna*, and to restore to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena* and *Reggia*: a counsell which he had presently

sently put in execution, had it not bene for the contrary working of *Iulio de Medicis* Cardinall and Legate of *Bologna*, whom the Pope had sent thither to the end that in so great accidents, he might sustaine things on that side, and remaine as it were a moderator and counsellour of the youth of *Lawrence*: he was touched with the displeasure of the infamie that would haue fallen vpon the Pope by a counsell so full of cowardise, which no doubt would haue bene greater then had bene the glory of *Iulio*; in getting to the Church so great a iurisdiction: he was also moued with griefe, that it would make infamous the memorie of his legation, wherein being scarcely in the first action, he should restore *Bologna* the principall Citie of the whole Ecclesiastike state, into the power of her auncient tyrants, abandoning to pray & spoile so great a nobilitie, which in fauour of the Apostolike see had openly conspired against them. In these respectes he dispatched an expresse messenger to the Pope, whom with reasons & with requestes he brought againe to a counsell more honorable and safe. Norwithstanding this *Iulio* was a bastard; yet he was made Cardinall by *Leo* in the first moneths of his Pontificacie, following the example of *Alexander* the sixt in the effect, but not in the manner: for *Alexander* at such time as he created Cardinall, *Cesar Borgia* his sonne, made to be proued by witnesses that deposed the truth, that his mother at the time that she was conceiued of him, had a husband, inferring thereupon according to the opinion of the lawes, that the sonne was to be iudged to be begotten rather of the husband then of the adulterer. But touching *Iulio*, the witnesses preferred the grace and fauour of men afore the truth, for that it was deposed that the mother of whom he was begottē, being yet a maide & not married, & afore she deuided her body to the deuotion of *Iuliano*, had of him a secret consent to be his wife.

These new accidents were likewise the cause that the *Viceroy* behaued himselfe farre otherwise then he would haue done: for, being not yet departed from *Verona*, both for that he could not make his souldiers march without money, and also expected new companies promised by *Cesar* who was now come to *Yspruch*, to the end to leaue sufficient garrison within *Verona* and *Brescia* as neede required, he began with these and other excuses to temporise and deferre, to see what might afterwarde happen to the Duchie of *Millan*.

These matters also moued the *Swissers*, who retired to *Pignorolo* immediatly after the descending of the French armie: and albeit vnderstanding afterwarde that the King who was passed the mounts, mustred his people at *Thurin*, they were gone to *Cyua*, and had taken it and sackt it, onely for that they were refused victuals, doing the like at *Vercelly* almost afore the kings eyes being at *Thurin*: yet being at last drawne into *Nouaro*, and those factions of them that were not so farre estranged from the French amities, taking courage and disclosing themselves more and more in their aduersities, they began to treat of composition with the king.

About this time, those regiments of the French which marched by the way of *Genes*, with whom were ioyned foure thousand footemen waged by the *Genowayes*, by the working of *Octavian Fregosa*, became Lords of the whole countrey on this side *Pau*, seizing first vpon the towne of *Castellaccio*, *Alexandria*, and *Tortono*. And the king that by this time was come to *Vercelly*, & had there the first aduertisement that the Pope was declared against him, which the duke of *Sanoy* signified in his name; a matter which albeit did much vex & discontent the king, yet not suffering counsell & iudgement to be troubled with anger or disdaine, & because he would not kindle him to the vttermost, he caused to be proclaimed publicly, as well through his armie, as amongst the regiments that had taken *Alexandria*, that no man should molest or inuade in any sort the lands of the Church. The king remained many dayes at *Vercelly* expecting the issue of the parley with the *Swissers*, who though they entertained the practise, yet on the other side they shewed themselves full of varietie & confusion: for at *Nouaro* where they were, they began to fall into tumult, taking their occasion vpon the breach of the king of *Aragon*, for that the payes he had promised were not yet come. They tooke also by force from the officers of the Pope, the money he had sent to be orderly distributed amongst them, & in the same fury they departed from *Nouaro*, with intention to returne into their countries: a matter which many sortes of them did require, who hauing spent three moneths in the spoiles of *Italie*, & now laden with money & booty, desired to couey in safety to their houses, the riches they had gottē: they were no sooner gone out of *Nouaro*, then the money which was due for the king of *Aragons* portion, was sent: and albeit they rauished it from the officers, & by violence made themselves possessed of it, yet weighing the infamies that followed for the most part such insolent and rash dealings, they eftsouones turned their furie into discretion, and

restored both the one and the other summes to receiue them orderly at the hands of the officers. Afterwardes they went to *Galero*, expecting another strength of twentie thousand footemen which was sayd to be newly arriued, and three thousand went with the Cardinall of *Syon* to be employed for the gard of *Pania*. By which occasion the king (whose hope of agreement did diminish for these variations) departed from *Vercelly* to go to wardes *Millan*, leauing within *Vercelly* with the Duke of *Sauoy*, his bastard brother, *Monsieur Lawtrech*, and the Generall of *Mil-lan*, to continue negociations begun with the *Swissers*. And because after the departing of the *Swissers* out of *Nonaro*, he had got the towne, he left the Castell besieged, which feeling the execution of the artilleries, yeelded within few dayes, reseruing the liues & goods of those that kept it. Afterwardes the king to whom *Pania* yeelded, passed the riuer of *Thezin*, and the same day *Iohn la Trinuice* ranne vp with a part of his companies to *S. Christophers* neare to *Millan*. Afterwardes the confidence of his valour caried him vp euen to the suburbes of the gate of *Thezin*, hoping to be receiued by them of the towne, who ill contented with the pillages and ransoms of the *Swissers*, desired to returne vnder the iurisdiction of the French: he saw also a more facilitie in this enterprise, for that the towne was naked of souldiers. The people of *Millan* had a great feare of the *Swissers*, and the memorie was yet greene of the afflictions they had suffered the yeare before, when they mutined in fauour of the king, the *Swissers* being retired from *Nonaro*: the same restraining them now to better counsell, and to temporise and expect the issue of things, notwithstanding they wished the victorie to fall vpon the king. Therefore they sent to *Trinuice* to desire him to passe no further, and the next day dispatched Embassadours to the king being at *Bussaloro*, to beseech him, that resting contented with the disposition of the people of *Millan* well inclined to his crowne, and ready to giue victuals to his armie, he would not demaund of them a more manifest declaration: a matter which would aduance nothing for the substance of the warre, no more then it had serued or ayded the yeare before his predeceffour, but brought vpon them great domages. They wished him to march and stand assured that the towne of *Millan* should be ready to open their gates to receiue him, at such time as he should be maister of the field. The king receiued them with good countenance and affabilitie, and albeit at the first he was displeased that they had not receiued *Trinuice*, yet he answered now that he was contented to be conformable to their demaundes. From *Bussaloro* the king marched with his armie to *Biagressa*, and whilest he remained there, the Duke of *Sauoy*, after he had giuen audience to twentie Embassadours of the *Swissers* sent to him at *Vercelly*, and going afterwardes to *Galero* accompanied with the bastard and other deputies for the king, contracted a peace with the *Swissers* in the kings name vnder these conditions: That there should be betweene the crowne of *Fraunce* and nation of *Swissers* a perpetual peace during the kings life & ten yeares after his death: That the *Swissers* & the *Grisons* should make restitution of those vallies appertaining to the Duchie of *Millan* which they had occupied: That they should acquite that estate of a bond to pay yearely a pension of forty thousand duckats: That the king should indue *Maximilia Sforce* with the duchy of *Nemours* with a yearely pension of twelue thousand frankes, a company of fiftie Launces, and a wife of the bloud royal: That he should restore to the *Swissers* the yearely pension of fortie thousand frankes, and defray the pay of three moneths to all the bands of *Swissers* that were already in *Lombardie* or on the way to come thither: That he should pay to the Cantons (at termes and times) the fixe hundred thousand crownes promised in the accord of *Dyon*, and three hundred thousand for the restitution of the vallies: That he should entertaine continually in his pay foure thousand of them. In this peace they named by common consent the Pope, so farreforth as he would render *Parma* and *Plaisance*: also they comprehended the Emperour, the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Marquis of *Montferat*, without making any mention at all of the king Catholike: the *Venetians*, nor any other *Italiā*. But this peace was made and broken almost in one day, by the comming of new bands of *Swissers*, in whom for the memorie of their victories past, was a settled hope to carie from that war no lesse quantities of spoyles & riches, then the wealth which they saw their other countrey men loaden withall. And for that cause much lesse that they would heare speake of the peace; but of the contrarie, to dissolue and breake it, they refused to restore the vallies: in so much as the first bands being not able to retire them from these furies, five and thirtie thousand drew to *Monso* to lye in the suburbes of *Millan*, *Alberto Perro* a notable Captaine being gone from them with many ensignes along the way of *Coma*, which way the king altogether left free and open. Thus the

The treatie betweene the king and the *Swissers* broken.

the peace being no sooner made then broken, things returned to the same difficulties they suffered before, yea they brought with themfarre greater doubts for the new armies and forces that were approached neare the Duchie of *Millan*: for, the *Viceroy* leauing for the gard of *Verona* *Marke Anth. Colonne* with an hundred men at armes, and sixe hundred light horfmen, and within *Bressia* twelue hundred Launceknights, was come, at last to lodge vpon *Paw* neare to *Plaisance*, hauing in his armie seuen hundred men at armes, sixe hundred light horfmen, & sixe thousand footmen, with a bridge ready prepared to passe the riuer. And to leaue him no occasion to complaine, *Laurence de Medicis* hauing with great watch & gard remained many dayes at *Parma* with the armie, was come from thence to *Plaisance*: the army contained at that time seuen hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horfmen, & foure thousand footmē: he had sent afore a troupe of foure hundred light horfmen to the *Swissers* during the negociation of the accord: a band which he appointed at their request to serue them to fetch in victuals, and were guided by *Mucio Colonne* and *Lodowike Count de Perillano*, the one a Captaine of the Church, & the other a Commander for the *Florentines*: he aduanced that expedition not so much for any desire he had to aid the cōmon cause, as to giue to the *Swissers* no occasion to comprehend the Pope within the peace if they accorded with the French king. On the other side *Bartlemew Aluiano*, who had sent word to the king that he would so intangle the Spanissh armie that they should haue no meane to hurt him, as soone as he vnderstood the *Viceroy* was departed from *Verona*, went from *Polesina*, & passing the riuer of *Adice*, he marched all along *Paw* with 900 men at armes, 1400 light horfmen, and 9000 footmen: he drew with him sufficient prouisions of artillerie, and was vpon the wals of *Cremona* with a speed & diligence contrary to the custome of the Captaines of our time, and wherin *Aluiano* himselfooke such glorie, that in his vaunting he would oftentimes lay it in comparisō with the celerity of *Claudius Nero*, when, to make head against *Asdruball*, he led the swiftest part of his army vpon the riuer of *Metauro*. Great is the moment of celerity and speed in enterprise, and oftentimes is more effectuell to the benefite of the seruice and reputation of the leaders, then either the multitude or courage of souldiers.

But in this sort the state of the warre was not only diuerse and variable, but also confused and intangled: on the one side was vpon the confines of *Millan* the French king with an armie appointed and furnished, and by this time was comie to *Marignan* to giue facilitie to *Aluiano* to ioine with him, and to let the vniting of the Ecclesiastike and Spanissh companies with the enemies: and on the other side lay a gallant armie of xxxv. thousand *Swissers*, which was a force of footmen full of valour, and neuer yet had passed vnder the victorie of the French. The *Viceroy* kept along the shores of *Paw* neare to *Plaisance*, and vpon the high way that leades to *Loda*, hauing a bridge ready dressed to passe the riuer and to ioine with the *Swissers*: *Laurence de Medicis* was within *Plaisance* with the regiments of the Pope and the *Florentines*, and all to ioine with the *Viceroy* to the same ends: and *Aluiano* a circumspect and resolute Captaine, lay with the *Venetian* armie vpon the territories of *Cremona*, almost vpon the banke of *Paw*: his purpose was to aide the French king, either by ioining his strength with him, or in drawing away the Church & Spanissh regiments. The citie of *Loda* which standeth in the midst betweene *Millan* and *Plaisance*, and of an equall distance from them both, stood abandoned of all parts: only it had bene sacked before by *Ranſe de Cere* entring as a souldier to the *Venetians*, who for quarrels rising betweene him and *Aluiano*, had afore, what with protestations, and what with threats, got leaue of the Senate, and was entred into the Popes pay with two hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horfmen: but for that his souldiers could not follow him with that speed, by reason the *Venetians* would not suffer many of them to depart from *Padoa* where they lay, he went from *Loda* to fill vp his numbers with those companies with the which he had serued. The Cardinall of *Syon* also amazed with the practises which his nation held with the French king, & no lesse doubting the estate of the citie of *Millan*, was fled from *Plusance* with a thousand *Swissers* & with part of the regiments of the Duke of *Millan*: afterwards he went to *Cremona* to sollicite the *Viceroy* to march on: he tooke the way of *Millan* before that side was occupied by the French king; and left certaine of his companies for the gard of *Loda*, who as soone as they heard that the French king was come to *Marignan*, abandoned the place, their feare being greater then their perill. But whilst the *Viceroy* lay vpon the riuer of *Paw*, & before *Lau. de Medicis* came to *Plaisance*, *Cintio* whom the Pope sent to the French king, was taken by the souldiers of the *Viceroy*: & albeit he found about

him letters & briefs of credit, yet he let him go as soone as he was take, for the reuerence he bare to him that sent him, entering notwithstanding into doubt, that the hope was vaine that had bene giuen him, that the Church army ioyning with him, would passe the riuer of *Paw*. This doubt was increased by this occasion, that at the same time *Laurence de Medicis* was detected to haue sent secretly to the French king one of his men: which he did either of his owne counsell, or by commaundement of the Pope, to be excused in that he led the army against him: wherein he protested that albeit he were constrained by a necessity to obey the Pope, yet without incensing his vnkle, or staining his owne honour, the king should find in him a ready deuotion to labour to satisfie him, a thing which he had alwayes sought, and now more then euer did desire to expresse it.

As soone as *Laurence* was come to *Plaisance*, there began a disputation betweene the *Viceroy* and him, with others that sate with the in counsell, whether it were best to passe ouer the riuer of *Paw* in one strength to ioyne with the *Swissers*: amongst them were occupied diuerse reasons according to the diuersitie of their affections, there being litle conformity of counsell, where was so great variety of will & disposition: such as perswaded to passe the riuer, said there was no reason to dissuade the from going into *Loda*, for that being there, both they should let *Aluiano* for ioyning with the French armie, & for their owne parts, they should haue good oportunitie to knit with the *Swissers*, either in going to *Millan* to seeke the, or else the *Swissers* drawing to meet them: and if their lingring left time to the Frenchmen to get it (as the brute went they would) being already vpon the way betweene *Loda* and *Millan*, the French should haue vpon their backs their armies ioynd together, a matter which would put the in paine & danger: euen so perhaps it would not be hard to find meane to ioyne with the *Swissers*, notwithstanding they should be driuen to make a greater circuit: They reasoned that this resolution was profitable to the enterprize, and necessary to take from the *Swissers* all occasions of new practises of accord, and no lesse conuenient to increase their forces against so great an armie as they had need, and namely of horsemen: That besides these respects the faith and honour of the Pope and the king Catholike required it so, both for that the capitulations bound them to succour the estate of *Millan*, and also they had often promised no lesse to the *Swissers*, who being disappointed, might perhaps of assured friends take occasion to become dangerous enemies: Lastly, that necessity would it so, for the interest & regard of their owne estates, for that the *Swissers* either loosing the battel, or making accord with the French king, there would remaine no force in *Italy* able to stand against his victorie, or to let him from spreading the wings of his fortune ouer the whole estate of the Church, euen to the posternes of *Rome*. To the contrarie of this opinion was reasoned by others, that it was not credible that the French king had not already sent a strength of souldiers to *Loda*, and if it were so, the estate of the perill would driue their companies to retire with shame, and haply not without losse of bloud, since they stood subiect to haue at one time the French on their backs, and the *Venetians* in flanke: withall they could not repasse the bridge without confusion and long tract of time, which would bring great infamie to their valour, and by the property of the action transferre to the aduersary the glorie they sought to appropriate to themselves: That in matters of enterprize it imports Captaines to make conference of the perill and the price, of the time and the place, and of the necessity and their proper wils, to whom by all lawes, examples, and experience of men of warre, it can be no infamy to refuse the attempt that brings not with it the oportunitie of time, place, necessity, and recompence. But be it that *Loda* were abandoned, and that there were libertie for them to take it, what profite could grow by the enterprize? how could they lay their plot either to meet with the *Swissers*, or the *Swissers* to ioyne with them, so mighty an armie lying obiected against them betweene *Millan* and *Loda*? Besides, it might fall out not to be a counsell assured, to put into the hands of a nation so rash and vnreasonable, all the forces of the Pope and the king Catholike, seeing there were factions amongst them, the greatest part hauing made peace with the Frenchmen, and stood in diuision with their fellowes. At last it was resolved, that the first day both the armies should passe ouer *Paw* without anie baggage or cariage, leauing sufficient garrison within *Parma* & *Plaisance*, for feare of the *Venetian* armie, whose light horsemen euen at that time had made incurfions and pillages through the countrey. But as in all actions are found many impedimets, where either is emulation of men, or variety of will, so this resolution was not sincerely executed by either of the parties, for that in particular, both seeming

to haue an equall will to passe, they laboured to lay the fault one on another, and neither of them to touch the daunger: for the *Viceroy* that was already entred into suspicion for the going away of *Cintio*, and no lesse acquainted with what cunning the Pope proceeded in his affaires, was of opinion, that his ill will was that *Laurence* should passe no further: & on the other side *Laurence* considering how hardly the *Viceroy* was drawne to commit his armie to the power of fortune, gaue of another the same iudgement that others gaue of him. In the afternoone the Spanish bands began to passe the bridge, whom the Church armie was appointed to follow with speed; but by reason of the night that came vpon them, they deferred by necessity vntill the morning following, when they did not only not passe, but also the *Viceroy* retired with his armie on this side the riuier, being aduertised by a scout of foure hundred light horsemen sent out from both the armies to espie the enemies and their doings, that an hundred French launces were entred into *Loda* the day before: this made the *Viceroy* & *Laurence* to returne to their first lodgings, which gaue oportunity to *Aluiano* to march with his army to *Loda*.

Euen about this time the French king dislodged from *Marignan* to lodge at *S. Donato*, and the *Swissers* retired to *Millan*, one part whereof not willing to heare of warre, and the others nothing inclined to peace, there arose oftentimes amongst themselves counsels and tumults: and being one day drawne into an assembly & vniuersall presence, the Cardinal of *Syon* no lesse great for his authoritie and place, then agreeable to the people for his affabilitie and easinesse, began with words full of affection and vehemencie, to encourage them to issue out the same day and set vpon the French king: He willed them to consider what harmes delays drew with them, specially whē was concurrence of oportunitie & occasion: He willed them not to stand so much vpon the number of horsemen and artilleries of the enemy, as by so base a feare to diminish the memorie of the ancient valour of the *Swissers*, and the perpetuall victories which they had obtained against the Frenchmen: It is (saith he) farre from the glorie and merite of our nation, who hath passed through so many paines, vanquished so many perils, made sacrifice of so much blood, and triumphed in so many victories, to loose in one day so great a glorie, and leaue to the enemies, whom we haue so often vanquished, the reputation of so many our former merits: These be the same Frenchmen who being ioyned with vs haue obtained so many victories, but going separate to the warres without our armes & forces, haue become a miserable pray to others: when there was society and fellowship betweene vs, their name ran gloriously through the world, and that much more by our valour then by their owne fortune; they were the shadowes, and we the bodies; they the birds, and we the Eagles, through whose power peoples and regions were subiect to them: but without vs what haue they done worthy of memorie? what haue bene their fortunes? where are erected their pillars of perpetuall praises? what are shadowes when they are separate from their bodies? They are the same who a small army of ours ouerthrew the last yeare at *Novaro* with so great name and glorie: They be the same to whom our vertue brought so much astonishment, and their owne cowardise so great confusion, that euen in their ouerthrow and calamitie they areared vp to the heauens the name and reputation of the *Swissers*: Suffer not your selues to forget that those small companies of ours that preuayled at *Novaro*, had neither horsemen nor artilleries, and yet not esteeming the perill present, and lesse expecting the succours that were to come, they ran with Captaine *Motin* (the glorie of our nation) to charge the French men euen in their tents and lodgings, and winning with incredible valour their artilleries, they slue of them and the Launceknights, so many bodies as they had weapons and armes to vse the: an example sufficient to perswade you, that now they wil not haue the courage to abide an army of forty thousand *Swissers*; a power able to meet in the field with the whole residue of the world ioyned in one strength. The remembrance of calamities past makes fearfull alwayes after the minds of those that were vanquished, and though amongst men there is a naturall emulation and desire of reuenge, yet to hearts once daunted it is a peculiar condition to settle in despaire, and not to aduenture to recouer remedie where they receiued their harmes, as we reade they do that are wounded by Scorpions, Doubt you not but the examples past of your prowesse, and the experience of your euerlasting valour, will make them now flie afore you, euen at the first noyse of your coming, as the sillie fowles that make a verie faint and weake wing when they heare the belles of the Faulcon. They haue not drawne so neare *Millan* by any confidence they had in their owne vertue, but onely through a hope they haue in your diuisions: The person

*The Cardinall
of Syon per-
swades the
Swissers.*

"and presence of their king cannot gouerne them, for that by how much his life and estate shall
 "be in daunger, by so much it will import him to be the first to looke to his safetie, by whose
 "example the residue will seeke to eschue the hazard that maketh their king affrayd: if with this
 "armie that containeth the valour and forces of the whole countrie of *Switzerland*, you haue not
 "the courage to set vpon them, with what power, with what fortune, with what minds can you
 "hope to be able to make resistance against them? To what end are we descended into *Lombar-*
 "*dy*? why haue we taken into our protection the walles of *Millan*, if we haue feare to go charge
 "our enemies? To what infamie will be interpreted the braue words, and proud threats which
 "we haue vsed all this yeare, both vaunting that we would descend into *Burgundy*, and reioy-
 "cing of the accord of the English king, and the Popes inclination to confederate with the French
 "king, wherein we esteemed our glorie would be so much the greater, by how much all those
 "great Princes were ioyned in conspiracie against the state of *Millan*. It had bene better we had
 "rested contented with the termes of our ancient renowne, and neither enjoyed the yeares be-
 "fore so many honourable victories, nor chased the French out of *Italy*, then now with an v-
 "niuersall cowardise to deceiue the expectation of all men. Now is the world to iudge, whether
 "our vertue was the cause of our victorie at *Nonaro*, or our fortune. If we shew our selues feare-
 "full of our enemies, euerie one will ascribe to aduenture and chaunce the victorie which we got
 "with our incredible valour and resolution: but if we expresse the same vertue, we cannot but
 "draw with vs the same successe we did before, fortune hauing no interest in those actions whose
 "course is guided wholly by a resolute valour, no more then the Moohe can challenge any other
 "property of light then such as it pleaseth the Sunne to impart to her: so shall we confirme the ex-
 "pectation of the world, so shall we be redoubted and feared by the nations and peoples of the age
 "present, so shall we be recommended and wondred at by the worlds and posterities to come,
 "and so shall we make the reputation and merite of the *Swissers* be raised aboue that great name
 "and monuments of the *Romaines*, for that it is not read of them that they haue euer vsed such a
 "resolute hardinesse, nor wonne victories with so great valour, nor neuer without necessitie set
 "vpon their enemies with so great disadvantage: but of vs may be read the battell we gaue neare
 "to *Nonaro*, where, with a few souldiers, without artilleries, and without horsemen, our valour
 "put to flight a mighty army, not onely furnished of all forces and strength necessarie, but also
 "guided by two most notable Captaines, the one the most flourishing in all *Fraunce*, and the
 "other the floure of *Italy*: we shall leaue behind vs also the memorie of the encounter at *S. Do-*
 "*nato*, executed on our parts with the same difficulties, & against the person of a French king, & so
 "many huge bodies of Launceknights, who by how much they are many in number, by so much
 "will they fill and satisfie our hatred; and by how much in this action we shall for euer depose the
 "name of their armes and discipline, by so much shall we passe them and their fortunes into a per-
 "petuall subiection, neuer after to hold vp their heads, or once to lay themselues in comparison
 "with the *Swissers* in matters concerning warre and armes. It is contrarie to the reason and
 "iudgement of warre, that we should stand to temporize and expect, seeing it is almost impossi-
 "ble for many difficulties, that we should be succoured by the *Viceroy*, or the bands of the Church,
 "yea their impediment ought to be more agreeable to vs then their comming can be necessa-
 "rie, for that entering into the execution alone, the glorie will be particular to vs, and the spoyle
 "and wealth of our enemies armie, a most plentiful reward of our victorie: Much lesse that Cap-
 "taine *Motin* would communicate his glorie to strangers, seeing the greatnesse of his courage
 "could not suffer participation euen with his owne companies and countrey men. Let not vs then
 "esteem so basely of our valour and hardinesse, that though they may conueniently ioyne with
 "vs, yet we will not expect to communicate so great honour and merite to strangers. The repu-
 "tation of the *Swissers* cannot endure, nor the estate of affaires requires not that we deferre anie
 "longer or stand vpon any more counsels & resolutions. It belongs to cowards to whom daun-
 "gers are fearefull, to consult and spend time in counsell, and not to a nation of such warlike minds
 "as we beare, to whose glorie it appertaines to make triall of the enemy as soone as he is disclosed.
 "In matters of action oportunitie cannot brooke delays, neither can it be good to take counsell
 "after the occasion be fully ripe and offered: Let vs then take the field, and vnder the wings and
 "aide of God, who by a iust reuenge persecuteth the pride of the Frenchmen, sound vp your
 "drummes, and manage your pikes with the same courage you were wont to do, and let vs lose no
 more

more time to aduance our Ensignes and satisfy our thirst with the bloud of those, who by their ambition and pride seeke to subiect the whole world, but by their cowardise are left alwayes an infamous pray to many.

These speeches gaue great incouragemēt to the *Swissers*, who, ioyning to the exhortation the remembrance of their ancient valour & felicity, armed themselues : and asloone as they were issued out of the gate towards *Rome*, they fell into aray & order, & albeit the day was almost spent, yet they marched with their squadrons towards the French army, vsing such shoutes & cries, that to such as knew not the cause, it was a reasonable perswasion that they had obtained some glorious victory: The Captaines encouraged the souldiers to march, and the resolution of the souldiers was such, that they put their leaders in remembrance that at what hower soeuer they came neare the campe of the enemies, they should giue the signe of the battell, assuring them that that was the day wherein they would couer the field with dead bodies, and vterly rase out the name of the Launceknights, & namely of such, who prophesying of their death, bare blacke Ensignes; and as in this estate of furie and resolution of mind, they were come neare the place where the Frenchmen lay, albeit there remained not two howers of day, yet they began the battell, and with a desperate courage charged the artilleries and fortifications of the enemies, breaking and dispersing at this first charge, the bands that made head against them, and with their incredible valour won one part of the artilleries: But what with the horsemen bringing on a great part of the army, and the presence of the king inuironed with squadrons of valiant Gentlemen, their great furie was somewhat abated. Neuerthelesse a cruell fight began betweene them, which, with diuerse chances, and to the grieuous losses of the men at armes of *Fraunce*, who were broken, continued till foure howers within night, diuerse French Captaines lay dead on the ground, and the king himselfe receiued many wounds with a pike: such egearenesse of mind remained in both parts, that their bodies being no more able to manage the weapons which the reuenge of their hearts put into their hands, they separated and fell off from the fight both without sounding of trumpet, and commandement of their Captaines. The *Swissers* remayned incamped in the place, expecting the next sunne or day light, neither partie offending the other, as if there had bene a secret truce betweene them: the Cardinall caused the campe of *Swissers* to be reuictualled from *Millan* whilst their bodies tooke rest, adding such property of helpe as he could, being the author of the enterprise. And to this first felicity of theirs, was ioyned a generall brutethoroughout all *Italy*, that the *Swissers* had put to flight the army of the Frenchmen, with many other rumors giuen out to discourage the French, and confirme their owne side. The French king consumed not vnprofitably the residue of the night, for, knowing the groutnesse of the perill, he laboured to raunge his artilleries into places conuenient, to reassemble his horsemen, and put in order his squadrons of Launceknights and *Gascons*: he performed in his owne person, all things that could be required of a king, of a Captaine, of a man of warre, and of a mind whose resolution was greater then the estate of the danger. By this time it was day, and at the beginning of the sunne, the *Swissers*, who did not onely despise the French army, but also (in the opinion of their valour) seemed to disable the whole forces of *Italy* knitt together, recontinued their charge vpon the enemies with the same furie and rashnesse they went to it ouer night: but they were receiued of the French with greater valour, with better order, and with more discretion, they were subiect to a bloody charge of the horsemen, and suffered slaughter both in front and in flanke. Besides, at the rising of the Sunne came *Aluiano*, whom the king had sent for ouer night, bringing with him his light horsemen and the most speediest part of his army: he arriued at such time as the fight was most close and furious, and all things reduced into greatest trauell and daunger: and hauing the residue of his regiment marching to good purpose and time, he entred furiously vpon the backes of the *Swissers*, who, notwithstanding they maintayned alwayes the fight with one valour and resolution, yet seeing the desperate resistance that was made, & the *Venesian* army that was now ioyned, they began so to doubt of the victory, that after the Sunne had shined many howers vpon the earth, they founded the retrait, & charging vpon their shoulders the artilleries they had brought with them, they cast about their squadrons, and retired: They obserued their accustomed order in their retiring, and so ordered their march towards *Millan* with so great terror and astonishment of the French, that of the whole army there was neither horsemen nor footmen that durst breake out to follow them: onely there were two companies of their souldiers who being fled into a

The battell of
Marignano.

grauge, were burned within the house by the *Venetian* light horsemen: the residue of the army returned to *Millan*, not breaking one ioate of their order, and retaining in their appaſſance and countenance, one conſtant and perpetuall aſſurance: ſome ſay that they cloyed fifteene peeces of great artilleries which they won at the firſt charge, or that they had no oportunitie to cary them to their campe.

All men are of opinion, that there hath not bene ſcene in *Italy* of long time a battell of more fury and greater terror, for that, what by the deſperate valor with the which the *Swiſſers* beganne the charge, and alſo for the darkeneſſe of the night which led all men in error, the order of the whole army being confuſed, and the fight ſo mixed, that there could not be ſcene or obſerued any ſigne or commandement, all things were wholly referred and ſubiected to fortune: The king, whoſe perſon was not without many and manifeſt dangers, was able to diſcerne that his preferuation and ſafety came more by his owne vertue and by chance, then by the ſuccours and ayde of his people, from whom he was oftentimes ſeparate, ſometimes by the confuſion of the battell, and ſometimes by the troubles and obſcurities of the night: ſuch was the diſcourſe and ſtate of this conflict, that *Trinuſce* (a Captaine of great triall and experience of things) affirmed that this battell was fought by Gyants and not by men, and that eightene battels whetein he had bin an executioner, were but combats of litle children, in compariſon of this. It is not to be doubted, but that (without the ayde of the artilleries) the victory had remained to the *Swiſſers*, who, entering at the firſt charge into the fortifications of the French, and recouering from them the moſt part of the artilleries, had alwayes won further into their campe. Beſides, the comming of *Aluiano* was to great purpoſe for the French, for that comming freſh to the fight when the battell was moſt doubtfull, he redoubled the courage of the French, and gaue terror to the *Swiſſers*, ſuppoſing that the whole *Venetian* army was with him. Touching the number of the dead bodies, if euer it was vncertaine in a battell (as it hapneth almoſt alwayes) it fell out moſt vncertaine in this, men ſpeaking diuerſly, ſome by paſſion, and ſome by error: ſome make reckening of foureteene thouſand *Swiſſers* to be ſlayne, ſome ſet downe but ten thouſand, and others that haue a more moderate iudgement, affirme there were but eight thouſand left on the ground, yea ſome would haue them reduced to a number of three thouſand, and all bodies of baſe place: on the French part in the encounter that was giuen ouer night, were ſlayne *Francis* brother to the Duke of *Burbon*, *Monsieur d'Imbertcourt*, the Prince of *Tallemount* ſon to *Monsieur Trimonille*, *Monsieur de Boyſ* nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboſe*, the Count of *Sancerre*, *Catelarch* of *Sanoye*, *Buſſy* of *Amboſe*, and *Mony* Enſigne-bearer to the kings band: all perſonages of marke, either for their nobleneſſe and greatneſſe of eſtates, or for the honorable places they managed in the army: and touching the generall numbers of dead bodies, ſome refer them to fixe thouſand, and ſome reckon them to three thouſand, amongſt whom were certaine Captaines of the Launceknights, ſundry men making ſundry accompts for the cauſes and reſpects aforeſayd.

When the *Swiſſers* were retired to *Millan*, they fel into great diſagreemēt & cōtrouerſie, ſome willing to accompliſh an accord with the French king, & others perſwading to continue the defence of *Millan*: wherein as there was amongſt them partiality and faction, ſo euery one had his particular reaſon and opinion. Thoſe Captaines that afore had ſolicited the accord, ſought now a cauſe leſſe diſhoneſt to breake vp, requiring money of *Maximilian Sforce*, which they knew he was not able to aduance: but all the bands of footemen at the perſwaſion of *Roff* their Generall, departed the day following to returne to their countrey by the way of *Coma*: they left in the Caſtle fifteene hundred *Swiſſers* and fixe hundred *Italians*, and gaue hope to the Duke that the ſame bands and regiments, would returne ſpeedily to his ſeruice, & giue reſcue to the Caſtle; with this property of hope, *Maximilian Sforce* accompanied with *Iohn Gonzago*, & *Ierome Morono* with other Gentlemen of *Millan*, incloſed himſelfe in the Caſtle, after he had with great difficultie conſented that his brother *Francis* Duke of *Bary* ſhould go into *Germanie*. The Cardinall of *Sian* tooke his iourney towards *Caſar* to ſolicite for ſuccours, giuing his faith to returne to the ſeruice with expedition.

Thus was the City of *Millan* abandoned and giuen vp to the French king, neither their valor nor thir fortune being able to miniſter any further protection amid ſo many hard aduerſities: and as it is a courſe ordinary in humane chances, that one infelicity neuer comes alone, ſo, beſides their ſubiection, they ſuffered this property of calamity, to pay to the king ſuch quantities of treaſure and

and mony, as it pleased him to impose vpon them: only his person forbore to enter the towne so long as the Castle held good for the enemies, holding it a matter vnworthy the maiesty of a king, to make his entrie into a towne which was not wholly and absolutely in his power. In the place where he had won the battell, he caused Maïses to be song solemnely for three dayes: the first was to thanke God for his victory: the second to pray for the soules of those that were slaughtered in the battell: and in the third he made supplication for peace, and in perpetuall memory of his victory, he built in the same place a Chappell of deuotion. Immediately vpon the brute of this battell all the townes and Castles of the Duchy of *Millan* followed the fortune of the victory, except the Castles of *Cremona* and *Millan*, to the which was appointed *Peter of Nauarre*, who assured that he would cary it in lesse then a moneth: a matter that seemed vnreasonable in the opinion of wise men, both for that the Castle bare good fortifications, and also for the plentifull proportion of all things necessary for defence, yea hauing within it a resolute garrison of two thousand men of warre.

The *Viceroy* recgiuing aduertisement of the French victory, remained a very few dayes in the place where he was incamped, and that more by necessity then by will, hauing no reason nor opportunity to remoue his army for want of mony: but being at last refurnished with some litle proportion, and borowing besides of *Lawrence de Medicis* fixe thousand duckats, he brake vp and withdrew to *Ponto de Nuro*, with intention to go to the Realme of *Naples*: for, albeit the Pope vnderstanding what was hapned, had in the beginning represented to the world the constancy of his predecesor, hauing withall, the Embassadors of the confederats to perswade him to make head against fortune, and to labour either to hold the *Swissers* in good disposition, or at least vpon their reuolting, to take in their places the Launc knights: yet he discerned that it could not be, but that the remedies and prouisions would fall out too slow for his perils, and that he should be the first that should suffer: for that though the respect and reuerence of the Church held the king from molesting the state Ecclesiastike, yet he could not beleue, that it was able to containe him from assailing *Parma* and *Plaisance*, as members depending of the Duchy of *Millan*, and much lesse hold him from molesting the state of *Florence*; a matter wherein all regards did cease, and for the which he would thinke himselfe as deeply offended as if violence were directly offered to the state of the Church. It was not without cause that he feared these inuasions, for that the king had already giuen order to cast a bridge ouer the riuer of *Paw* neare to *Pauia*, to send to take *Parma* & *Plaisance*, and afterwards, if the Pope refused his amity, to proceede by the way of *Pontresino* to chase the *Medices* from the towne of *Florence*. But amid these deuises and preparations, the Duke of *Sanoy* and the Bishop of *Tricarico* the Popes *Nuncio*, by commission of the Pope, treated with the king, who was not without vehement desires to be accorded with him, fearing perhaps new alliances to be made against him, and bearing a wonderfull reuerence and inclination to the sea Apostolike for the terrour that was thorough the whole Realme of *Fraunce* by reason of the persecutions receiued by Pope *Iulio*. In these respects there was concluded betweene them a present confederation for the defence of the states of *Italy*, wherein was particularly expressed, that the king should take vpon him the protection of the person of the Pope, the state of the Church, *Iulian* & *Lawrence de Medicis*, & the estate of *Florence*: That the king should giue an estate in *Fraunce* & pension to *Iulian*, & to *Lawrence* a pension & a cōpany of fifty Launces: That he should consent that the Pope might giue passage to the *Viceroy* through the states and iurisdiction of the Church, to returne with his army to the kingdome of *Naples*: That the Pope should be bound to make depart out of *Verona*, the souldiers he had there, & withall, to countermand the companies sent to the succours of *Cesar* against the *Venetians*: That he should giue vp to the French king the cities of *Parma* and *Plaisance*, and in recompence thereof, the king to agree, that from thence forward the Duchy of *Millan* should be bound to leauy for his vse the salts of *Cerua*, a matter of great profit to the Church, & wherein the Pope had already agreed with the Duke of *Millan* in the confederation he made with him: That there should be made an arbitration and compromise in the person of the Duke of *Sanoy*, to iudge whether the *Florentines* had broken the confederation made with king *Louis*, and if they haue offended that way, then he to haue power to impose such penalty as they haue deserued: This the king sayd he demanded more for satisfying of his honour, then for other respect.

As soon as this conclusion was made, the Bishop of *Tricarico* went to *Rome* in post to perswade

the Pope to ratifie it, and *Lawrence de Medicis* to giue occasion to the *Viceroy* to depart the sooner, withdrew to *Parma & Reggia* the companies that were within *Plaisance*: touching himselfe, he went to the king to obtaine his good grace and fauor, and to perswade him that in all estates of times and chances of things, he would depend vpon, vsing in that office or offer of Court, the aduises of his Vncle which were more full of suttlety then of good meaning. It was much ado to induce the Pope to this ratification, for that it brought no litle displeasure to him to loose *Parma* and *Plaisance*: he could willingly haue temporised to see what the *Swissers* would first determine, who hauing called a Parliament at *Surich* (the principall Canton of the whole nation, and most enemy to the French) debated to giue rescue to the Castle of *Millan*, notwithstanding they had abandoned the vallies and the townes of *Bellinzone* and *Lugarno*, but not the Castles. Neuerthelesse the king obtained the Castell of *Lugarno*, in corrupting the Captaine with fike thousand crownes: onely the *Grisons* would not abandon *Chiauanna*: at last the Bishop of *Tricarq* laying afore him the daunger least the king would inuade *Parma* and *Plaisance*, and send men of warre into *Tuscane*, and making great terror of the harmes that the *Swissers* had receiued at the battell of *Marignan*: the Pope was content to ratifie the peace, albeit vnder this moderation, that neither he nor his Agents should be bound to giue vp into the kings hands *Parma* and *Plaisance*, but by leauing them voyde of men and officers, to giue liberty to the king to enter vpon them: That the Pope should not be bound to leaue his people from *Verona*, for that he would not commit such a property of iniury against *Cesar*: and yet he promised to do it vpon the next conuenient occasion: Lastly that the *Florentines* should be holden absolued of the pretended breaking of the league. The accord bare also that the king should not take vpon him the protection of any vassall or subiect of the estate of the Church, and that not onely he should not hinder the Pope as their supreme Lord, to proceede against them with correction, but also he should be bound to minister ayde to him in that action when necessitie required. Moreouer it was debated that the Pope and the French king should haue an enteruiew together in some place conuenient; a matter offered by the king particularly, but desired indifferently by them both: the king sought it, the better to establish that amity, to assure the estates of such his friends as he had in *Italy*: and lastly for that he hoped with his presence, and offering great aduancements to the Popes brother and nephew, to win of him his consent to inuade the Realme of *Naples*; a matter which was one of his greatest desires: The Pope wished this enteruiew, to the end that with that office and obseruance very proper to win grace & amity with euery one, to entertaine the king whilest he stood in so great fortune & prosperity. Many thought not well of this deliberation, as an action vnworthy of the maiesty of a Pope, & that it more appertained to the king, desiring to haue conference with him, to go seek him & do reuerence to him at *Rome*: but the Pope gaue it out that he was so much the more ready to cōdiscend to this meeting, by how much he was desirous to induce the king not to molest the Realme of *Naples* during the life of the king Catholike, who to the iudgement of man could not liue long, for that it was more then a yeare since he was ill disposed,

Peter Nauarre afore the Castell of Milan.

In this meane while *Peter of Nauarre* was labouring to cary the Castle of *Millan*, and hauing won a murdring house vpon the Castle ditch which on the flanke side had his prospect vpon the gate of *Coma*, and afterwards approching nearer the ditch and the Castle wall by the helpe of pauisses and Engines of wood, he began to worke a myne within the sayd ditch: and when he had remoued the defences, he began to labour more mynes, taking away with the helpe of his Engines a great paue or space of the wall on the flanke of the Castle, and applyed his hookey and Rammes to make it fall at the same instant that he put fire to his mines: matters which albeit in common iudgement seemed not sufficient to cary the Castle but with great difficultie and long time, & that there was good intelligence that the *Swissers* by the resolution of *Zurich*, prepared to succour it: yet a practise being begun betweene *John Gonsago* the Duke of *Millans* Captaine which was within the Castle, & the Duke of *Barbon* his parent, *le. Morono*, with two other *Swiss* Captaines interposing also in the action, the resolution was concluded the fourth day of October, not without a wonderfull maruell of all men: *le. Morono* was specially blamed for this conclusion, for that either through feare, which was naturall in him, or for want of faith which was neuer imputed to him; he had vsed his authority to perswade the Duke to agreement: neuerthelesse he excused himselfe vpon certaine controuersies and mutinies hapned betweene the footemen of the *Swissers* and the *Italians*. The Articles of the accord were, that *Maximilian*

Sforce

Sporce should immediatly giue vp into the hands of the French king, the Castels of *Millan* and *Cremona*. That he should depose himselfe of all rights and interetts which he had in that estat: That he should receiue of the king, a certaine proportion of money to pay his debts: That he should go into *Fraunce*, where the king should indue him with a yearely pension of thirtie thousand duckats, or procure him to be made Cardinall with the same reuenue: That the king should pardon *Galeas* Viscount with certaine other Gentlemen of that Duchy who had followed the seruice of *Maximilian*: That he should distribute amongst the *Swissers* that were within the Castell, fixethousand crowns: That he should confirm to *Ioh. Gōzago* the goods that he held in the estate of *Millan* by the gift of the Duke, & enlarge his liuing with some yearely pensio: That he should in like sort ratifie to *Morono*, as well the goods that appertained to him in propertie, as others that he had of the Dukes gift, together with the offices he exercised, & should make him Maister of requests of the Court of *Fraunce*. Vpon the publication of this accord, *Maximilian* surnamed the *More* according to the name of his father, departed out of the Castell, & went into *Fraunce*: he said it was a sweet aduersitie that brought with it prosperitie, for that by that exchange of fortune, he was drawne out of the seruitude of the *Swissers*, the ill dealings of *Cesar*, & the deceits of the *Spaniards*. In this alteration also men seemed more to allow of the working of fortune, that she had so speedily deposed him from such a degree, then that afore she had exalted a man, who, for his incapacitie, inconstant thoughts, and most fowle maners of life, was vnworthy of all greatnesse.

Afore the Castell of *Millan* was restored, there were sent to the king as Embassadors from *Venice*, these foure of the most principall and honorable of the Senate *Ambo. Grumani*, *Dominike Treuisan*, *George Cornara*, and *Andrew Gruti*: their comming was to congratulate with the king of his victorie, and to beseech him by the vertue of the capitulations of the league, to ayde them to recouer their townes: an enterprise wherein they had no other impediments then the forces of *Cesar*, and the Popes regiments that were within *Verona* vnder the charge of *Mark Antho. Colonne*: for, the *Viceroy* after he was gone fro off the marches of *Plaisance*, & had reposed some few dayes vpo the frontiers of *Modena* expecting the Popes ratificatio to the accord with the French king, he withdrew with all diligence to the realme of *Naples* by the way of *Romagnia*. Vpon the relation of these Embassadors, the king gaue speedie order that the bastard of *Sauoy* & *Theodor Triulce* should go to their succour with fixe hundred Launces and seuen thousand Launce-knights: who, whilst they deferred to march and depart, either that they temporised to see what would come of the Castell of *Millan*, or that the king had a meaning to send out the same bands against the Castell of *Cremona*, *Aluiano* drew with his armie towards *Bressia*, for, the *Venetians* would not consent that he should follow the *Viceroy*, for that they desired to recouer *Bressia* and *Verona* (if it were possible) without forreine succors. But because that citie was newly resupplied with a thousand Launceknights, and *Bergamo* also rendred to the *Venetians* many dayes before, *Aluiano* resolved to go first to besiege *Verona*, as being the least fortified, and hauing there greatest commoditie of victuals, and withall for that *Verona* being taken, the action of *Bressia* would be easie, the situation bearing no oportunitie of succours by the *Almanes*: onely he forbore to giue beginning to his enterprise for feare least the *Viceroy* and the Popes bands that were in the countreys of *Reggia* and *Modena* should repasse ouer *Paw* at *Ostia*, to rescue *Verona*: but being deliuered of that suspicion by the going away of the *Viceroy*, he fell into another impediment of sicknesse, whereof he dyed in the beginning of October at *Queda* in the countrey of *Bressia*, ha-
Death of Aluiano.

uing not yet threescore yeares of age. The *Venetians* receiued great displeasure for his death, but greater was the sorrow of the souldiers, who being not satisfied with the remembrance of him, kept publikely in the armie his body by the space of fixe and twentie dayes, carying it about with them with very great pompe, at such time as they marched: and when he should be conueyed to *Venice*, *Theodor Triulce* would not suffer that as he was caried by the marches of *Verona*, they should demaund safeconduict of *Marke Antho. Colonne*, saying, it was not conuenient that he who in his life had neuer feare of his enemies, should now in his death demaund the thing by petition which afore they durst not denie him of duetie: he was buried at *Venic*. by publike order & with great ceremonies in *S. Stephens* Church, where yet remaineth the monument of his sepulcher, and in perpetuall remembrance of the merites and vertues of his life, was pronounced by a very eloquent young Gentleman, a funerall Oration: he was a Captaine in all mens opinion of great resolution and courage, and an assured executioner of things determined: and yet either by the

malice of fortune, who hath no small imperie ouer enterprises, or for that he was sudden in counsell, a principall enimie to the valour of men, he receiued many foiles by his enemies, yea it is thought he neuer obtained victorie when he was Generall of an armie.

By reason of the death of *Aluiano*, the French king (not being required by the *Venetians*) gaue to them for Gouvernour of their armie, *Trinulce*, whom they so much desired, as well for his experience wherein he was well confirmed, as for his reputation in the science of warre, for the which they had him in no small opinion: but most of all for that by the common inclination of the faction of the *Guelfes*, there had bin alwayes a settled amitie and good will betwene him and that common weale. Whilest he went to the armie, to take his charge, the *Venetian* bands tooke *Pesquero*, and ouerthrew a little before the enterprise, certaine troupes of horsemen, and three hundred *Spanish* footemen that went to their rescue, recovering also *Asolo* and *Lono*, which the Marquis of *Montua* had abandoned. As soone as *Trinulce* was come to the armie they besieged *Bressia* at the instance of the Senate, notwithstanding it seemed a matter of great difficultie to carie it without the French armie, both for that the towne was strong and well manned with a crew of two thousand footemen as well Launceknights as *Spaniards*, & also for that a great number of the *Guelfes* had bene constrained to go away, the winter also drawing on, and the season much disposed to raine and stormes. Neither did the issue and successe of the matter beguile the iudgement that the Captaine gaue of it: for as they had begun to do execution vpon the wals with their artilleries, which they had planted vpon the brinke of the ditch, on that side where issueth the small riuer of *Garzetto*: so they that were within making many sallies, brake forth at last with fiftene hundred Launceknights and *Spaniards*, to charge the gard of the artillerie, which was an hundred men at armes and sixe thousand footemen: and beating them also with the shot that for that end was arraunged vpon the towne wall, they put the easily to flight, notwithstanding that *John Paul Manfron* with thirtie men at armes sustained somewhat their furie: in this action they slue two hundred bodies, burnt the powders, and drew into *Bressia* ten peeces of artilleries. For the harmes of this disorder, *Trinulce* thought good to retire and incampe more at large, expecting the comming of the Frenchmen: in which minde he withdrew to *Coccio*, which is ten myles from *Bressia*, the *Venetians* looking in the meane while to make new prouisions of artillerie and munitions. But as soone as the Frenchmen were come to the campe, returned to besiege the towne, and began to batter it in two sundry places on that side of the gate of Piles towards the Castell, & also on that side of the gate of *S. John*: in one of which quarters the Frenchmen were incamped, and after they had giuen leaue to the Launceknights, for that they refused to do seruice against the townes of *Casals* obedience, *Peter of Nauarre* arrived at the campe with fife thousand *Gascons* & Frenchmen: and in the other quarter lay with the *Venetian* regiments, *Trinulce*, in whom rested almost the whole superintendencie of those affaires, for that the bastard of *Sauoy* being fallen into sickness, was gone from the armie. When they had battred the wall, they followed not with the assault for the sundry rampiers and fortifications which the valour of the defendants had made to resist their violence: onely *Peter of Nauarre* hauing recourse to his accustomed remedies, began to vndermine and sinke the wals. About this time *Marke Antho. Colonno* issuing out of *Verona* with sixe hundred horsemen and fife hundred footemen, encountred in the plaine *John Paul Manfron* and *Marke Antho. Buo*, who were bestowed in garrison within *Valeggio* with foure hundred men at armes and foure hundred light horsemen, he ouerthrew them, and in the skirmish was taken the sonne of *John Paule*, his horse being killed vnder him, and his father fled for his safetie to *Goieto*: immediatly after which expedition, *Marke Antho.* occupied *Legnagno*, where were taken prisoners certaine Gentlemen of *Venice*. At last the difficulties to take *Bressia* being more and more redoubled, both for that the mines employed by *Peter of Nauarre* did not answer the hopes that had bene giuen, and also for an expectation of eight thousand footemen to come out of *Germanie*, which the Captaines that lay about *Bressia* had no confidence to be able to hinder: the *Venetians* to couer someway the ignominie of their retraite, were contented to agree with the defendants of *Bressia*, that if they were not succoured within thirtie dayes, they would abandon the Citie, and go out of it with their ensignes displayed, their artilleries, and what else appertained to them; a promise which euery one knew would serue to no purpose for the assurance they had of succours: onely it was a thing profitable to them of *Bressia*, to be deliuered in the meane while from aduersities & afflictions. Afterwards the *Venetians* put eight thousand

land footmen within *Bre*, a towne subiect to the Counts of *Ladrono*, but as soone as they heard the Launceknights marched (to whom the Castell of *Anso* was redred) they retired cowardly to the armie, the Captaines themselves shewed no greater resolution and courage, who fearing to be charged at one time both by those bands, and the defendants of *Bressia*, and also by *Marke Antho. Colombo* with the regiments that were within *Verona*, retired to *Gueda*, whither they had sent afore (being assured of that accident) their greatest sortes of artillerie and almost all their baggage, and the Launceknights that entred into *Verona* without impediment, returned into *Germanie*, after they had refurnished it of victuals, and reenforced the garrison.

During these accidents and enterchaunge of affaires, the Pope and the French King had agreed vpon an enteriuew at *Bologna*: a place which the King accepted afore *Florence*, because he would not be farre removed from the Duchie of *Millan*, and chiefly for that the Duke of *Sauoy* managed continually the negociation of accord betweene him and the *Swissers*. But some thought he made election of that place, for that in passing into *Tuscane* he should be constrained to leade with him a great trayne of souldiers, to the end he should not enter into *Florence* with a lesse pompe then did the late King *Charles* before him: for dressing of which pompe, it behoued him to spend certaine dayes in deferring a matter by so much more grieuous and intollerable to the king, by how much (besides generall respectes) it would breede occasion to make him retaine yet longer the whole armie, whereof albeit the expences were great, yet made he no reckening nor resolution to send away any part of it, so long as his person remained in *Italie*. Thus the Pope entred into *Bologna* the eight day of December, and after him the king made his entry within two dayes, and to receiue him, were gone to the confines of the countrey of *Reggia*, the Cardinals *Fiesquo* and *Medicis*, Legates Apostolike. The king entred without many bands of souldiers, and with no great trayne of Court and Courtiers, and being conueyed according to the maner of kings into the publike Consistorie afore the Popes presence, he offered in his own person (his great Chancellor deliuering the speech for him) the obedience which till then he had not protested. They were lodged three dayes together in one pallace, shewing one to another right great and manifest tokens of good will and amitie: they confirmed at this meeting with wordes and promises, the obligations and contractes passed afore, and debated besides, of many things touching the Realme of *Naples*, which for that the king was in no readinesse to assaile at that time, he contented himselfe with the great hope and assurances which the Pope gaue to fauour him in that enterprize, either as soone as the king of *Aragon* should dye, who in reasonable iudgement could not long liue, or when the confederation which he had with him should be ended, which yet had continuance of sixteene moneths. The king also besought the Pope to redre to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena* and *Reggia*, whereunto he condescended so farre forth as the Duke repayed xl. thousand duckats which he had giuen to *Cesar* for *Modena*, and withall, make recopence for such summes of money as he had disbursed in expences for both the Cities. Lastly the king was a suter for *Frauncis Mario* Duke of *Vrbis*, who being waged and intainted by the Church with two hundred men at armes, and appointed with *Iulian de Medicis* to go to the armie, and afterwards that charge being transferred to *Lawrence*, by reason *Iulian* was sicke, he refused to go thither, alledging he would not accord to *Lawrence* that which against his dignitie he had suffered for friendshipss sake in *Iulian*, to beare the place of a simple Captaine & subiect to the authoritie of another, & that in the armie of the Church, wherein he had ruled so oftentimes as Generall and soueraigne Commaunder of all. Moreouer he reuoked those souldiers in his pay that were on the way, notwithstanding his promise to send them on to the seruice: he had also secretly compounded, or at least was in action of composition with the French king: like as also ever since the kings victory, he had not ceased by special working to kindle him against the Pope, who taking the occasion of those iniuries, and casting by all his deuises to make fall to his house that Duchie, refused to the king his demaund, reducing to his remembraunce by sweete wordes, of what consequence it would be for the affaires of the Church, to giue boldnesse to his subiectes to rebell by so hurtfull an example. These reasons induced the King to conforme himselfe to the Popes will, notwithstanding in regard of his honour, he would gladly haue purchased safetie for him that was fallen into daunger for being faithfull to his seruice: whereunto he was persuaded by many of his Councell & most of his Court, who vnder the example of the late king, proued how vnwise a counsell it was to giue heart and countenance to the Duke *Valentino* is to

Enteriuew of
Pope Leo and
the French king
in Bologna.

opresse the inferiour Lords of *Italie*; a matter that made him rise into that estate of greatnesse, that if God had giuen longer life to his father Pope *Alexander*, his ambition could not haue bene verie preiudiciall to the affaires of *Fraunce*. The Pope promised to giue the king power to leaue the tenth part of the Church reuenues of the Realme of *Fraunce* for the arrearings of his armie, and gaue also his consent that the king should haue the nomination of benefices, which alwayes afore hath appertained to Colledges & Chapters of Churches; a matter that fell out much to the profit and purpose of the kings of *Fraunce*, not onely hauing by that meane the facultie to dispose at their owne arbitration and will many rich benefices, but also the annates of the French Churches, should afterwards be payed to the Pope according to the true value, & not as the auncient taxations being far lesse required. Wherein the Pope found himselfe deceiued, for, when his Deputies and Commissaries for the Realme of *Fraunce*, sought to proceede against those that concealed the true value, they could finde no prooffe nor testimonie, and much lesse haue meane to execute against the parties, so that dispatches went out according to the old rates. The king for his part promised not to take into his protection any of the Cities of *Tuscane*: and albeit afterwards he required to haue libertie to protect the people of *Lucqua*, who offered him fife and twentie thousand duckats, saying, he was bound to that protection by the obligation of his predecessour, yet the Pope would giue no consent, but promised for his part that he would forbear to molest them in any sort. Lastly they agreed by indifferent consent of them both to send Frier *Giles* General of the *Augustins* and an excellent Preacher, to *Cesar* in the Popes name, to dispose him to render to the *Venetians*, *Bressia* and *Verona*, taking a recompence of money: and so vpon the expedition of these matters, but not set downe by writing, except the article for nomination of benefices and payment of the Annates according to the true value, the Pope in fauour of the king pronounced Cardinall *Adrian de Bosie*, brother to the great Maister of *Fraunce*, and of the greatest authoritie with the king and in the generall gouernment. Then the enteruiew brake vp, the king departing from the Pope very well contented and in great hope to haue him his perpetuall friend, who for his part expressed no lesse with all reasonable demonstrations, but in his minde he nourished other impressions: for that both it was a matter no lesse grieuous to him then afore, that the Duchie of *Millan* should be possessed by the French king, and *Parma* & *Plaisance* restored, and also that the Duke of *Ferrara* should be ctsloones reinuelled in *Modena* and *Reggia*. And yet all these not long after turned to vanitie and smoake, for that the Pope being gone from *Bologna* to *Florence*, and remaining there about a moneth, had receiued of the Duke promises of the money that should be payd asloone as he should enter into possession, & being there set downe in writing by common consent the instruments that were to passe betweene them, the Pope neither denying nor accomplishing, but interposing many delays and excuses, refused to giue perfection to things.

1516.
The French
king returneth
into *Fraunce*.

The king being returned to *Millan*, dismissed his armie except seuen hundred Launces, sixe thousand Launceknights and foure thousand Frenchmen such as they call aduenturers, whom he left the gard of that estate. And for his owne person he returned into *Fraunce* with great speed about the first beginning of the yeare 1516, leauing behind him as his Lieutenant, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*: he thought he had left his affaires in *Italie* in good estate of suretie, both for the alliance newly contracted with the Pope, and also for that about that time, he was newly compounded with the *Swissers*, who, notwithstanding the perswasions of the king of *England*, to haue the to reenter into armes against the French king renewed with him the alliance, by the which they bound themselues to furnish alwayes for his seruice and at his pay, both in *Italie* and out of *Italy*, for defence and offence, and against all nations, such numbers of footemen as he would require, and that vnder their vniuersall name and publike ensignes: onely they excepted to beare armes against the Pope, the Empire, and the Emperour. And on the other side, the king confirmed to them of new their auncient pensions, with promise to pay them within a certaine time the sixe hundred thousand duckats agreed vpon at *Dyon*, with three hundred thousand if they gaue vp to him the villages and vallies appertaining to his Duchie of *Millan*: a matter which the fife Cantons that possessed those places, refusing to do, as also to ratifie the accord, the king began to pay to the other eight Cantons that part & portiō of the money that appertained to the: who accepted it, but vnder this expresse condition, that they should not be bound to take his part against the fife Cantons.

About the beginning of this yeare, the Bishop *Petrucchio* an auncient seruant to the Pope, chased

chased out of *Sienna* by the Popes aide and somehelpe from the *Florentins*, *Borgueso* son to *Pandolfo Petrucci* his cosin, and impatronised himselfe vpon the place, the authority and gouernement remaining by equity in the possession of his sayd cosin: the Pope had two respects inducing him to this action, the one, for that that City standing betweene the estate of the Church, and the dominion of the *Florentins*, was gouerned by a man wholly at his deuotion: the other was, & much more particular and mouing, for that he hoped with the fauour of some good occasion, to make it fall into the gouernour of his brother or his nephew, wherein he doubted nothing of the Bishops consent, hauing already framed him tractable to all his desires and ambitions.

The warre continued kindled betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*, who for their partes desired to recouer by the ayde of the French king, *Bressia* and *Verona*: but for other places and regions of *Italy*, things seemed to stand in a peaceable estate: only there began to burst out motions of new *Wirres* that were pushed on by the king of *Aragon*, who fearing least the greatnesse of the French king would bring some aduersities to the realme of *Naples*, dealt with *Cesar* & the king of *England*, to recontinue the warre: a matter not only of no great difficulty and hardnesse to draw *Cesar* vnto, being both desirous of innouation and new things, and also was not able easily to keepe the townes which he had taken from the *Venetians*: but also it was fully concluded and agreed vnto by the king of *England*: the remembrance of the late infidelity and breach of promise of his father in law, being of lesse power in him, then either his present emulation or ancient hatred against the Crowne of *France*: besides, he was enuious, that the *Scottish* king being in minoritie, should be gouerned by people of his appointment, or any way depending on him.

These matters had bene followed both with better counsell, and greater forces, if during the negociation, the death of the king of *Aragon* had not hapned, who, after he had bene vexed with a long indisposition, died in an inferior village, called *Madrigalege*, as he went to *Senile* with his Court: he was a king excellent in counsell, and so furnished with all other properties of vertue, that he bare no occasion or matter of reprehension, if he had bene constant to keepe his promises: for, touching the imputation of niggardnesse or the report that went of him to be strait in expences, it was proued vnture by the testimony and discouery of his estate after his death, leaving behind him no amasse of treasure, notwithstanding he had reigned xliij. yeares. But it hapneth oftentimes by the corrupt iudgement of men, that in a king prodigality is more praised, though the raking and oppression of subiects be ioyned to it, then a sparing straitnesse, wherein is nourished an orderly abstayning from taxing the goods of others. To the excellent vertues of this Prince, was ioyned a most rare, and perpetuall felicity during the whole course of his life, excepting only the death of his onely sonne: for, the accidentes of his wiues and his sonne in law, were the cause that he kept his greatnesse vntill his death, and the necessity to depart with *Castille* after his wiues death, was rather a sport then a blow of fortune. In all other things he was right happy: for, being second sonne to *Iohn* king of *Aragon*, he came to the Crowne by the death of his elder brother: he aspired to the kingdome of *Castille* by *Issabell* his wife: he subdued the Competitors of the same kingdome, & expelled them: he made a conquest of the Realme of *Granado*, which the enemies of Christian faith had vsurped almost eight hundred yeares: he annexed to his Empire, the Realmes of *Naples*, and *Navarre*, and the principallitie of *Orano*, with many other places of importance vpon the coast of *Affriqua*: he bare alwayes the victory and vpper hand of his enemies: he almost cloaked his ambitions and couetousnesse with an honest zeale to religion, and an holy affectio to the common-weale, wherein fortune appeared manifestly conioyned with industry. About a moneth afore his death, dyed the Great Captaine, both absent from the Court, and ill contented of the king: and yet the king gaue order, that in remembrance of his valour, there should be done to him both in the Court & through the whole parts of the Realme, those honors that haue not bene vsed to be done, but at the death of kings; a matter plausibly accepted and executed by all his subiects, who omitted no sort of reuerence or celebration to the name of the Great Captaine, making him singular in liberality, in counsell, in discretion, and for knowledge in warres and martiall science, excelling all the Captaines of his time.

By the death of this king, the French king entred into a new courage to adresse an enterprise against the Realme of *Naples*, to the which he was in mind to send forthwith the Duke of *Burbon* with an army of eight hundred Launces, and ten thousand footemen: he seemed to repose much

Death of the
king Catholike.

Death of the
Great Cap-
taine.

in the oportunitie of the time, for that the kingdome being in some tumult^r vpon the death of the king, and ill prepared for defence, he perswaded a facilitie of conquest, specially for that the Archduke could not come thither in time conuenient to succour it: and he doubted nothing of the Popes fauour, both for the hopes hee had giuen him at the enteruiewe of *Bologna*, and in regard of the alliance contracted with him, and also in consideration of his proper interest, as though hee should be iealous of the wonderfull height and greatnesse of the Archduke, heire present to so many kingdomes by the death of the king Catholike, and expected successour of *Cesar*: he hoped besides that the Archduke would giue him no great impediment, knowing howe harmefull might be to him his ill will touching the Realmes of *Spaine*, but specially for the regard of the kingdome of *Aragon*, whereunto many of the same familie had aspired; if their power had beene as great as their right: for albeit in the life of the late king and *Issabell* his wife, it was interpreted in an open and generall Parliament of the whole Realme, that the auncient constitutions of that kingdome, which admit not women to the succession of the Crowne, were not preiudiciall, against the issue males borne of them, when in the line masculine was to be found neither brother, vncler, nor nephew of the dead king, nor any other that was more nearer to him then they that were descended of the womans side, or at least in equall degree: and that for that reason it was declared, that after the death of *Ferdinand*, the succession appertained to the Archduke *Charles*, wherein was brought for example, that after the death of *Martin* king of *Aragon* dying without issue males, by the sentence of the Iudges deputed to that matter through the whole kingdome, was preferred *Ferdinand* Graundfather to this *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding he came of the womans side, afore Count *Vrgello* and others ioyned to *Martin* by masculine line, but in degree and property of descending, further off then *Ferdinand*: yet the people nourished amongst themselves a secrete complaint and controuersie, that in that interpretation and declaration, the power and authority of *Ferdinand* and *Issabell* was of more force, then the law of iustice and equity. In this did the interpretation seeme vniust to many, that the women being excluded, such as descended of them might bee admitted, and withall, that in the sentence giuen to the behoofe of the old *Ferdinand*, the feare of his armes ruled more then reason.

These matters being layd open to the French king, and withall, that the peoples of the prouince of *Aragon*, *Valence*, and the Earledome of *Catlonia* (all these are comprehended vnder the kingdome of *Aragon*) stood desirous to enioy a king proper and particular: He hoped that the Archduke, not to endaunger so great a succession and so many estates, would not at last be straunge or hard to leaue vnto him the kingdome of *Naples* vnder some reasonable composition. In the which time, for the better preparing of this enterprise, and because he would insinuate by benefites, aswell as preuaile by forces, he sought to set at libertie *Prosper Colonne*, vpon whom was imposed a raunsome of fife and thirtie thousand duckats, whereof the king procured him to be pardoned of the one moytie, vpon payment whereof he was released. By which property of fauour the world was induced to beleue, that *Prosper* had made secrete promise not to beare armes against him, yea haply to ayde him in the warre of *Naples*, albeit with some limitation or reseruing of his honour.

Albeit the kings minde was occupied with these thoughts, and that he had now determined to deferre no longer the action of armes and forraine warre, yet he was driuen by new accidents to turne his mind wholly to looke to his owne defence: for that the Emperour hauing receiued an hundred and twenty thousand duckats, according to the former negotiation begunne with the king of *Aragon*, he made preparation (as he had accorded with the sayd King) to inuade the Duchy of *Millan*, after he had once giuen succours to *Verona* and *Bressia*. For the army of the *Venetians* (commaunded by *Trinulce*, who was made Gouvernour when the other *Trinulce* was returned to *Trieste*) lying encamped within sixe miles of *Bressia*, suffered their estradiots to make incursions thorough the

the whole countrey: and one day being charged by those that were within the towne, and either party running to their rescue and succour of their friends, they repulsed them and draue them beater into *Bressia*, hauing long fought for the victory, in which conflict they slue many, & tooke prisoner the gouernours brother of the City. Not many dayes after *Monsieur de Lawtrech* General of the French army, and *Theodore Trmulse* hauing espiall that a strength of three thousand Launceknights came to *Bressia* to conduct the money sent for the pay of the souldiers, sent out to hinder their passage at the Castle of *Anso*, *Ianus Fregoso* and *Iohn Conrado Vrsin*, with certaine hands of both the armies: they put the Launceknights to flight, and made slaughter of eight hundred of them, the residue carying away the money, found safety by flying to *Lodrono*. Afterwards the *Venetians* sent a regiment of two thousand five hundred footemen into Sand-valley to fortifie the Castle of *Anso*, who burnt *Lodrono* and *Astoro*. Thus were they in *Bressia* maruelously trauelled, whose aduersities and straitnesse bearing suspition least they would giue vp, compelled *Cesar* to aduance and march: he tooke his way by *Trem* to *Verona*, hauing in his army five thousand horsemen, fifteene thousand *Swissers* sent to him by the five Cantons, and ten thousand footmen aswell Spanish as Launceknights. By reason of which marching comming on both in a maner, in a number, and by a way contrary to expectation, the French army and the *Venetians*, leauing sufficient garrisons within *Vincenza* and *Padoa*, went to *Pesquero*, mrying a mind to stop *Cesar*s passage at the riuier of *Mince*: but (as it often hapneth in matters of enterprise) the execution did nothing aunswere the counsell: for that when they sawe the enemies approach and come on, they wanted the courage to performe in the field the thing which they had so brauely promised vnder counsell in their pauillions, but, hauing passed *Oglia*, they retired to *Cremona*, omitting the oportunity, with the losse of reputation, which in the enemy encreased together with a new courage and resolution. But *Cesar*, either caried by an vndiscret counsell, or pushed on by an euill fortune, encamped before *Afelo*, which was garded by a hundred men at armes, and foure hundred footemen of the *Venetians*: there he consumed vnprofitably many dayes, wherein it was thought that the respite which he gaue to the enemies in that delay, tooke from him the oportunity of the victory. Alsoone as he brake vp from before *Afelo*, he passed the riuier of *Oglia* at *Orcinono*, and the enemies leauing in *Cremona* three hundred launces & three thousand footemen, retired on the other side the riuier of *Addo*, with intention to stop his passage. By whose retiring leauing the peeces there abandoned, all the countrey betwene *Oglia*, *Paw*, and *Addo*, was at the deuotion of *Cesar*, except *Cremona* & *Crema*, whereof the one was garded by the French, & the other kept by the *Venetians*. The Cardinall of *Syon* with many of the banished people of the Duchy of *Milan*, followed *Cesar*, together with *Mark. Anthonie Colonne*, who marched with two hundred men at armes of the Popes pay: a matter which gaue so much the more feare to the Frenchmen, by how much their greatest hopes were reduced thither, if ten thousand *Swissers* who had bene payed for ten moneths made any more tarying to march. After *Cesar* had passed the riuier of *Oglia*, he drew neare to the riuier of *Addo* to make his passage at *Pisqueton*, but finding many difficulties to passe in that place, he came to *Rinolco*, the Frenchmen lying at *Casciano* on the other side the riuier, who for that the *Swissers* were not come, and that the riuier of *Addo* had many foordes that yeilded facility of passage, retired the day after to *Millan*, not without matter of infamy to *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, who had written to the king that he would stop *Cesar*s passage at that riuier. But *Cesar* finding no impediment to resist his passage there, ioyned diligence to his fortune, and finding mens minds inclined to his victory, he had the City of *Loda* rendred to him forthwith: and being within a few miles of *Millan*, he sent an Herald to summon the towne, threatning the inhabitants, that if within three dayes they expulsed not the French army, he would deale worse with them then did *Federike Barbarosso* his predecessor, who not satisfied to waste and burne *Millan*, caused salt to be sowed and strawed about in memory of his anger and their rebellion.

The French men that in great feare were retired to *Millan*, fell amongst themselves into great debates and diuersity of counsels: some were of opinion to abandon *Millan*, both for that in the needes was no possibility of resistance against so mighty enemies, and withall they had no great confidence in the comming of the *Swissers*, notwithstanding they knew they were already vpon the way: besides, they had aduertisement that the Cantons either had already ordered, or were at point to commaund, that the souldiers of the *Swissers* should depart from the seruice

of both the one and the other, which direction it was thought credible and likely that those bands that were vpon the way, would be more ready to obey then they that were in the seruice of the enemy. Others gaue aduise not to leaue the seruice, esteeming it too great infamy to leaue forsaken in perill and aduersity, those friends that had reposed and layd vp in them the whole confidence of their safety and protection. They alleaged a better hope in the rescye of the *Swissers*, and their owne ability to defend *Millan*, giuing a resolute counsell to sticke to the defence of the towne, and for their better surety they willed to keepe retayned in *Millan* all the footemen, and eight hundred Launces, making distribution of the others together with the *Venetians* and the light horsemen, into places adioyning, to keepe and cut off victuals from the enemies. The variety of opinions was no small impediment to the present seruice, their daunger and necessity being more importunate, then their counsels resolute, or their confidence assured. Neuerthelesse the first counsell had bene followed, had it not bene for the contrary working and perswasion of *Andrew Grutti* and *Andrew Treusian*, *Venetian* commissioners, who obtayned by their authority (for otherwise they could win nothing) that a cowardly haste should not carry them further then the reputation of valour and counsell appertayning to men of warre and seruice. In the action of which perswasions newes came, that the day following *Alberto Peter* would be in *Millan* with tenthousand *Swissers* and *Grisons*; a matter that breathed new minds and courages in them, and yet hauing no confidence to be able to defend the suburbs, they burnt them by the counsell of the *Venetian* commissioners, who aduised them to that violence, either for that they supposed it necessary to the safety of the towne, or else vnder that occasion they sought to satisfie the auncient hatred remaining of long time betweene them of *Millan* and *Venice*: they both expulsed out of the City, and also retained vnder good gard, many of the chieftaines of the *Gebelin* faction, as inclined to the name of the Empire by the care and labour of those houses, and for that there were in the army many of the same partiality. In this meane while *Cesar* encamped with his army at *Lambra* two miles from *Millan*, where he had no sooner setled his campe to the terror of the towne, then the expected supply of *Swissers* entred for the defence of it. Besides the suddennesse of their comming, which in cases of rescue is of no small importance, their readinesse and disposition to fight, amazed not a little euen those that afore seemed to stand in assurance of the victory: they gaue a new life to the discouraged minds of the Frenchmē and no lesse feare and terror to *Cesar*, who looking into the auncient hatred of that nation to the house of *Austrich*, and comparing with his present estate, the accident hapned to *Lodowike Sforce* hauing *Swissers* in his army, and the French army his enemies, began to feare least they wold ioyne him to that lamentable example: he saw it was likely that they would sooner practise infidelity and treason against him for the difficulty he had to pay them, then against the Frenchmen, to whom was wanting no money to pay their wages, nor to corrupt their minds: wherein this was one matter that confirmed him in his doubt, that *Iames Staffler* Generall of the *Swissers*, had asked him his pay with great arrogancie: which neuerthelesse was deferred, besides many other difficulties, because the treasure that was sent to him out of *Germanie*, was restrayned by the Spanish regiments that were within *Brescia*, to satisfie so much of their payes as were due. So that in the consideration of these obiections and doubts, together that the danger was nothing inferior to the feare, *Cesar* brake vp his campe and retired towards the riuier of *Adda*, his negligence taking from him the glorie of the victory which fortune and oportunitie seemed to prepare for him: for, if he had made his approches to *Millan* but three dayes afore (a time which he vainely consumed afore *Aolo*) the Frenchmen that liued in great doubt and incertainty of the comming of the *Swissers*, had returned beyond the Mountes. Besides, if he had not so soone discamped, either the Frenchmen, not reposing fully in the *Swissers*, for the respects of their countrey men that serued in *Cesars* campe, had followed their first counsell, or else the *Swissers* taking their excuse vpon the commandement of their superiours, would haue abandoned the Frenchmen. *Cesar* passed the riuier of *Adda*, and was not followed of the *Swissers*, who remayned at *Loda*, protestting that if their payes came not within foure dayes, they would depart and leaue his seruice. But *Cesar* making his aboade vpon the territories of *Bergama*, gaue them continuall hopes to be satisfied, for that he expected a new supply of money to be sent him out of *England*: he threatned to draw backe his forces againe to *Millan*, which estloones reconti-
nued

rued the doubts of the Frenchmen, who now more then euer stood incertaine of the fidelitie of the *Swissers*, for that besides they had willingly foreshewed their comming, with protestation that they would neuer lift vp their weapons against their countrey men in the other campe, there was come to them a commaundement from the Cantons to forsake the pay of the French men; in so much as there were two thousand of them that went away, leauing behind them great feare least the others would follow their example, notwithstanding the Cantons had assured the king that they had giuen secret commaundement to their footmen to the contrarie. At last *Cesar*, after he had leauied vpon the towne of *Bergama* an impost of sixteene thousand duckets, & was gone towards *Crema* vnder hope of an intelligence, returned estloones vpon the territories of *Bergama* without doing any thing, and determined to withdraw himselfe to *Trent*. He communicated with the Captaines of the armie his deliberation, assuring them that his principall intention was to giue order for money which he meant to leaue of men, with the which, and with the treasure of *England* that was vpon the way, he would make a short returne, desiring them to temporize and expect with him so good preparation: and they hauing sacked *Loda*, and forced the castle without artillerie, retired to *Guaradadda* for want of victuals, after they had also made pillage of the towne of *S. Ange*. After the departing of *Cesar*, there was some hope that the *Swissers*, with whom was ioyned the whole armie at *Romano*, would estloones passe the riuier of *Adda*, the rather for that the Marquis of *Brandebourg* was come to the campe, and the Cardinall of *Syon* to *Bergama* with thirty thousand duckets which the king of *England* had sent: for feare whereof, the Duke of *Burbon* whom almost all the *Swissers* and the *Venetian* souldiers had forsaken, was come vpon the shoares on the other side the riuier to make resistance: but the thoughts of the enemies were sodainly changed, for that the *Swissers*, the mony not suffising to satisfie their whole pay, disperfed and returned into their countrey by the vallie of *Voltolina*. And for the same cause a regiment of three thousand footmen, part Spanish and part Dutch, came and rendred themselves to the campe of the Frenchmen and the *Venetians*, who being passed the riuier of *Adda*, had not ceased to traueil the enemies with sundrie incursions, and to skirmish with them with diuers fortunes and accidents: sometimes the Frenchmen had the worse, who in a hot skirmish made neare *Bergama*, lost about two hundred men at armes: & sometimes the aduersity fell vpon the contrary part, of whom in a like encounter fell into the fortune of a prisoner *Cesar Fieramosquo*: the residue of the armie drew neare to *Bressia*, hauing receiued in prest a ducket for euerie man: but for the impediments that the light horsemen gaue them, *Marke Anth. Colonne* entred into *Verona* with the Launceknights and certaine bands of Spanish footmen, and all the others separated themselves.

This was the end of the mouing and marching of *Cesar*, wherein the French king had no small suspicion of the Pope, for that hauing summoned him according to the bond of the league made betweene them, that he should send to the defence of the estate of *Milan* five hundred men at armes, or at least draw them neare the confines, and withall to wage three thousand *Swissers* according to his offer made to *Anthonie Maria Paluozin*, which the king charged him withall. The Pope made but cold answers touching the waging of *Swissers*, and taking an occasion to excuse himselfe, that his men were in ill appointment, he promised to send him bands of the *Florentines*, who with certaine of his souldiers marched very slowly towards *Bologna* and *Reggia*. The king suspected more and more that he did communicate with the comming of *Cesar*, both for that as soone as he knew he was entred into *Italy*, he created Legate with him *Bernard Bibiena* Cardinall of *Saint Maria in Porzio*, who bare alwayes a setled emulation to the French, and was accustomed to impugn the proceeding of their affaires with the Pope: and also for that he suffered *Marke Anthonie Colonne* with his regiments to follow *Cesar's* armie. But howsoeuer the king was iealous of the Popes priuity in this action, or by what humours he ranne in coniecture against him for his consent to the emotion, it is most true that touching his proper interest, the Pope was not a little aggriued with the descending of *Cesar* with so great forces, fearing that if he caried the victorie, he would aduenture to oppresse all *Italy*, according to his ancient inclination: neuertheless, what for the impression of feare, and that such maner of proceeding was conformable to his nature, he dissembled his thoughts, labouring to make himselfe as little hatefull as he could to either parties: that was the cause why he was bold to call home againe *Marke Anth.*

and durst not send to the king the succours he had promised: That he had created a Legate with *Cesar*, and on the other side, *Cesar* being departed from *Milan*, the Legate vnder a colour of sicknesse stayed at *Rubiera*, to see afore he passed further, what would be the issue of such an enterprize: and afterwards, to settle and quiet the kings mind, he thought good that his nephew *Laurence* (continuing in the same demonstration to depend of the king that he shewed when he went to him at *Milan*) should giue him money by the *Florentines* to pay three thousand *Swissers* for one moneth. But albeit the king accepted this money, yet (disclosing by tokens that he knew the Popes drifts) he said, that since he was alwayes against him in warre, and the alliance made with him serued him to no vse in times of daunger, he would esstoones make a new consideration, wherein he would be bound but in peace and in seasons of surety.

The Venetians
recouer Bressia

As soone as the armie of *Cesar* was disperied and separate, the *Venetians* (without tarying for the Frenchmen) approached *Bressia* by night, thinking to scale the wals: they had confidence in this enterprize by the small strength of men that was within, since there remained no more but six hundred footmen Spanish, and foure hundred horsemen, but both their ladders being shorter then was necessarie to that seruice, and the valour of the defendants beguiling their expectation, their attempt drew with it no successe. Afterwards arriued the French armie vnder the charge of *Odet de Foix* whom the king had newly created his Lieutenant in the place of *M. Bourbon*, who of his owne motion had willingly resigned that gouernement into the kings hands. These armies assailed *Bressia* with artilleries in foure places, to take from the defendants all reasonable possibilitie to make resistance against so feuerall executions: and albeit the valour of the defendants contending against their fortune, made good resistance so long as they had hope that a regiment of seuen thousand footmen of the countrey of *Tyrol*, being come by *Cesars* commandement to *Montagnana*, should passe further: yet, both that rescue being disappointed for the impediments which the *Venetians* bestowed in the castle of *Anfo* and other passages, and also the defendants not willing to abide the assault which was to be giuen the next day (a great pane of the wall being already beaten downe to the ground) the souldiers couenanted to leaue the towne and castle only with their goods saued, if they were not rescued within a day.

About these times the Pope preparing to take by armes from *Frauncis Maria de la Rovere*, the Duchie of *Vrbyn*, began to proceede against him with censures and Church-paines, causing to be published an admonition, wherein was expressed, that being in the pay and wages of the Church, he had refused those regiments of men for the which he had receiued pay, & was secretly compounded with the enemies: That long time before he had killed the Cardinall of *Pania*, of the which he was absolved by grace and not by iustice, and had executed many other murders: That in the greatest heat of the warre betweene Pope *Iulio*, to whom he was nephew, subiect, & Captaine, he had sent *Baltasar de Chastillon* to take the Kings pay: And that at the same time he had denied passage to certaine bands that marched to ioyne with the armie of the Church, & in the iurisdiction which he possessed as freeholder to the Sea Apostolike, he had pursued the souldiers of the Church that fled from the battell of *Rauenna*. The Pope was determined many moneths before to make warre vpon him, whereunto, besides all late and greene iniuries, he was pushed on by a disdain in that he refused to aide himselfe and his brother to returne to *Florence*: and yet he was somewhat retained by a shame that he had to persecute the nephew of him, by whose meane the Church was risen to such a greatnesse, but much more at the contemplation of his brother *Iulian*, who in the time of their exile hauing remained many yeares in the Court of *Vrbyn*, both with Duke *Guido*, & after his death with the Duke reigning, could not endure to see him deprived of the Duchy, wherein he had receiued entertainment, fauor, & honour. But *Iulian* was no sooner dead of a consuming disease at *Florence*, & the great stirres of *Cesar* being vanished and turned into smoke, then the Pope at the perswasion of his nephew *Laurence* and his mother *Alfonsina* thirsting after that estate, resolved to defer no longer the oppression which he had determined with no lesse iniury then infamy: he was not ashamed to allege for excuse of his ingratitude (which many imputed to him for reproch and slander) not onely the trespasses he had receiued by him, and the penalties which the rigour of the lawes impose vpon a subiect that offends in contumacie against his Lord, or a Captaine who contrarieto his bond denieth to leade the men for the which he is waged and entertained: but also he brought in this consideration, that it was to him a matter very iealous and daungerous, to endure in the intrals of his estate, man

who

who by how much more he had begun already to offend him without all regard to faith and honour, by so much more it was certaine that whensoever a greater occasion did offer, he would not be lesse ready or apt to do the like hereafter, confirming his first illes with other examples of the same nature. The discourse of that warre was this. As soone as *Laurence* shewed himselfe vpon the frontiers of the Duchie, and displayed his armie, compounded vpon the souldiers and subiects of the Church and the estate of *Florence*, the Citie of *Vrbino* with other townes of that iurisdiction made a voluntarie rendring to the Pope, the Duke that was then retired to *Pejera*, giuing them election to saue themselves, since he had no abilitie to defend them: and as soone as the armie drew neare, *Pejera* followed the example of *Vrbino*, the cowardise of the Duke concurring with his infelicities: for notwithstanding there was a garrison of three thousand footmen, the towne mightie in fortifications, and had the sea at deuotion, yet the Duke leauing within the Castle *Tranquillo Mandolfo* in whom he much reposed, tooke his way to *Mantua*, whither he had sent before his wife and sonnes: some supposed that his retiring thither came vpon a suspected confidence he had in the souldiers, of whom the greatest part was vn Timer: but some are of opinion, that his impatience for the absence of his wife, was the cause of his going thither, vnder which pollicie he excused his feare with loue. It is a true saying that aduersities haue a swift course, and fortune to make her mutabilitie wonderfull, can heape in one day all the chaunces of a world: for except the Castles of *Sinigalo*, *Pejera*, *S. Leo*, and *Mandolo*, the whole Duchie of *Vrbino* and *Pejera* was educed in foure dayes to the obedience of the Church: but the Castle of *Sinigalo* made no delay to follow the course of the victorie, as also the strong castle of *Pejera* after it had bene two dayes executed with artilleries, compounded to giue vp if within twenty dayes it were not rescued, so far forth as during this time of truce or expectation of succours there were no casting of rampiers nor other sort of fortifications: which condition being ill performed, was the cause that *Tranquillo* receiuing no rescue within the time appointed, refused to deliuer it vp: and beginning a fresh to recontinue the warre, he made new sallies and actions vpon the enemy without, which made his destiny the harder, for that the battery beginning to play with greater furie, the souldiers within the Castle preferring their owne safety afore the will of *Tranquillo*, drew into mutinie against him, and deliuered him vp into the hands of the Captaines, who condemned him to be hanged for his promise breaking. Not many dayes after was rendred the castle of *Mainola*, a place verie necessarie to besiege *S. Leo*, for that it is but a mile distance, and hath his situation directly opposite: and they bestowed about *S. Leo* two thousand men, to the end to keepe it besieged: and albeit for the strong situation there was no hope to carie it but by the last necessitie, which is hunger; yet it was surprisid within three moneths by an inuention of a maister Carpenter, who climbing by night by the benefite of a verie long ladder vp to a cliffe or dependant supposed to be most inaccessible of all that mountaine, he tooke away his ladder, and remaining there all the residue of the night, he began at the first appearing of the day, to climbe higher with certaine fastening instruments of yron, and got at last with great aduventure to the top of the mountaine, and so descending againe, and with his yron instruments making easie certaine of the places that were of most difficultie, he returned the night following to the campe by the help of the same ladder that caried him vp: he declared to the Captaines that the mountaine was accessible, and that in the enterprize the daunger was greater in opinion then in aduentering, in so much as a night was appointed when he was sent thither with the same ladder that he first vsed: and as it was reasonable that he should be guide of the action, that was the first author of the inuention, so there were committed to him an hundred and fiftie footmen of choise, with whom staying vpon the said cliffe or dependant, they began at the opening of the day (for it was impossible to climbe higher by night) to mount vp those verie hard & straight places, esteeming nothing of the perill when they considered what glorie was in the aduventure: with this labour about thirtie of them overcame the difficultie of the place, and got vp to the top of the mountaine with a drumme and sixe Ensignes: and hiding themselves vpon the ground to expect their companions that were climbing, when the watch then breaking vp, espied them as they lay in ambush vpon the earth, and gaue the alarme, when the souldiers being now disclosed, not tarying for their fellows, gaue the signe to the armie in the campe, who according to good direction tooke knowledge of the successe of the climbers, & with great store of ladders offered a present assault to the mountaine in manie places: their chiefe reason in this

The Pope taketh the Duchy of Vrbino, and giueth it to Lau. de Medicis his nephew.

assault was to draw away those that were within, who after they had somewhat serued the places they were appointed vnto, & descrying already vpon the plaine of the mountaine fixe ensignes aduanced, they ran to inclose themselves within the castle that was hewed out of the mountaine, hauing now more feare of their liues then confidence in the inuincible strength of the place: The residue by this time being climed vp to the top of the mountaine, they began to command the whole place, opening the way to others, that as yet with great paine and difficultie were labouring to win the top of the hill. But the resolution of the climbers being farre aboue the valour of the defendants, in whom also the sodainnesse of the fortune redoubled their feare, the mountaine became a reward to the labours of those that had aduentured to climbe it, when the Castle also well provided of all things to hold out, sauing of valour and fidelitie, yeelded the second day. In somuch that vpon the conquering of this estate, which together with *Pesera* and *Sinigalo* separate members from the Duchy of *Vrbino*, was not worth in reuenue aboue xxy. thousand duokets. The Pope pursuing the processe he had begun, published sentence, and deprived *Franciscotomaria*, and in the Consistorie inuested his nephew *Laurence*: wherein for a more able and sufficient confirmation of his doings, he annexed to the Bull which he dispatched for that action, the subscribing of the proper hands of all the Cardinals, sauing of *Dominike Grimani* Bishop of *Vrbino*, and an ancient friend to the Duke, who would not be concurrant in so manifest a wrong, & for that cause fearing the Popes indignation, he departed afterwards from *Rome*, whither he neuer returned so long as he liued.

The French king was discontented with the oppression of the Duke of *Vrbino*, the rather for that he suffered priuation of his estate for being confederate with him: but he stood much more displeased for many other things that the Pope did: for *Prosper Colonne* abiding at *Basseta* a town of the *Paluosiens*, at such time as he was returned from *Fraunce*, and afterwards being come to *Modena* for feare of the Frenchmen, whither likewise was retired *Ier. Morono*, who also stood in doubt of the, for that contrary to their promises they had commanded him to go into *Fraunce*: there was conspiracy whilest *Prosper* lay at *Modena*, and afterwards at *Bologna*, to surprise secretly some place of importance in the Duchy of *Millan*, by the working of some of the banished men. In this practise was also concurrant *Mucio Colonne*, to who the Pope hauing priuity in these actions, had granted harbour for his bands of souldiers vpon the territories of *Modena*. Moreover the Pope had perswaded the king Catholike (for so was the Archduke called since the death of his grandfather by the mother side) to make no new conuentions with the French king. And on the behalfe of the *Swissers*, *Emius* Bishop of *Verulo* and the Popes *Nuncio*, to who afterwards euen in his latest yeares was transferred the creation & dignity of Cardinal, stirred vp the five Cantons to follow the amity of *Cesar*, besides many other offices displeasing to the king. So that concurring also at the same time a practise between *Cesar* (who remaining between *Tret* & *Ispruch*, terrified the French men more with demonstrations then with effects) and the king of *England*, and the *Swissers* to make a new inuasion vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, the French king suspected that these matters were wrought with the will and priuity of the Pope, whose euill affection also appeared in other actions, making many exceptions & difficulties to confirme vnto him the tenth of the benefices of the realme of *Fraunce*, which he had promised him at *Bologna*. And yet (so great is the respect and maiestie of a Pope) the king so laboured to appease him with offers and offices, that albeit after the departure of *Cesar* he had determined to molest *Mirandola*, *Corpy*, and *Correge*, as townes imperiall, to the end to make some leauies of mony of them, yet he forbore from all action, in regard of the complainings of the Pope, who had receiued afore into his protection the Lords of those townes. Moreover, the *Moors* of *Affrica* commaunding the sea inferiour with many vessels, he offered to send him for the surety of those seas, his nauie of ships, which *Peter* of *Nauarre* armed at *Marseilles* by his consent, for the inuasion of the streames and creeks of *Barbary*, with a strength of 6000 footmen: but notwithstanding all these offers & obseruances, the Pope perseuered in his opinion, & as sometimes he would vse deniall, and sometimes occupy excuses, yet he wold neuer so much as consent to that demand the king had made to him with great instance to call out of *Switzerland* the Bishop of *Verulo*, & much lesse wold he remove *Mucio Colonne* from the territories of *Modena* (where he fained he remained of his own authority) vntil by the departure of *Prosp.* from *Bologna* & all that practise dissolued into smoke, there was no more necessity of his abiding there: only the breaking vp from thence was a matter of great aduersity

to *Mutio*, for that entring afterwarde by night into the towne of *Ferma* with the forces of the *Colonnos*, and with certaine bands of footemen *Spanish*, as he was busie in sacking the Citie, he receiued a blow, whereof he dyed within few dayes after.

In this estate of affaires, and the Senate of *Venice* making instance for the recouerie of *Verona*, *Monsieur Lawtrech* with his armie of sixe thousand Launceknights whom the *Venetians* agreed to pay for that enterprise, came to the riuer of *Adice*, to the end to passe to *Vsolinguo*, and so to incampe afore *Verona* together with the *Venetian* army: but what by the rumour of the comming of the *Swissers* now redoubled, and the suspition recontinued of the being of *Prosper Colonne* at *Modena*, where also remained the Cardinall of *S. Maria in Portico*, he retired to *Pesquero*, not without the complaints of the *Venetians*, making distribution of his bands both on this side & beyond the riuer of *Mancia*. And notwithstanding the sayd suspitions were ceased, & that from *Verona* a regimēt of two thousand footmen both *Spanish* & Launceknights, were gone to the pay of the *Venetians*, & more did go dayly: yet he remained in that place more then a moneth, expecting (as was sayd) both a new prouision of money out of *France*, & a greater proportion of artillerie, munitions & money frō the *Venetians*. But the true cause of his temporising, was, to obserue what would be the issue of the treatie betweene his King & the king Catholike: for the Frēch king knowing how much & how necessarily his amity did import the king Catholike, both to remoue the difficulties of his passage into *Spaine*, and to assure him of the obedience and iurisdiction of his kingdomes, he seemed not content with the matters that had bene agreed vpon afore at *Paris*, but deuised both to impose vpon him more harder conditions, and by his working to haue peace with *Cesar*, which he could not bring to passe without rendring *Verona* to the *Venetians*. And touching the *Spanish* King, whose minoritie hauing not aboue fiftēne yeares, was wholly gouerned by *Monsieur de Chenres*, he refused not to apply his deliberations to the present time and necessitie of things: by reason whereof, on the part of the French King were sent to *Noyon* the Bishop of *Paris*, the great Maister of *Fraunce*, and the President of the Parliament of *Paris*: and for the King Catholike were *Monsieur de Chenres*, & the great Chauncellour of *Cesar*. In which respite or intermission, the rigour of armes & hostility (as is the custome of warfaring of our time) was continually employed against the poore paystants and countrey men, *Monsieur de Lawtrech* lying still to see what would come of the negociation: for, by the benefite of a bridge which he had builded at the village of *Monzarban*, he began to cut downe the corne of the country of *Verona*, & gaue liberty to his light horsmen to make incursions in all places: he sent also one part of his armie to incampe vpon the lands of the *Mantuan*s, making hauocke of the commodities of that countrey, with so vniuersall & generall damage, that to redeeme their harmes together with the retiring of so dangerous an enemy, the Marquis of *Mantua* was contented to contribute to him twelue thousand crownes: and the souldiers of *Verona* executing dayly hostilities vpon the territories of *Vincenza* and *Padoa*, put to sacke the wretched Citie of *Vincenza*. Afterwarde *Monsieur de Lawtrech* bearing compassion to the great complaints of the *Venetians*, passed the riuer of *Adice* by a bridge which he caused to be set vp at *Vsolinguo*: and afterwarde hauing made a great pray of the countrey (for it was neuer thought that the armie would passe on that side) he drew neare to *Verona* to besiege it, winning *Chiusa* in the meane while by the ayde of the countrey men, to make more hard the passage of succours that were to come out of *Germanie*. Neuertheless the same day that he approached to *Verona*, the regiments of Launceknights being now three moneths since they had bene entertained with the money of the *Venetians*, either of their voluntarie will and motion, or by the secret subornation of *Cesar*, protested openly, that they would not serue at the siege of a towne possessed by *Cesar*, and wherein the French King had no principall interest. By which mutinie, drawing with it a suspition of greater conspiracies, *Monsieur de Lawtrech* repassed *Adice*, and incamped a myle from the wals of *Verona*, to whom the *Venetian* army went, to ioine with him, not supposing it sufficient for their suretie to remaine on the other side the riuer, though their armie contained a strength of fīue hundred men at armes, fīue hundred light horsmen, and foure thousand footmen.

About this time the deputies of those two Kings passed capitulations in this sort in the towne *Capitulations* of *Noyon*: That there should be a perpetuall peace betweene the French King and the King of *Spaine*, with the like confederation for the defence of their estates against all the world: That the *French king & king Catholike* French King should giue in mariage to the king Catholike his daughter being then but one yeare

of age, and he to indue her for dowrie with the rights which he pretended to appertaine to him in the kingdome of *Naples*, according to the partition made afore time betweene their predecessors: but vnder this couenaunt, that vntill she bare an able to be married, the King Catholike should pay to the French King an hundred thousand crownes yearely to helpe to defray his expenses: That if she dyed before the mariage, and the King should haue another daughter, then he to bestow her likewise vpon the King Catholike with the same conditions: and in case he had no other daughter, then to giue him to wife *Madame Renee*, who had bene promised to him in the capitulation made at *Paris*: That in case any of those wiues dyed in mariage without children, then that part of the kingdome of *Naples* to reuert to the Crowne of *France*: That the King Catholike within a certaine time should restore the realme of *Nauarre* to his auncient king, & in not performing it, it should be lawfull to the French king to ayde him to recouer it: but vnder this charge (as the *Spaniards* affirmed afterwarde) that the King of that state should first communicate with him his rights: That *Cesar* might enter into the peace within the terme of two moneths, and if he did enter into it, it should be lawfull to the French King to ayde the *Venetians* to recouer *Verona*: which Citie, if *Cesar* deliuered vp into the hands of the King Catholike with power to giue it frankly and absolutely to the French king within sixe weekes, to dispose of it as he thought good: that he should pay him an hundred thousand crownes, and the *Venetians* as much, whereof the one part to be payd vpon the conignation, and the other within sixe moneths, and also to remaine acquitted of three hundred thousand crownes which he had receiued of the King *Lewis* whilest they were in confederation together: That in that case there should be truce for xviij. moneths betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*: That to *Cesar* should remaine *Rina de Trenta* and *Ronera*, with all that he possessed then in the countrey of *Friul*: and that the *Venetians* should continue to hold the places which at that time they held of *Cesar* vntill the *Frēch* & *Spanish* kings had determined the differences that had bene entertained betweene them for their confines and limites: for resoluing whereof, both the one and the other of the parties named the Pope. Notwithstanding the accord made at *Noyon*, the *Venetians* ceased not to stirre vp *Monsieur de Lawtrech* to besiege *Verona*, desiring to recouer it by armes, both for that they were vncertaine whether *Cesar* would accept the peace, and also to cut off the proportion of money which they were to pay. But touching the French King, the way of concord and peace was more agreeable to him then the meane of armes and force, his desire to haue vnitie with *Cesar* drawing him about all other respects: and yet *Monsieur de Lawtrech* refused not to consent to their will, hauing now no more reason of excuse, both for that the *Venetians* had made great leauies of souldiers, and fulfilled all other prouisions demaunded by him, & also for that the Launceknights refused no more to go thither together with the others: so that the armies passed scuerally ouer the riuer of *Adice*, the one by the bridge that was builded aboue the Citie, the other by the benefite of another bridge set vp for the time beneath the Citie. One part of the artillerie of the French armie that lay incamped at *Tomba*, was planted before the gate *Santa Luce*, and the other with the Launceknights was bestowed at the gate *S. Massina*. They made choice of those places for their artilleries, to the end to do execution all together on that part where the wall betweene the Citie and Citadell meeteth conioyned with the wall of the towne, by which deuise hauing meane at one time to make entrie into the Citie and the Citadell, the defendants within should be constrained to deuide themselves into two parts for the regard of the wall in the middest. The *Venetian* armie passed beneath *Verona* in the field of *Mars*, and remained incamped at *S. Michaels* betweene the riuer and Cannell, both to leaue and remoue the defences of that place, and also to beate the gate called the Bishops gate, which was a place of most weaknesse and least armed. The two first dayes the defences which were of great strength and beat flanking, were beaten downe by the artilleries, but with greater difficulties on the quarter of the *Venetians*, to whom it was no small labour to batter the defences of the three bastillions. But as soone as they were battred, both parts began to execute the wall with xviij. peeces of great artilleries, and fiteene smaller peeces of batterie, either army hauing throwen downe the third day twentie fadomes of the wall, not forbearing to batter still to make the breach and entrie the larger: and yet the *Venetians* on whose side the wall was most weake, notwithstanding they had almost reuerfed all the bastillions and rampiers, had not yet wholly remoued all the defences within that played in flanke, because they lay so low and almost within the ditch, that either the bullet went ouer them, or else was grazed in

in the earth afore it came there. Moreouer at the same time they vndermined the wall, which though they had vnderfet and stayed with props, yet it beguiled the deuise of the doers, and fell down before the time appointed by the Captiues. There was within *Verona* a strength of eight hundred horsemen, siue thousand Launceknights, & xv. hundred *Spaniards* vnder the gouernment of *Marke Antho. Colonne*, who had now exchanged the wages of the Pope for the pay of *Caesar*. This garrison omitted nothing that might tend to the strengthning and repairing of the rampiers, and standing carefull to do all other things for the valiaunt defending of the place, they expressed vniuersally a wonderfull resolution and courage of minde, and particularly was performed an honourable example and office of *Marke Anthonie Colonne*, who receiuing a sleight hurt in his shoulder by a shot, forbore not for all that to offer his body both day & night to all paines & dangers. By this time the artilleries planted by the Frenchmen in foure places against the towers betweene the gate of the Citadell and the gate of *Santa Luce*, had made so great and many ruines, that every breach was able to receiue souldiers in order. The artilleries of the *Venetians* had aduanced so much, and almost done no lesse execution, and yet *Monsieur de Lawtrech* demaunded new artilleries to make the breach the greater, embracing readily all occasions that offered to deferre the action contrarie to the will of the *Venetians*, who cried to giue the assault. He made helping to his delays this accident; there came to the armie by the plaines of *Verona*, eight hundred barrells of powder, together with many other natures of munitions drawne by Cartes, and what by the straitnesse and importunitie of the place, and emulation of the diuers struing to enter one afore another, the chafing and violent mouing of the wheelles bred to a fire, whose heat embraced the powder, and so consumed the Cartes with the cattell that drew them. Moreouer there was this increase of difficultie to those that were besieged, that in the Citie so many moneths afflicted by the enemies that kept it alwayes straitly enuironed, the store of victuals began to diminish, and no hope to be resupplied, but in very small quantitie, and that by stealth, vsing the pathes of the mountaines for the comoditie of that poore reliefe.

But as the affaires of *Verona* stood in these termes, there came to the rescue of that Citie a regiment of nine thousand Launceknights sent by *Caesar*, who arriuing at *Chiusa*, tooke it by composition, and made themselues Lordes of the Castell of *Cornaro*, which is a peece standing vpon the next hill to *Adice* drawing towards *Trenta*, and commaunded many times by both the parties in the warre betweene *Caesar* and the *Venetians*: *Monsieur de Lawtrech* either fearing in deede, or dissembling to be amazed at the new supply of Launceknights, leauied his campe against the mindes of the *Venetians*; and retired his armie to *Villefranch*, carying with him one part of the *Venetian* regiments, and the other part vnder *Iohn Paule Mansfon* withdrew to *Roseta* beyond the riuer of *Adice* by a bridge prepared for their passage: in so much as the *Venetians* hauing now no further confidence to carie *Verona*, sent all their great artilleries to *Bressia*: and the Launceknights without any impediment incamped at *Tomba*, where the French armie was lodged afore, one part of them entring into the Citie, and the other part remaining without, which returned after *Verona* was reuiuicualled. There remained for the gard of *Verona* a strength of seuen or eight thousand Launceknights, for that the most part of the *Spanish* bands that could hold no agreement with them, were passed to the *Venetian* campe vnder Colonell *Maldonato*. And in common iudgement, that rescue or succours was of smal moment, for that they brought not with them other store of money then xx. thousand Florins of the *Rhem*, which the king of *England* had sent, and during the time of their tarying there, they consumed so much victuals, that it was almost equall to that quantitie which they had brought with them.

By reason of those bands that were retired to *Villefranche*, from whence they committed manifest haucke and spoile vpon the parts of *Verona* and *Mantua*, the *Venetians* were compelled, least the Frenchmen, who no commaundement that was made to them on the kings behalfe could make to stay, should depart to their garrisons, to take order that the Citie of *Bressia* should wholly furnish them of necessary victuals; an expence rising to aboue a thousand crownes a day.

At last things began to incline manifestly to peace, for that it was knowen that *Caesar* (notwithstanding his former solicitation to his sonne in law not to compound with the French King) preferring the couetousnesse of money afore the hate he bare naturally to the French, & also afore his auuncient ambition to make himselfe Lord of *Italie*, had not onely accepted and ratified the peace, but also determined to reder *Verona* according to the forme of those conuentions: fro this

succeeded another matter to the benefite of the French King, that all the Cantons of *Swissers* seeing armes and hostilitie depose betweene *Cesar* and the King, were contented to compound with him as the *Grisons* had done before, in which action *Galeas* Viscount did what he could, who being banished and a rebell protested by the King, wonne of him by this meane libertie to returne into his countrey, restitution to all his goods, and recompence of many graces & honours. The composition was, that the king should pay to the *Swissers* within three moneths an hundred and fiftie thousand duckats, and from thence forward an indument of perpetual yearly pensions: That the *Swissers* should be bound to deliuer to his pay by publike decree so often as he should demaund, a certaine number of footemen, wherein notwithstanding the proceeding was diuerse, for that the eight Cantons were bound to furnish that proportion, whensoever he should enter into any enterprise to offend the estates of another, and to the fise Cantons the couenant bare no other obligation then for the defence of his proper estates: That it should be in the power of the *Swissers* to render to the French King the Castels of *Lugan* and *Lugarno*, which be passages of great strength, and of no lesse importance for the surety of the Duchie of *Millan*: and in case they would make restitution, the King to pay to them three hundred thousand duckats. But they rased them to the ground immediatly vpon the making of the composition. This was the discourse of things in *Italie* in the yeare a thousand five hundred & sixteene: But in the beginning of the yeare following, the Bishop of *Trente*, who was come to *Verona*, made offer to *Monsieur de Lawtrech* to deliuer vp that Citie to the French King within sixe moneths according to the contents of the capitulation, seeing he held it in the name of the King of *Spaine*. But there remained this difficultie whether the terme should begin from the day of the ratification of *Cesar*, or from the time it was acknowledged that *Verona* was holden by the King Catholike: and vpon this albeit there passed a disputation for certaine dayes: yet for that the garrison of footemen that were within *Verona* drew to mutinies vpon the demand of money, the Bishop of *Trente* was constrained to follow those affaires with a greater hast: and therefore taking the beginning from the day that he had receiued comission from *Cesar*, he agreed to deliuer vp *Verona* the fifteenth day of January: at which day he passed the assignement to *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, who receiued it in the name of the French king, the sayd Bishop receiuing of the *Venetians* the first fiftie thousand duckats, together with the fiftene thousand, which by the capitulation they were bound to pay to the garrison in *Verona*, and also assured fidelitie & promise of *Monsieur de Lawtrech* to see drawne to *Trente* the artilleries that were within *Verona*. *Monsieur de Lawtrech* at the same instant redeliuered the Citie ouer in his kings name to the Senate of *Venice*: *Andrew Gritti* standing then as Deputie & assigney to that state. Great was the gladnesse of the nobilitie and whole communitie of *Venice*, for that after so long and daungerous a warre, drawing with it so many calamities and expences, they had reclaimed to the generall body of their dominiõ, so principall a member, esteeming the reward of the warre farre aboute the burden and charges of the same, although by the report of such as haue written of their doings, they consumed, during all the warres they made since the league of *Cambray*, fise millions of duckats, whereof they leauied fise hundred thousand of the sale of offices: lastly the inhabitants of *Verona* reioyced no lesse then the residue, together with all other Cities and iurisdickions subiect to their common weale, hoping now to be deliuered and dispenced withall from so many afflictions, which so long a warre had throwen vpon them, sometimes by the one armie and sometimes by the other.

The end of the twelfth Booke.

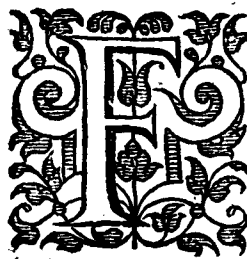
THE



THE THIRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Duke of Vrbini makes an enterprize to reconer his estate out of the hands of Pope Leo. The French king makes a league with the Pope. The conspiracie of Cardinall Petrucci against the Pope is discovered. Charles king of Spaine is chosen Emperour. Martin Luther writeth against the Pope. The Pope puts Iohn Paule Baillon to death.



Insomuch as all armes & hostilities were now surceased between *Cesar* and the *Venetians*, & in the French king all occasions restrained to make warre against *Cesar* or the king Catholike, it seemed that to the regions of *Italy*, afflicted with so manie calamities and trauels of warre, was now appointed a time of rest and tranquillitie: wherein these were the reasons that the *Swissers* (a mightie instrument to any that sought to innouate & trouble things) seemed now reclaimed to their ancient amitie with the French king, and yet bare no minds estranged from other Princes: that in the accord made at *Noyon*, was declared such a hope, that to establish a greater alliance betweene the two kings, there was working to draw them to an enteruiew at *Cambrai*, whither were gone to that end *Monsieur de Cheures*, the great Maister of *France*, and *Robertet*. Lastly, there was expressed no lesse readinesse on the part of *Cesar*, who, besides the rendring of *Verona*, sent two Embassadors to the French king, to solemnize and confirme the peace: so that it was a iudgement accompanied with his iust cause and reasons, that by the benefite of peace and concord betweene so mighty Princes, would be dissolued the seeds of all quarrels & disagreemets in *Italy*: But as there is no certaintie in the counsels of mortall men, so is there lesse expectation of their worldly euent: for, men and their doings standing subiect to the law of nature and destinie, haue no other liberty then to deeme and debate, and to God alone is referred all power of disposition and execution, since he is able to gouerne & commaund all things by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing. Insomuch as in this action of *Italy*, either for the infelicity or destinie of the countrey, or for that the vniuersall iurisdiction was deuided into so many seuerall principalities and states, it was almost impossible that it should suffer anie dispensation of miseries, by reason of the diuersitie of willes and interests of such as had it in hand: for scarcely were laid aside armes and hostilitie betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians*; yea the Citie of *Verona* not yet resigned, when were disclosed tokens & beginnings of new tumults: and of these was the breeder and conspirator *Franciscomaria*, who had practised and drawne to his faction, such bands of Spanish footmen as had serued both within *Verona* and afore *Verona*: *beginnings of new troubles.* he perswaded them to follow him to the reconquering of his estates, out of the which the Pope had expulsed him the same sommer: a matter wherein he found small difficulties, for that to soldiers forreiners and mercenarie, accustomed in the time of warres to sacke townes and to make pray and spoile of countreyes, there was nothing more contrary then peace, wherunto they saw all the affaires and inclinations of *Italy* disposed at that instant.

There drew to him about fiftethousand Spanish footmen, whereof was chiefe one *Naldomato*, a man of the same nation, & of long experience in manie warres: and to this regiment was ioyned a strength of eight hundred light horsemen, led by *Federike Bossolo*, *Gaioso* a Spaniard, *Suechar* a Burgonian, *Andrew Bue* and *Constantine Boccalo* Albanois, all Captaines of name & make, & especiallie esteemed for their knowledge in wars. Amongst the he that bare the greatest reputation, whether it were for the noblenesse of his house, or for the honorable degrees in warre.

which he had borne from his youth, was *Federike Gonzaguo* Lord of *Bossolo*, who haply was one of the greatest parties to perswade this enterprize, being no lesse moued by an ambition to make greater his merits and praises by new warres, concurring also the amity which he had with *Franciscomaria*, the through an ancient & settled hatred which he bare to *Laurence de Medicis*, chiefly for that at such time as was transferred to *Laurence* the charge of all the armies of the Church and the *Florentines*, by reason of the sicknesse of *Julian* his Vncle, he had denied to make him Captaine generall of the footmen, an estate which *Julian* had assigned to him afore. This armie standing only vpon bodies and numbers, was lame in all other proportions & prouisions: for they had neither resort of money, assistance of artilleries, nor any strength of munitions, & except their horses and armour, they wanted all furnitures accustomed to follow armies: only they bare estimation more by their vertue then through anie other abilitie or means to sustaine the war. They departed to go to the state of *Vrbino* the same day that the citie of *Verona* was giuen vp to the *Venetians*: a matter which troubled not a litle the Pope after he had receiued aduertisement; for he considered the qualitie of the armie, which was to be feared, both for the hatred of the Capitaines, and vertue and reputation of the Spanish footmen; and he was not ignorant with what inclination the peoples of that Duchy fauoured *Franciscomaria*, hauing long liued vnder the easie gouernement of the house of *Montefetro*, the affection wherof they had transferred to him, as to one that had bene trained and nourished in that Duchie, & bred of a sister of the Duke *Guido*: besides, it grieved him not a litle that he was to maintaine warre against an army, which hauing nothing to loose, could leaue no reward to his victorie, & marching only vpon desire of pray and pillage, drew with them a miserable expectation of profit, bringing nothing to the war, but what they hoped to get by the chance & fortune of the war: he doubted also, least the sweet desire of gaine (which for the most part carrieth mercenarie souldiers to the fight) would draw such others to ioyne to their factiō, as by the mean of the peace were vtterly excluded from action: but the matter that most troubled his mind, was a fearfull suspicion that the French king did communicate in this conspiracie: for, both he knew that the king was displeased with the warre made against *Franciscomaria*, and was no lesse touched in his conscience with the consideration of causes that he had giuen him to be ill contented of him: he knew also he had not obserued the confederation made after the conquest of *Millan*, at the time when *Cesar* descended into *Lombardy*: he considered that after he was returned to *Rome*, he sent him a Bull touching the collation of benefices in the realme of *Fraunce* and *Millan*, much different from the conuention made at *Bologna*, which for the shortnesse of the time was not then subsigned: this Bull the king would not accept, both for that it bare contradiction against the agreement, and also for the interest of his proper dignity: he remembered the secret negotiations entertained against him with other Princes, & with the *Swissers*: he was not ignorant that a litle before, pushed on by a desire directly to hinder the recouerie of *Verona*, he had suffered the regiments of Spanish footmen comming from *Naples* to the rescue of it, to passe in seuerall troupes through the dominions of the Church, excusing himselfe that he would not giue them occasion to passe in one ioynt strength, being in that case not able to stop them: lastly, he found in his conscience that he had not perfourmed his promises touching the donation of the tenths, but vnder conditions subtle and intangled, nor had obserued the rendering of the townes to the Duke of *Ferrara*, abusing the kings expectation, and his owne fidelitie. These were right iust causes to make him doubt of the kings will, wherof also his suspicions made him seeme to see certaine tokens, for that this conspiracie and leaue of men being bred in the partes of *Verona*, it could not be that *Monsieur de Lawtrech* could be without knowledge of it many dayes before, and seeing he was secret and silent in it, it was a manifest presumption of his priuie and consent. To this also was added a ielousie of *Federike Bossolo*, hauing till then followed the pay of the king, and it was doubtfull whether that was true that *M. de Lawtrech* alleaged for his excuse, that the time of his entertainment was finished. Moreover, the Pope stood doubtfull of the inclination of the *Venetians*, hauing an opinion that their Commissioners had made theselues parties to this vnion, for that the Senate stood verie much discontented with him, as well in regard of things past, as for ielousie of his present greatnesse, which was such, that being successor of so great a power & reputatiō of a Popedome, he disposed absolutely at his deuotion the whole estate of the *Florentines*. These considerations brought no small amaze to the Pope, to who also was no lesse reason of expectatiō or hope in the confidence or alliance with other Princes,

for that. Besides that they were of new reconciled and confedered with the French king, not one of them held for acceptable his manner of proceeding with secret counsels and subtleties, wherein albeit he dissembled sometimes to incline on their side, yet what between the detections that burst out against him, and the slow execution of his intentions and promises, he gaue litle or no satisfaction to anie of them: yea disclosing oftentimes a manifest doubt against them all, he had dispatched a litle before to the king Catholike, Frier *Nicholas* an *Almaine*, and Secretarie to the Cardinall *Medici*, to draw him from the enteruiew and parley which was solicited with the French king, fearing a contract of greater alliance betweene them to his preiudice. Thus the Pope waned indifferently betweene doubt and dread, betweene feare and suspicion, expecting all things to happen to him which his timorous conscience did suggest or fashion, the same being a passion that oftentimes torments the minds of ill men, against whom *Salomon* pronounceth this vexation: That whatsoeuer their guiltie mindes do feare in ill, the same shall assuredly happen vnto them. Neuerthelesse amid these confusions and suspensions of mind, he and his Nephew *Laurence* ceased not to send bands of souldiers into *Romagnia*, such as for the most part were leauied of new, and the residue drawne out of the Squadrons of the *Florentines* pensioners: his reason was in sending out of this force, that ioynning with *Ranse de Cere* and *Vitelli*, who lay at *Ranenna* with the regiments of men at armes, they might giue impediment to the passage of the enemies: but this expedition was in vaine and the effect thereof, for that the armie of the enemy, hauing already passed the riuer of *Paw* at *Ostia*, and preuenting with their celeritie the preparations of their aduersaries, were by that time entred vpon the lands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, taking the way to *Cento* and *Burio*, and marching through the countrey of *Bologna*. In this journey they sacked *Granarola*, which is a borough vpon the territories of *Faenza*, & fro thence they drew neare to *Faenza*, to proue if they could conspire any mutation there, by the helpe of a yong Gentleman of the family of *Manfroy*, who was in that armie: but the inhabitants of *Faenza* disauowing all mutinies, the armie passed further, not trying to get any other of the townes of *Romagnia*, for that they were all strong in garrison, either of men at armes, or of footmen: & for the better surety of *Rimini*, *Ranse* and *Vitelli* were gone thither by sea. *Laurence* came to *Cesena* to assemble his companies there and at *Rimini*: but for that the enemies were already passed, he ceased not in the meane while to leaue souldiers in many places, whereof there flocked to him both more then he needed, and more then he required: for a regiment of two thousand five hundred Launceknights that were dismissed by *Ad. de Lawtrech* to returne into their houses, and likewise certaine Colonels of three thousand *Guscons*, were retained by *John Poppy* Secretary to *Laurence*: wherein he vsed his owne authority, being perswaded that that army of footmen wold follow *Franciscmaria* if they were not waged by others, or haply he beleued lightly that with these forces there might be opened an easie way to the victorie. In this action he employed also the authority of *Monsieur Lawtrech* (with whom he had remained manie moneths) to perswade the Captaines, whom with their seuerall bands and regiments he conuerted immediately towards *Bologna*: but his diligence brought forth an effect contrarie to his expectation and the merite of his trauell, since the Pope and *Laurence* were discontented with that manner of doing, suspecting the kings indignation, and yet they could not refuse them, for feare least they would ioine to the enemy, being marched so farre with minds and promises to be employed. In the meane while *Franciscmaria* aduanced more and more, accompanying his fortune with that diligence and celeritie, which leades men of action to the successe and felicity of the enterprises they follow: he was no sooner entred into the Duchy of *Vrbino*, then he was receiued in euerie place with great ioy and gladnesse: he found no souldiers in the townes, for that *Laurence* hauing no leasure to resurnish so many places, had onely care to defend the City of *Vrbino*, the sanctuarie and capitall place of that Duchie: and for that cause was sent thither by the counsell of *Vitelli*, a strength of two thousand footmen from *Citta de Castello*, and in place of *Vitelli* that refused to go to that seruice, that charge was committed to *Iacques Rossetto* of *Citta de Castello*, who notwithstanding he was aduised, by reason the people of *Vrbino* were holden suspected, to chase out of the towne all such bodies as were vnable to beare armes, yet he forbore to execute any such violence, thinking he should better assure himselfe by clemency then by cruelty. But *Franciscmaria* not conueruing his time to the seruice of any other place, drew directly to *Vrbino*, where albeit he could do litle at the first approach, yet at the second *Iacques Rossetto* agreed to deliuer the towne

Vrbino returneth to the obedience of the naturall Duke

into his hands, his infidelity being greater then his feare, both for that there were no mutinies nor vprores amongst the people, and also he had no reason to be timorous of the forces of the enemies, hauing neither artilleries nor other prouisions seruing to the taking of towne. The soldiers according to the composition went out of the towne, their goods and liues saued, but the Bishop of *Virelli* remained prisoner, who had bene Regent of that estate for the new Duke, and vnder whose gouernment it seemed that nothing had happily succeeded. All the other towne and places of the Duchie followed the example of *Vrbino*, except *S. Leon*, which for the qualitie of his situation, and propertie of the munitions that were there, was easie to be defended, yea with a verie smal garrison: the citie of *Agobbio* that in the beginning was declared for *Franciscomaria*, and eftsoones returned to the obedience of *Laurence*, did now as the rest did, being caried not by respect to faith and alleageance, but by the euent and obseruation of things: onely *Pefera*, *Simigalo*, *Gradaro* and *Mondano*, towne separate from the Duchie, remained in the iurisdiction and deuotion of *Laurence*. *Franciscomaria* hauing thus recouered *Vrbino*, entred into deuise to make him selfe Lord of some place vpon the sea shoare: and making shewes as though he would go to *Pefera*, whither were gone already manie bands of souldiers, and to *Simigalo*, he dissembled his intention and drew towards *Fano*, a citie which in all times had caried more facility to be taken, and whereof the aduersarie doubted least, for that it had bene neuer as yet subiected to his iurisdiction: *Ranfe de Cere* that lay at *Pefera*, either doubting of the daunger, which in reason of warre he foresaw, or seeing into his intention, which he could not hide, dispatched thither *Troylo Sauallo* with an hundred men at armes, & fixe hundred footmen: neuerthelesse the enemy made his approches with fiue peeces of artillerie not great, which they had found in *Vrbino*, and hauing also want of powder, they could not make so great execution as they would, only they brought downe to the earth twentie fadomes of wall, which notwithstanding was not done without great difficulty, yet they followed it with an assault, at which they lost more then an hundred and fiftie men: but neither being amazed with that slaughter (for their mindes were resolute) nor standing to expect and temporize (though they were weake in munitions) they recontinued the charge the day following, when with their valour they so farre vanquished the perill, that they made the breach almost abandoned, yea they had no doubt, entred the wall, had it not bene for *Fabian de Gallefo* Lieutenant to *Troylo*, who being left vpon the wall with a verie small companie of men of warre, made a wonderfull defence, and sustained the charge. The day after they were prepared to giue the third assault, but vnderstanding by espial that a strength of fiue hundred men sent from *Pefera*, were entred by night by sea, they leauied the siege, and retired to the borough and Castle of the mount *Baroco*, which standing vpon a high hill, beareth a verie strong situation, his descending being easie towards *Fossambrun*, and most hard and sharpe towards *Pefera*: they remained in that place, where hauing no further conuenient occasion, they garded the Duchie of *Vrbino*, which lay vpon their backs. On the other side, those regiments of Launceknights and *Gascons* that were come to *Rimini* to *Laurence de Medicis*, prepared them to march, together with many bands of *Italian* footmen, and another regiment of fiftene hundred Launceknights, of those that had bene at the seruice of *Verana*: with which strength ioyned to the horsmen of the Popedome and *Florence*, *Laurence* marched with his men at armes to *Pefera*: and being wholly gouerned by the counsell of his Captaines, for the small experience he had to manage an enterprise, he sent his footmen to encampe vpon the mountaines opposite to the enemies. The citie of *Pefera* standeth at the entrie of a litle valley which comes from *Vrbino*, out of which issueth a riuier which the inhabitants call *Porta*, for that by the oportunitie of his deepnesse the vessels are brought vp euen to that place: this riuier runnes neare to the Citie on that side which is towards *Rimini*: the Castle hath his standing towards the sea, and betweene the riuier and the Citie be many storehouses, which *Ranfe* caused to be reuerfed for the surety of the towne: a great part of the Citie is enuironed with mountaines on all parts, which stretch not out so farre as the sea, but betweene them and the sea remaineth a certaine peece of the plaine containing two miles in largenesse on that side towards *Fano*, and vpon the banke rise two hilles the one right ouer against the other, that towards the sea is called *Candelaro*, and *Nugalaro* that which hath his prospect towards *Vrbino*: and in the top of euerie of them is a borough and a Castle bearing the same name. The *Italian* footmen were lodged at the Castle of *Candelaro*, and to the Launceknights and *Gascons* was appointed *Nugalaro*, which lay nearest to the enemy: which disposing of the army in this sort, was not of intencio to fight with the, otherwise than

Fano besieged.

Description of the City of Pefera.

then by light skirmishes to cut them off from ouerrunning the countrey, or to amuse them for resolving to any enterprife: for the Popes counsell was not to hazard the battell with the enemies, velle he there were almost an assured hope of the victory, for that he saw what perill it was to fight against resolute men, who by how much greater was the inequality of the reward of the victory, by so much lesse would they feare the hazard of their liues: and the battell swaying on their side, he saw the estate of the Church & the *Florentins* would be abandoned into manifest danger. That it were far more assured to temporise, specially the apparance being great, that for want of mony & victuals, the enemy would draw to some disorder; the pouerty & sterility of the countrey cōpelling the thereunto: That his army with respite wold become better & better, as well through experience which much helpeth to the perfection of soldiers, as also that from moneth to moneth it was refurnished with braue & resolute bodies: Lastly he had expectatiō that his affaires would daily take better course, since that frō the beginning of this str & actiō, he had vehemently solicited the succors of al Princes, both cōplayning to their Embassadors that lay at *Rome*, & by special messengers & letters imploring the Princes themselues: wherein he wrought not with all in one maner, for, signifying to *Cesar* & the king of *Spaine*, that the conspiracy of *Franciscomarina* & the Spanish footmen, was contriued in the campe of the French king, & with the priuity of his Lieutenant: he objected so far in those particular clauses of his letters, that it might be easily comprehended how far he suspected the king in the action: and to the French king, himselfe he alleaged only a ielousie of *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, and forbare to execute his complaints any further. The matter was diuersly taken by those Princes, for to *Cesar* and his nephew it was no small gladnesse to heare that the Pope interpreted that iniuriē to the French king: besides, the auncient hatred of *Cesar* ioyned to his naturall inconstancy, had made him already estranged from the French king, and newly become confederate with the king of *England*: He also had communed with his nephew neare *Anwerpe*, & dissuaded him from hauing conference with the French king, which accordingly was at last accomplished by the consent of both the one and the other king: and in the king Catholike the confederation that he had with him, did not suffice to deface his emulation, ielousie, and suspition: so that they made a ready offer to the Pope to ayde him, giuing present commandement to all their subiects to depart from the war that was made against the Pope. The king Catholike sent the Count *Potensō* to the Realme of *Naples*, to the end that vpon the view and muster of his men at armes, he should leade to his succours foure hundred launces: and for a more full testimony of his will, he deposed *Franciscomarina* as disobedient, from the Duchy of *Sorra*, an estate lying vpon the confines of *Terra Lanoro*, and had bene purchased by his father: but for other respects, were agreable to the perplexities of the Pope to the French king, as a Prince that had a mind estranged from him: & therefore following his example from the beginning, he determined to entertaine him with vaine hopes, & answering that his discontentments brought no litle griefe to him, he promised so to worke, that *Monsieur de Lawtrech* should minister to his affaires: and yet he forbare not to say, that the Pope himselfe had bene the causer of his proper afflictions, for that the *Spaniards* would neuer haue taken that boldnesse, if their numbers had not bene increased by such as vnder his licence were passed from *Naples* to *Verona*. This was the kings intention at the beginning: but considering afterwards that the Pope being left abandoned of him & of his succours, would run with a ready will into the amities of the king Catholike, he determined to ayde and fauour him, & according to the estate of the time, to draw some fruit of his necessity. In so much as the Pope sending estoones to demaund succours of him, he tooke order to refurnish him from *Millan* with three hundred launces requiring withall to haue a new league to passe betweene them, since that that was contracted afore at *Bologna*, was of no more consideration, hauing suffered many violations by the Pope in sundrie manners: he added many complaints to the offers which he made him: sometimes he sayd he suffered wrong in matters wherein the Pope charged him to other Princes: and sometimes he held himselfe iniured; for that he had excommunicated *George Sopressan* soliciting for him with the *Swissers*; an actiō wherein the despite of his iniury was so much the greater, by how much in the doing of it he expressed a desire to gratify the Cardinal of *Sion*. Moreouer the Lady Regent mother to the king, & of no final authority with him, reprehended without respect, the impiety of the Pope, for that not satisfied to haue chased a Prince out of his proper estates and dominions, he had also subiected him to the censures of the Church, and with a mind full of inhumanity, had denied to the old Duchesse, the property of her

Confederation
betweene the
Pope and the
French king.

dowrie due vpon those patrimonies, and also had withdrawne from the young Duchesse his wife, all sorts of reliefe and meanes to preserve and nourish her: these words finding passage euen to the eares and hearing of the Pope, brought matter to redouble the suspition. Neuertheless the Pope, who in those difficulties desired the kings succors, not so much for the effect and meaning, as for the name and reputation of them, being not able to dissemble his suspition, made stay for many dayes of the three hundred lances that went from *Millan* vpon the territories of *Modena* and *Bologna*: and afterwards *Lawrence* bestowed them within *Rimini*, as hauing lesse meane to annoy him by lying there, for that that city bare a farre distance from the enemies. The Pope could not be drawne from his ieaiousies and suspitions, notwithstanding at the same time was let downe in *Rome*, a conclusion of confederation betweene him and the French king: and albeit before it was ratified, the king obiected many new difficulties for the which the matter remained many daies in suspence, yet at last the Pope yeelding to many things, the king past the ratification. By the articles of ratification, the Pope and the king were reciprocally bound to the defence of their estates with an equall proportion of men and souldiers; and a charge of twelue thousand ducats for every moneth: The same bond was betweene the French king and the *Florentines*, with whom was conioyned the authority of *Lawrence de Medicis*, and in that article was comprehended the Duchie of *Vrbino*, but with a lesser number of men, and pay of fixe thousand ducats monthly: The king was bound to ayde the Pope when soeuer he had any action vpon the subjects and vassals of the Church: The Pope confirmed to the king the nomination of the benefices, and the tenth, according to his promises made at *Bologna*, vnder this condition, that the monies should be put into the hands of a third man to be employed against the *Turkes*. This was the colour of granting the tenth, but there was secretly hope giuen to the king, that after the collection of the whole quantity, the condition should be changed by another writ, and his maiesty to haue liberty to conuert them to what vse he would. The Pope passed a seuerall promise to the king vnder his signature, neuer to demand of him any ayde or succours against the Duke of *Ferrara*, and consented withall, that the king might take him into his protection. There was long dispute vpon the rendring of *Reggia*, *Modena*, and *Rubiero*, which albeit the king demanded with no small instance, according to the Popes promises at *Bologna*, and the Pope altogether not refused it, yet he reserued the restitution till an other time, alleaging that it would be an action far vnworthy of him, and almost a confession of his extreame necessity and compulsion, to redeliuer them at a time when he stood oppressed with the warre. The king stood still vpon it to haue them rendered presently, insomuch that the Pope making manifest shewes that he would vtterly estrange himselfe from the king if he sought to constrain him any further, the king hauing for declared enemies the English, and no lesse suspition of *Cesar*, the *Spaniards* and the *Swissers*, accepted the Popes promise vnder his hand, that within seuen moneths next following, he would put into the hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena*, *Reggia*, and *Rubiero*. The Pope had this intention, that if the dangers wherein he was, ceased afore, he would make no more accompt of his act vnder his signature then of his promise simply made at *Bologna*. And touching the king, since he could winne no further of him without the hazard of his extreame indignation, held himselfe contented, esteeming it somewhat sufficient, that he had appearing in writing the assurance and testimony of his word and faith.

During the discourse and action of these matters, *Lawrence* had much increased his army, both by many regiments of *Italians* leauied of new, and also by a thousand footemen *Spanish* and a thousand *Launceknights* waged by the Pope at *Rome*: with which strength ioyned to the opportunity and ripenesse of the time, he saw he stood in good estate to assay to deliuer himselfe of such a warre, wherein his onely hope was by the strength and situation of the place where the enemies lay, to compell them to dis campe for want of victuals: for which cause was dispatched *Camilla Vrsin* with seuen hundred light horsemen, to ouerrun all that countrey which is called the *Vicarage*, from whence came the greatest traffike of their victuals. At this time was sent to *Pesera* from the campe of the enemy, a Trumpet who required of *Lawrence* safe conduct for Captaine *Suero* a *Spaniard* appointed by *Franciscomaria* to come to him: his demand was easily accepted by *Lawrence*, for that he thought it had bene a Captaine with whom he had entertained very secret intelligence: but there came to him another Captaine of the same name, and with him one *Oracio de Ferina* Secretary to *Franciscomaria*, who after they were brought into publike audience, declared
(according

(according to the instructions of *Franciscomaria*) that since the quarrels that were between them might be decided by singular combat of their own persons, or with a determinate number of men indifferently agreed vpon by them both, it were better to chuse the one of those two meanes, then to perseuer in that course whereby might be brought to destruction so many numbers of people on both sides, no lesse contrary to all piety, then euen to the preiudice of whosoever should carie the victory. In which good respects, *Franciscomaria* offered him to make election of whether of these two wayes he would: and after he had deliuered this message by mouth, he would haue read a writing that he had in his hand, sauing that he was forbidden. *Lawrence* answered by the counsell of his Captaines, that he willingly accepted this offer, so farre forth as *Franciscomaria* would first leaue those peeces which he occupied by force. After which answer (by the incensing of *Ranse de Cere*) he caused them both to be apprehended prisoners, *Ranse* maintaining that they had deserved punishment for performing an action too insolent. But the other Captaines shewing him how far he transgressed the law of armes and the reputation of his faith and word, he let go *Suaro*, and retained only *Oratio*, excusing, with false colours, the infamy of his faith breaking, as though it had bene necessary in the safe conduct to haue expressed specially *Oratio*; who, for his birth and countrey, was a subiect of the Church, and for his place, a secretary to the enemy: but his restraint was chiefly to draw from him the secrets of *Franciscomaria*, but specially by whose counsell and authority he had begun the warre. Whereupon being examined with torments, it was published that in his confession was matter to augment the suspition conceiued against the French king. To the desire of *Lawrence*, to cut off from the *Spaniards* the traffike of victuals out of the countrey of the Vicarage, was neede to be applied greater forces, both for that by the incursions of his light horsemen, was done no matter of importance, and withall, his army was in that estate of strength & furniture, that he might boldly make head against the enemies: for, beside a thousand men at armes and a thousand light horsemen, he had leuiued fifteen thousand footmen of diuerse nations, amongst whom was a regiment of two thousand *Spaniards* mustered at *Rome*: an army of footemen of speciall choyce and sort, and of great exercise and training in armes, for that the warre being in no other place in *Italy*, the Captaines had good meane to exchange for better, all such bands of *Italian* footemen as were leuiued in haste: and so compounded their whole army vpon the glory and flower of the souldiers of all *Italy*. He determined at last to go incampe at *Sorbolongo*, a borough in the countrey of *Fano*, five miles from *Fossambrono*, from whence it was easie to him to restraîne from the enemy all reliefe comming out of the Vicarage. The City of *Fossambrono* stands vpon the riuer of *Meitro*, which is a riuer of name, by reason of a victory which the *Romains* had against *Asdruball* of *Carthage*, and running thither by a channell restrained betwene the mountaines, it passeth *Fossambrono*, and beginnes to run thorough a little vally more large, which makes it selfe so much the larger by how much it approacheth the sea that is fifteen miles beyond *Fossambrono*, and there it falleth into *Meitro* neare to *Fano*, but on that side towards *Sinigalo*. On the right hand following the course of the riuer, is the countrey which they call the Vicarage, full of fertill hils and boroughes, and lieth stretched out in great length towards the sea: and on the left hand of the riuer are also hils, but passing further, there are found mountaines very high and sharpe, the plaine or vally whereof extending towards *Fano*, containeth more then three miles in largenesse. At such times *Lawrence* determined to incampe at *Sorbolongo*, fearing least his enemies, knowing of his remouing, would preuent him: he sent on the morow afore day *Iohn de Medicis*, *Iohn Baptista Stabbio*, and *Brunault de Furl*, with foure hundred horsemen, to surprise *Sorbolongo*, and gaue order to the footemen that were at *Candelaro* and *Nugularo*, to crosse the mountaines and draw towards *Meitro*, to ioyne with the others: himselfe with the residue of the army, leauing for the gard of *Pesera*, *Guido Rangon*, with an hundred and fifty men at armes, tooke his way at Sunne rising, from *Pesera* towards *Fano* along the sea shoare, and afterwards turning towards *Fossambrono* where the vally beginneth, he arriued about noone at a place called our Ladies mill built vpon the riuer. All the horsemen and the regiments of *Italian* footemen, passed the riuer by foord, but the bands of *Gasccons* and *Launceknights*, were so long in passing the bridge prepared to that ende; that the army was not able that day to fetch *Sorbolongo* according to the direction: and therefore they thought it conuenient to incampe at *Saint Georges*, *Orciano*, and *Mondano* boroughes bearing distance one from another halfe a mile. The direction that was layd out for the light horse,

Franciscomaria
sends to de-
sic *Lawrence*
de *Medicin*.

Situation of
Fossambrono.

men, succeeded not with much better fortune: for, as they marched, *Iohn de Medicis* (in whom in this first triall of seruice, appeared those signes of valour that appertained to one of his discending) seeming by error to take the longer way, left the residue that contemned his counsell, and entered within *Sorbolongo* long time before night: & the other two Captaines, after they had fetched a long compasse, returned at last to the army, being abused (as they said) by their guide: neither could *Iohn de Medicis* (who had with him only his regiment) abide that night within *Sorbolongo*, for that the same morning *Franciscumaria* had with great celerity taken the field with all his army, doubting belike of the discamping of his enemies, and no lesse imagining which way they would draw: he found no impediment to passe the river, but vsing the fauor of a stone bridge at *Fossombrono*, he won *Sorbolongo* afore night, and bringing with him matter of feare and astonishment to *Iohn*, being then of sufficient ability to resist him, he compelled *Iohn* to retire towards *Orciano*, whither he was followed in chafe by the horsemen of the enemy, who made pray of many of his people, & caried them backe in the state & fortune of prisoners. At *Orciano* he went to find *Lawrence* in his lodging, to whom he complained with a mind much discontented, that either the negligence, or the cowardise of *Brunauli* & *Iohn Baptista Stabbia*, standing then in his presence, had that day taken out of his hand, the victory of the warre: he esteemed the iniury so much the greater, by how much the vertue & celerity of his owne people were lesse forward to aduance his glory, then fortune her selfe, who for the most part vseth to hold backe the merit of mens valor in such actions. But albeit this was the first, yet it was not the only occasion of good lucke that the army of *Lawrence* did lose, seeing afterwards he did not only omit the honor of enterprises of great importance, but also he was folowed continually with far more dangerous disorders, his ill fortune being alwayes accompanied with ill counsels. The boroughs of *Orciano* & *Sorbolongo* haue their situation in a place eminent & high, & are distant one from the other, somewhat more the two miles: the mid way betwene them is full of litle mountaines & hils, & hath a borough in it called *Barry*, wherein were incamped part of the bands of *Franciscumaria*, & for that neighbourhood & nearnesse of the armies, al the day folowing was spent in skirmishing. Amongst the Captaines of *Lawrence* army, the counsels and opinions were diuerse: for some, and chiefly they who bare least swaigh in the resolution of things, perswaded to giue a charge on the enemies, thinking perhaps, by aduancing vainely valiant counsels, they should get the name of valiant men, not weighing in their glorious moodes, how farre the daunger exceeded the attempt. But this counsell was impugned by *Ranfe* and *Vitelli*, vpon whose aduises *Lawrence* with great confidence, founded all his directions, for, sayd they, the enemies being lodged in a place of strength and aduantage, and hauing on their backe the fauour of the borough, there was no possibility to execute that enterprise, but by a way troublesome and too full of annoyance: yea they thought it not good that the army should continue in those places, being a matter no lesse vnprofitable, then hindring the purpose for the which they were remoued from *Pesera*, for that *Sorbolongo* being at the deuotion of *Franciscumaria*, it would be hard to restrain the resort of victuals from the countrey of the Vicarage. The reasons made reiect all other counsels, obtayning what by the authoritie of the same, and by the necessitie of things, that the army should returne: and to the end their retiring should not seeme a manifest flying, their direction was, that the army should not only returne to their first lodging place, but also to go seafe vpon *Monte Baroccio* and other places left abandoned by the enemies, from whence they might draw towards *Vrbino*. With this resolution the army departed the morning folowing at the appearing of the day: but the manner of their going away held more of a flying then of a retraite, which growing to an opinion throughout the camp, it hapned that *Franciscumaria* was aduertised by two men at armes, that the enemies were filled full of feare, and were broken vp almost in disorder and flying: in so much as seeming to be almost possessed of the certaine victory, he aduanced his army, and marched with great speede, by the way that leades athwart the mountaines: he hoped to encounter them at their discending into the playne, beleeuing that they would take the way that was most short and passible, which if they had taken, neither the one nor the other army could haue audyed the battell. But as oftentimes in warres, effects and euents of greatest consequence are both hindred and changed by light causes and accidents: so fortune would, that by the occasion of a Cannon left behind the day before, for that one of his mounting wheeles was broken, the armie of *Lawrence* went to repasse the riuer of *Neruo* at our Ladies mill, which is foure miles

miles lower then the place whereunto his short and easie way would haue brought him. All the horsemen and footmen of *Lawrence* army passed ouer at the foord, and as both for their numbers and other impediments they made a long passage, so as soone as they were ouer, they cast themselves with great celeritie into order, keeping along the plaine that draweth towards *Fossambro*. The armie of footmen being passed, and the men at armes and light horsemen marching in the later ward of the campe being vpon their passing, the light horsemen of the enemies, both many in number, and of the most resolute, began to skirmish with them; in which encounter was taken prisoner *Constantin* the son of *Iohn Paul Bailou*, whom we might as well call his nephew as his sonne, since he begat him of one of his owne sisters: not many dayes before the same *Iohn Paul* was come to the armie, and led the vanguard, but by the ill chaunce of his sonne, struing to do his best to recouer him, he stayd so long deuising, that from the auantgard he became in the areareward, and *Lawrence* that led the battell stepped into the foreward, as also *Troilus Sauello* that gouerned the arearegard was set to guide the battell, for that *Ranse* and *Vitelli* marched before with the footmen. But *Franciscomaria* and his Captaines, discerning well that the enemies, by the same measure and numbers wherewith they passed the riuer, turned towards *Fossambro*; saw that they remoued not like men that fled, but with intention to surprise *Montebaroccio*: for which consideration, they forgate their former furie and disposition to fight, which haply was grounded vpon an imagined feare of the enemies, and leauing abandoned their baggage, they ran in great hast, and with no lesse disorder, yea casting their ensignes wrapped vpon their shoulders, to get a very strong passage of the riuer called the passage of *Tauernelle*. At this passage it seemed that nature had made a confused trench full of cliffs which runneth all along through a plaine place euen vntill the mountaine, which gaue no libertie of passage, but by one way which was made for ease and sufferance. To this passage if their bands had come, who turned from that side alwayes as they passed ouer, the *Spaniards* had bene reduced into manifest daunger. And albeit *Lawrence* and his Captaines were aduertised of this by *Lodowike* the sonne of *Oluer de Fermo*, who the same day was come to the army with a thousand footmen, together with a *Spanish* Sergeant that could well discover the country. yet their espiall was of litle profite, fortune and destinie being stronger then counsell: for notwithstanding in the regiments of *Launceknights* and *Gascons* was expressed a wonderfull readinesse and disposition to fight; and the same desired with an vniuersall cry throughout the whole campe, and withall, the will of *Lawrence* being fully concurrant; yet that resolute deuotion of the campe was not executed by the aduise of *Ranse de Cere* and *Vitelli*, who counselled him not to go meete his enemies, but to draw his armie to a litle hill fast by, from whence in great safetie he might do many grieuances to his enemies with his light horsemen, if they attempted to passe the riuer: and so leauing that place of strength, *Ranse* turned towards the mountaine, which as soone as the *Spaniards* had brought to their deuotion, they began to salute with the bullet those bands of *Launceknights* that lay nearest them, and signified with cryings and other tokens full of reioycing, how out of a daunger manifest and desperate, their valout had made them a way into absolute safetie. Thus either by indiscretion or by cowardise (if we may not allow destinie to partake in it) did *Lawrence* loose that day (in the iudgement of all men) the occasion of the victorie. The difference of counsels amongst his Captaines were very preiudiciall to the glory and succeffe of this expedition, for they stood there to consult and debate, where the occasion called them on to execute the thing which their fortune had offered them, and then were they least settled in resolution, when they saw most necessitie of action. That night the armie was lodged in a borough neare that place called *Saltaro*: but such was the diligence of *Franciscomaria*, that marching with his campe till well of the night, he gate *Montebaroccio*; preuenting a regiment of two thousand footmen which *Lawrence* sent thither to surprise it. The day after he went and incamped aboute *Saltaro* towards the mountaine, taking a place for the bestowing of his armie, that had his prospect vpon *Montebaroccio*, but standing somewhat lower and had his situation vpon the sea shore. These were the places wherein the two armies incamped, bearing no more distance then a myle one from another, onely there fell to *Lawrence* greater discommodities by the often want of victuals, for that the traffike lying by sea from *Peferato* to *Fano*, they were driuen vpon the alteration of the winds, to vse the seruice of cariages ouer land, to the which the light horsemen of *Franciscomaria* gaue no small impediments by their continual roades and incurfions ouer the whole countrey, hauing espiall by the payfants of euery litle mouing of the enemies. About this

*Lawrence loo-
seth the occasi-
on of the victorie.*

time *Franciscumaria* sent a trumpet to communicate with the *Gascons* certaine packets of letters found amongst the writings of the Secretaries of *Lawrence*, and taken from him with other of his trash by the horsemen of the enemy, the same day that he departed from the borough of *Salaro*. By these letters was discerned, that the Pope being wearie of the great payes of the *Gascons*, and yet stood to make immoderate augmentation of them euery moneth, wished that trauell might be made to induce them to returne into *Fraunce*. By which occasion there had bene great perill of a tumult the selfe same day, if *Carbone* their Captaine and *Lawrence de Medicis* had not by good perswasions reclaimed them, making them beleue that the exhibition of those letters, was but a suborned and fallible stratageme of the enemy. Neuerthelesse, what by the suspicion of that danger, the necessitie of victuals, & the difficulties of the place, bearing more manifest signes to loose, then any hope at all to winne, they determined to breake vp from thence, and to enter into the countrey of the Vicarage on that side that is nearest the sea, and so to march on, till they approached *Fossambrono*. And albeit it was not without shame to retire so often from the enemies, yet the resolution to depart was allowed through the whole campe, but not without the infamie of *Ranse* and *Vitelli*, against whom exclaimed all the regiments of souldiers, charging him, that if in the beginning they had put execution to that deuise, they had brought vpon the enemies no small wants & difficulties of victuals. *Lawrence* himselfe reprehended them no lesse then the others, who accompanying his complaints with reprochfull suspitions, imposed vpon them, that either to make the warre long for their particular profite, or to hinder his reputation and glory by armes, fearing haply to their persons the like effectes by his greatnesse, which the estate and ambition of *Valentino* had wrought against their houses, they had brought so many difficulties and so many daungers vpon an armie so mightie and appointed, and so farre about the enemies, in force, in fortune, and in discipline. But the armie marched and incamped before *S. Constance*, a borough appertaining to the countrey of the Vicarage, the wals whereof they began with no lesse speede then violence to batter and execute with their artilleries. And albeit the inhabitants sued for parley, and offered to submit and render it, yet knowing the facilitie to force it, there was giuen to the *Gascons* onely a full libertie to assault it, retiring from the wals all the other sortes of souldiers: such was the desire to reappease the angry minds of the *Gascons* by the spoyle & sacke of that place, whereof the whole profite and riches was transferred to them. From thence the campe marched two myles further, and went the same day to *Mandolfe* the best and strongest borough of all the Vicarage, and hauing his situation vpon a hill, and in a high place thereof, is also inuironed with wals and trenches conuenient, to the which the situation of the place serueth as a rampier, hauing withall two hundred souldiers in garrison. That night they planted the artilleries on that side towards the South, but either by negligence or by indiscretion of *Ranse de Cere*, to whom was appointed the managing of that charge, they were planted in a place discouered and not defended by rampiers: by which fault, before the sunne had disperfed his brightnesse one houre vpon the earth, there were slaine by the artilleries from within, eight Cannoniers with many pyoners, and *Antho. Santcroffe* the Captaine of their artillerie wounded: by reason of which accident, *Lawrence* rising into some perturbation of minde, went in person to cause the artilleries to be rampiered and defended, notwithstanding all his Captaines aduised him to forbear in his owne person the execution of a danger which he might well recómend to the charge of another. After he had set in hand that labour & well refurnished the worke with all things necessary, about the middle of the day, he retired behind the place to repose himselfe vnder the shade of certaine trees, thinking the height of the hill to be a sufficiēt couer to him against all dangers. But as he labored in climbing, & the height of the hill diminishing by his labour, he discouered a sidelong, the rocke situate on that side towards the West, which he had no sooner disclosed, then he had in his eye (such is the swiftnesse of destinie) a fire giuen to a harquebuzer layd with full leauell against him: and as he threw himselfe flat on his face to deceiue the blow, the swiftnesse of the bullet was farre greater then his speede in falling, in so much as before he could fall to the earth, the bullet that otherwise had runne through his body, tooke the top of his head, and raising vpon the bone, passed along the braine-pan towards the necke. This wounding of the Generall brought no small griefe to the Captaines and vniuersall multitude of the armie, in whom was kindled a greater desire of reuenge, by how much lesse worthy were the people by whom they had receiued the despite, and that euen in the person of the greatest amongst them. And therefore redoubling their reso-

*Lawrence de
Medicis hurt.*

resolution by the remembrance of the iniurie, and finding that notwithstanding the battering they had made of the wall, the earth was yet too high behind; they began to cast a mine, where-with entering vnder a towre that leaned to the wall which they had battred, they put fire to it the first day. The powder and other matter vsed in the mine being embrased of the fire, threw out such a violence and strength, that it brought the tower downe to the earth, together with a quarter of the wall ioyning to it: which furious execution of the fire, was followed of the campe with a assault, but with litle order, and (as it were) at aduenture, the same yeelding no other fruit then such as is wont to grow vpon enterprises ill disposed and directed. Neuertheless (fortune in some actions doth more then either power or pollicie) the night drawing on, the souldiers that had no expectation of succours, for that *Franciscumaria* had not stirred from *Montebaroccio*, either not to loose the aduantage of the situation of the place, or for other occasion, yeelded vp the place vnder condition of goods and life saued, leauing in vile maner the people of the towne as a wretched pray to the enemies. But by reason of the hurt of *Lawrence*, which brought his life in daunger, the Pope sent as Legate to the armie, the Cardinall *S. Maria in Portico*, who, ill fortune being already ioyned to ill gouernement, began with very ill signes, to exercise his Legation: for, the day after he came to the armie, there hapned a quarrell by chance betweene an *Italian* and a Launce knight, when such as were nearest running to the fray, & euery one calling vpon the name of his nation, the tumult so increased through the whole campe, that expecting neither any informatiō of the cause, nor seeking the due redresse & remedie of the same, all the bands of footemen ranne in great mutinie to the lodgings of their fellowes and companions, to arme themselves: the violence of their disorder caried them so farre, that whosoever they encountred in the way of another language or nation, payed with their liues the price of their furie. And as such generall calamities draw with them many diuersities of disorders, so in this vniuersall confusion, whilst the bandes of *Italian* footemen were gone in good order towards the place where the tumult began, their lodgings and houses were sacked by the *Gascons*: no nation, no regiment, no companie was free from this outrage, and in whom was greatest care to cure the euill, in him was most possibilitie of perill and daunger: the innocent found least safetie in abtaining most from violence: there was no dispensation of harmes where was no respect to person, and lesse expectation of safetie where the sword bare most sway, and that guided by hatreds ferie and bloody. The principall Captaines after they had bin in counsell to remedie the disorder, ranne to the fray, to see if by their presenche they might do the thing which they were not able to do by counsell: but finding the danger of the tumult to be greater then their authoritie, euery one cast from him the thoughts and care of the common businesse, and began to looke to their particular safetie: they ranne to their lodgings and houses, and putting in order their men at armes, they retired for their safetie a myle from the campe, drawing with them their particular companies to defend them from the furie of the popular souldiers: onely the Legate *Bibieno*, vsing the constancie and readinesse that appertained to his office and honour, would neuer abandon the common cause, but putting himself oftentimes with the danger of his life, amid the prease of their bloody swords and weapons, he did so much with the diligence and labour of other Captaines of the footebands, that the tumult was at last reappeased, during the furie whereof were slaine in many parts of the campe, more then an hundred Launce knights, xx. *Italians*, & some *Spaniards*. This accident was the cause that they determined for the present to enter into no enterprise, but for a time to keepe the armie separate: for it was feared, that if the armie should keepe together, the souldiers not yet reconciled for the harmes receiued, would recontinue the mutinie for euery light occasion, knowing that by so much greater is the despite of an iniury, & the desire of reuenge more violent, by how much are remaining in presente and memorie the first authors and doers. Therefore the companies of men at armes of the Church, and of the *Florentins* were bestowed in the Citie of *Pesera*, together with the regiments of *Italian* footemen: for, touching the French Launces, they had not stirred from *Rimini*, by reason the difficulties that were betweene the Pope and their King were not yet resolved. The footebands of the *Gascons* were incamped vpon the plaine within halfe a myle of that Citie, and the other companies of footemen were dispersed vpon the mount *Imperialo* about *Pesera* & on that side towards *Rimini*: and such was the feuerall distribution of them, that *Spaniards* were placed vpon the top of the mountaine, the Launce knights somewhat lower according to the descending of the mountaine, & the *Corfikans* at the foote

of the hill: vpon this mountaine called *Imperiallo* standeth a pallace, which the auncestours of the familie of *Malatesta* had builded. They continu'd in this order three and twentie dayes, executing no other thing in that respite and intermission of time, then certaine skirmishes of the light horsenien: for, *Franciscomaria* stirred not, what with desire to hold that he had gotten, and that he saw no hope to breake so great an army in the plaine field, or to take any place so neare the enemies. Neuerthelesse at last which was the foure and twentieth day, departing by night frō *Montebarroccio*, he came by the peepe of the morning to the top of the mountaine, where the *Spaniards* lay incamped, with whom either generally or seuerally it was beleueed he had some secret intelligence, according to the relation and testimony of the successe that followed: for, as soone as he was come thither, his *Spaniards* began to cry vpon the others of their nation, that if they would make care of their owne safetie, they should follow them; a voyce which most part of them did accept, euery one putting vpon his head a bough of greene leaues, according to the example of the others: onely their Captaines retired to *Pesera*, and drew with them about eight hundred footemen. When the *Spaniards* were thus ioyned into one strength, they went all together to the tents of the Launceknights, who kept no great gard on that side for the suretie of the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*, and taking the aduantage of their securitie, they fell to execution and slaughter, in which medley they killed & hurt more then sixe hundred of them, the residue fled to the campe of *Corsikaies*, and with them retired in one strength, towards *Pesera*. The *Gascons* might well discerne the bickering, and putting themselues in order, they kept their ground not once mouing from the place where they stood. *Franciscomaria*, after this slaughter of the Launceknights, and the most part of the *Spanish* footebands allured to his side, went to incampe betweene *Urbino* and *Pesera*, not without great hope to haue to come ioyne with him those *Gascons* & Launceknights, who, leauied at that time in the campe of *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, had alwayes marched together, and were for the most part lodged together, and neuer did any action separate or apart. There was amongst the *Gascons* a Captaine called *Ambro*, who bare enuie to the vertue and glorie of Captaine *Carbano*. This *Ambro* was young & well disposed, of noble place and discending, kinsman to *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, and with the souldiers bare a greater credite and authoritie then did *Carbano*: he had secretly practised many dayes to passe with his regiment of footemen to the part of *Franciscomaria*, wherein he tooke this occasion, that not satisfied with the immoderate augmentation of their payes, they redemaunded insolently greater conditions: which when they were denied by the Popes ministers, there interposed betweene them *Carbano* & their Captaines of the French horsenien, who for the same cause were come from *Rimini* to *Pesera*, to reduce them to accord: but fīue or sixe dayes after the discomfiture of the *Spaniards* and *Germanes* in the Imperiall hill, *Franciscomaria*, with his whole armie disclosed himselfe neare vnto them: of whom one part together with *Ambro* being fallen into array of battell with sixe peeces of ordinaunce called *Sagors*, the *Germanes* followed and ioyned themselues also vnto him: *Carbano* in vaine endeouoring to stay them with prayers and most vehement perswasions: with *Carbano* abode seuen Captaines with 1300. footemen, all the rest together with the *Germanes* forsooke him. And as in warlike matters alwayes one mischiefe breeds another: so the *Italian* footemen, perceiving what neede there was of them the next morning stirred vp a tumult. And to reapease it, when neither greater shamefastnesse nor lesser greedinesse was in the Captaines then in the souldiers, it was necessary in their payes to promise them more immoderate conditions. And truly it was a matter to be maruelled at, that in the armie of *Franciscomaria*, in the which no pay was distributed to the souldiers, was so great agreement, discipline, and concord, which no doubt proceeded not (as is sayd of the *Carthaginian Hanniball* to his high commendation) so much of the vertue or authoritie of the Gouvernour, as of the exceeding affection and constancie of the souldiers. But of the contrary, in the armie of the Church, where in times due were not wanting excessive payes, was seene an vniuersall confusion, disorder, and desire of the souldiers to passe to the enemies campe. The same prouing that oftentimes, concord and discipline in armies are not so easily conserued by money as by other causes. The Legate and others who were present at the Councell being made astonished with so many accidents, after they had long time debated by what meanes & remedies they might relieue the afflicted estate of things: neither were they more discrete or abundant in counsels, to foresee that those disorders fell not, then apt to apply due remedies to the mischiefs hapned. And therefore being moued also with their owne couetous desires

desires and interest particular, they concluded to perswade the Pope to restore *Bologna* to the *Bentiuolians* before they being imboldened by the late declination of things, or pushed on by the incitation of others, they should make some commotion; a matter which how vnable they were to resist, was well expressed in the difficulties they had to sustaine the warres in one onely place: and therefore to giue the greater authority to this counsell; and for the more iustification of all parties in all euents, they sent the same to the Pope by *Robert Buschet*, a Gentleman of *Modena* set downe in writing, subscribed with the hands of all the Captaines, and of the Legate, and the Archbishop of *Ursin*, of whom the que was linked to the *Bentiuolians* in auncient amitie, the other ioyned to them in parentage: which aduise the Pope did not onely despise, but also complayned in most bitter tearmes, that his owne ministers, and such as had bene enriched by him with many benefites, with dayly expectation to receiue more, had set before him with so litle faith and loue, a counsell or election no lesse pernicious then the very euils which the enemies did: but chiefly he cried out against the Archbishop of *Ursin*, whom haply he iudged to be the chiefe author and inducer of the others to this counsell: vnder the occasion of which displeasure, it was beleued that he depriued him of the purple hat or Cardinals dignitie; which was promised in the beginning with an vniuersall consent to be transferred to him in the first promotion that hapned. But *Franciscomaria* seeing his strength so increased and his enemies forces abated, and making his aduantage also vpon the necessity, rayfed his thoughts to greater attempts: for both the footemen which came with him, had bene three whole moneths without pay, and he had no likelyhood of meane or ability to wage those that lately revolted to him: and also the Duchie being sore pilked and harried, and almost vtterly spoyled, the souldiers had not onely no meane of praie and bootie, but also with great difficultie could they find out sufficient victuals to sustaine them. But in choosing this new expedition, he was to follow other mens willes, so that for the better establisshing of his estate before he would attempt any other matter, he sought to assault afresh *Fano* or some other peece on the sea coast. Neuerthelesse by the inclination of the souldiers, greedie of pray and bootie, he determined to turne into *Tuscane*, where because the region was plentifull of all things, without suspect, and vnready for defence, he hoped to rayse some great spoyle. Furthermore he was caried with a hope to make some mutation in *Perusia* and *Sienna*, by the meane of *Charles Baylion* and *Borgnese* of *Petrucchi*, by which deuise his owne things had bene sufficiently augmented, together with the molestations and perils of the Pope and his nephew: therefore the next day, after he had assembled the *Gascons*, he remoued his campe towards *Perusia*: but when he was come to the playne of *Agobina*, he determined to make manifest his suspicion, yea rather the certaine apprehension which he had of the treason of the *Colonell Maldonato* and others ioyned with him in the same cause. The matter was bred and brought forth in this sort: When the army marched by *Romagnia*, *Suares* one of the Captaines of the *Spaniards*, vnder dissimulation of sicknesse dragged behind, and of purpose suffered himselfe to be taken of his enemies, and being in the state of a prisoner he was conueied to *Cesena* to *Lawrence*, to whom he declared in the name of *Maldonato*, and the two other Captaines of the *Spaniards*, that not for any other cause they were conioyned with *Franciscomaria*, then to haue occasion to do some notable seruice to the Pope and to him, seeing it was not in their power to let the accident of this commotion, promising in all their names, that they would not omit the execution assoone as the oportunitie was offered: which deuise whereas it was vtterly kept vnkowne from *Franciscomaria*, yet he quickly tookē suspicion by certaine words vnaduisedly spoken of *Ranse de Cere* to a drumme of the *Spaniards*: of whom taking occasion to iest with him, he demanded when those *Spaniards* would giue vp their Duke prisoner: which voyce making deepe impressiō in the hart of *Franciscomaria*, gaue him cause diligently to obserue whether there were any infidelity or treason in the army, which at the length by letters intercepted with the cariages of *Lawrence*, he did not onely discernē, but perceiued that *Maldonato* was the author of some dangerous stratageme; a matter which (hauing dissimuled vntill then) he thought not good any longer to conceale it: and therefore calling together all the Spanish footemen, setting himselfe in the middest of them, he began to giue them great thankes, with words of most vehement insinuation, for those things which for his sake they had vndertaken with so great inclination of mind, confessing openly that neither in the memory of these latter times, nor in histories of auncient writers, had bene any Prince or Captaine owing

so great obligations to men of warre, as he acknowledged to owe to them: for that neither ha-
 uing money, nor any meane to reward their great merites and seruices, and himselfe a Prince but
 of small estate though he should reccuer all his patrimonies, not being of their nation and lan-
 guage, nor hauing serued with them in the field, yet they had with so ready a disposition followed
 him against so mightie a Prince and of so great authority, and that not for hope or greediness of
 spoyle, since they knew they were led into a barreine and poore region: which valour and good
 seruices, as he had no meane to recompence to them but with good wil and gratification of mind,
 so yet this was his comfort, that not only amongst the regions of *Italy*, but also through all the pro-
 uinces of *Europe* they had purchased perpetuall fame and reputation vnder him: they being but
 very few in number, without money, without artillery, without any warlike furniture, had so of-
 ten constrained to turne their backs, an armie most rich in treasure and all other prouisions, with
 whom were ioyned so manie warlike people, against the forces of the Pope and the power of the
Florentines, with whom the name and authority of the kings of *France* and *Spain* was concu-
 rant: and that in regard to support and preserue the faith and honour of merof seruice, they had
 neglected the solemne commandement of their proper Princes. Of which things like as he did take
 exceeding pleasure, because of the name and glorie of them, so on the other side, all matters which
 might obscure so glorious a renowne, would bring vpon him a burden of intollerable griefes:
 that as he endured with manifest dolor the opening of matters which should draw to hurt
 them or anie of that company, to euery particular of whom he had vowed whilest he drew
 breath for euer to be dedicated in all affection, in all seruice, in all fidelitie, and all office what-
 soeuer: so neuerthelesse, least this euill begunne should be increased with his silence, and
 least the malice of some should blemish so great glorie gotten by this armie: and being also
 conuenient that he should hold a more deare account of the same and honour of them all, then
 particularly respect the amity of a few: he could not conceale longer from them, that there were
 foure in that armie who went about to betray the glory and the safety of them all. Touching
 his owne priuate case, neither would he make mention, nor inferre complaints, since hauing
 bene trauelled in so many accidents, and passed the rage of fortune for innocencie, he was now
 reduced to this temperance and staie of minde, that it was all one with him the desire of death
 or life: But for their parts, neither the obligations and offices which he ought to them, nor
 the settled affection which with so great merite he bare to them, would suffer him to keepe
 longer from them the information and knowledge of their present daunger, which was that
 Colonell *Maldonato*, in whom for his place ought to haue bene a greater care of the safetie and
 glorie of them all, and Captaine *Suares* the first contriuer of this fraud, by yeelding vnder a
 counterfeit sicknesse to be taken of his enemies in *Remagnia*, together with two other Cap-
 taines, had conspired and promised vnder wicked counsels, to betray the liues of them all to
Lawrence de Medicis: And as the effect of those counsels was disappointed by his vigilancie, for
 which cause he would no sooner reueale so great a treason: so now not thinking to behold any
 longer either the person of himselfe, or the liues of others vnder so great a daunger, he hath op-
 ened vnto them, the thing which long before was knowne to himselfe: And the better to induce
 their minds, he sayd that the discourse of this treason was set downe in credible forme in certaine
 letters autentike found amongst the writings of *Lawrence* and intercepted by him, besides many
 apparant signes and coniectures: all which he thought good to lay afore them, to the end they
 might be the iudges of such a hainous conspiracy, and so hearing aswell the crime detected, as the
 iustifications of the offenders, they might proceede to iustice according to that counsell which
 should stand best with equitie and order, and establish a due safety to the whole army. When
 he had made an end of speaking, he commanded to be read and interpreted the euidences of the
 crime objected against them; which being heard with very great attention, *Maldonato*, *Suares*,
 and the other two Captaines not being suffered to aunswere, were condemned by the common
 iudgement of the army, as of a matter most manifestly proued, and forthwith being committed to
 passe the pikes, they were executed after the maner of souldiers. Thus the army being purged (as
 they sayd) by this punishment of all treason, they followed on their iourney towards *Persia*:
 to the which was already entred *Io. Paule Baillon*, being departed from *Pejera* as scone as he had
 knowledge of their intention: & there arming his friends with many companies of peasants leuied
 in the countrey and confines there, he prepared himselfe to defend it: to whom the Legate had
 sent

sent for succour, *Camillo Vrsin* his sonne in law, leader of the *Florentins* together with the men at armes of his conduct, and two hundred and fiftie light horsemen : with the which forces it was thought he might sustaine the inuasion of his enemies, the rather for that many deuises were made to hinder their proceedings : for *Vitelli* with his regiment of men at armes, and *Sise* with the French launces, who stood now no more suspected, for that betweene the Pope and the French King was established a confederation, were marched to *Citta de Castello*, and *Lawrence de Medicis*, who being newly recured of his wound, & also lately come from *Ancona* to *Pesera*, was sent in post to *Florence* to prepare therethings necessary to the conseruation of that gouernement & the cities adioyning : there he tooke order that the Legate with the rest of the army, should march towards the Dukedome of *Vrbis*, to the end to counsell *Franciscomaria* to abandon the expedition of *Tuscane*, for the gard whereof was left no other regiments of souldiers, then a defence of the inhabitants. *Franciscomaria* not without the hope of some intelligence or conspiracy, did remoue his army to *Perugia*, where *Iohn Paule* riding about the city to take view, he was assailed in the middest of the streete by a peasant or soldier of the countrey, and sayling at that time to strike him to the death, he was suddenly set vpon & slaine by the concourse of those that accompanied *Iohn Paule*: who taking the oportunity of this tumult, caused certaine others whom he suspected to be mured, and so being deliuered from snares of conspiracy, he seemed also to be acquitted from all perill, for that the enemies who had now many dayes lien about *Perugia*, had no meane to take it by force: and yet *Iohn Paule* at a time least expected such a matter, alleaging in his iustification, that the people of *Perugia* (whose furie he had no power to resist) would no longer endure the spoyling of their countrey, couenanted with the army to pay ten thousand duckats, to graunt victuals for foure dayes, not to take armes against *Franciscomaria* in that warre, and they to issue presently out of the territories of *Perugia*: a matter very grieuous and of no little discontentment to the Pope, for that it confirmed the opinion conceiued of him from the beginning of this warre, in going so slowly to the army with the succors he promised, and holding for suspected the power of *Lawrence*, he wished that *Franciscomaria* should conserue the Dukedome of *Vrbis*. This also aggrauated the grieve and discontentment of *Baillon*, that whilest he was in the campe with *Lawrence*, *Ranse* and *Vitelli* bare greater authority then he : the memory of which things was haply the chiefeest cause of his owne calamities in times following. *Franciscomaria* hauing made conditionall agreement with the *Perugians*, marched towards *Citta de Castello*, where when he had made certaine incursions, with intention to enter the towne of *Sansepulcro* in the state of *Florence*, the danger of his owne state constrained him to take other counsell, for that the Legate *Bibiana* hauing estoones leuiē certaine bands of footmen *Italians*, folowing the deliberation made at *Pesera*, was remoued with the rest of his army to *Fossombrono*, which city being battered with the artillery, the third day was taken & sacked. This done, he led his army to *Pergola*, where the day folowing the Earle of *Porenza* with 400 Spanish launces sent frō the king of *Spaine* to the aid of the Pope, did ioyne with the army : within *Pergola* there was not one souldier, but only a Spanish Captaine & many inhabitants of the region, who being sore astonished begā to cōmune of yelding, but while they were in parley, the Captaine who stood vpon the wall being wounded in the face, the soldiers made assalt, without any order or cōmandement of their Captaines, & won the towne by force. From *Pergola* they consulted to bring their army to *Cagli*, but being aduertised that *Franciscomaria* hauing heard of the losse of *Fossombrono*, was returned into that region with most great celerity, they determined to retire themselues: wherefore the same night in the which the Legate receiued that intelligence, they departed from *Pergola*, & hauing trauelled to *Montlion*, whē knowing that there they might lodge, they began to lay out the ground according to encamping, being aduertised by other messengers that the celerity of the enemy was far aboue perswasion, and that he sent before him a thousand horsemen, euery one carying a footman in croope, to the end that they being constrained to trauell with more leasure, time might be giuen to the army to ouertake them: they marched vij. miles to a place called *Bosco*, from whence departing the morning folowing before day, they came in the euening to *Fano*, hauing almost vpon their backes the horsemen of the enemies, which came with so great celeritie, that if they had onely departed foure houres later, they had hardly escaped the necessitie of the fight.

At this time the affaires of the Pope in other actions, proceeded with no better felicitie, then

in the accidents and events of the warre: for that *Alphonso* the Cardinall of *Sienna* disdain-
 ing much the life of the Pope, lay in waite to betray him, the rather for that the Pope hauing forgot-
 ten the trauels and dangers which *Pandolfe Peirucci* his father had endured to restore him and
 his bretheren to the gouernement of *Florence*, together with the operations which he with other
 yong Cardinals had wrought in the consistory to aduance him to the Popedom. In recompence
 of so many benefits he had caused to be thrust out of *Sienna*, *Borguese* his brother and him. By
 which occasion, being also spoyled of his fathers estates, he could not maintaine the dignity of
 the purple hat with that glory which he was accustomed: and therefore being caried with ha-
 tred, and reduced almost to dispaire, he began to deuise by a young counsell to murder him with
 violent hands, whom his hatefull hart could not brooke to loue: but restrained with the perill and
 difficulty of the fact, more then with the example and common infamie that throughout all Chri-
 stendome would run, if any Cardinall would with his owne hands take away the life of a Pope,
 he changed aduise, and turned all his thoughts to take him away with poyson, by the ministrati-
 on of *Baptista Vercelli* a famous Surgion, and very familiar with him: of which counsell (if so wicked
 a furie be worthy such name) this should haue bene the order, that sith that he could not find
 any other meane, the Surgion should by setting foorth with singular prayes his vertues, make
 such insinuation into him, that the Pope hauing a Fistula vnder his fundament, for the which
 he vsed daily the trauell of men of his profession, would by such impression call him to his cure.
 But the impatience of *Alphonso* reduced the action of this deuise to a desperate hope, since as the
 execution drew with it some long tract of time, depending vpon many obseruations and circum-
 stances, so *Alfonso* who could not containe himselfe from complayning against the ingratitude
 of the Pope, being every day more hatefull, and suspecting least he would conspire some thing a-
 gainst his estate, was at last as it were constrained for his owne safety to depart from *Rome*, leaving
 neuertheless behind him *Ambo Nino* his secretary. Betweene them there was a continuall pas-
 sage of letters, whereof certaine being intercepted, the Pope discerned manifest treason to be pra-
 ctised against his life: therefore vnder colour to make some prouision for the affaires of *Alfonso*,
 he called him to *Rome*, sending him safe conduct, ioyned to his word and faith giuen besides to the
 Spanish Embassador, not to touch him prejudicially. Vnder which assurance, notwithstanding the
 priuity and testimony of his conscience to so apparant treason, he went vnwisely to the Pope,
 who immediately caused him to be apprehended together with *Barinello* Cardinall *Sawha Ge-
 noway*, a great furtherer of *Leo* to the Popedom, but so conioyned with *Alfonso* in strait friend-
 ship and familiarity, that he was thought partaker with him in all things. Their first apprehen-
 ding was in the Popes chamber and in his presence, and from thence were conueyed as prisoners
 to the Castell *Saint Angelo*: there was also present direction giuen, that *Baptista Vercelli*, who
 then was following his art at *Florence*, should be made prisoner and sent to *Rome*. The Spanish
 Embassador labored with vehement complaints and protestations, to haue *Alfonso* set at liberty,
 alleaging that the Popes faith giuen to him as the kings Embassador, ought to be obserued with
 the same fidelity, as if it had bene giuen to the king himselfe. But the Pope answered that there
 was no safe conduct, how ample soeuer it was, with clauses strong and speciall, that caried anie
 suretie in crimes conspired against the life of the Pope, without peculiar and speciall nomination:
 and that the same exception and prerogatiue followed also the crime of poysoning; an offence
 so greatly abhorred by the diuine and humane lawes, and so hatefull to the senses of all men,
 that they haue reserued no safe conduct or assurance for the offenders that way, but vnder
 particular and speciall mention. The Pope preferred to examine them, *Mario Perusio*
 the procurer of the fiske, who following the matter vpon them with seuerity and rigour, they con-
 fessed the treason conspired with the priuity of *Bandinello*. The confession was verified by the Sur-
 gion, & confirmed by *Po. Bagnacuallo*, who vnder *Pandolfe* his father, and *Borguese* his brother,
 had long bene Captaine of the garrison of *Sienna*, and for this offence were now publicly quar-
 tered. After this confession, in the next sitting of the consistory, was apprehended and caried to
 the Castell, *Raphael Riario*, Cardinall *Saint George* chiefe Chamberlaine to the sea Apostolike,
 who for his wealth & riches, for the magnificency of his court, & for his long time & continuance
 in that dignity, was become both in truth & name, the principal Cardinall of all the Colledge: he con-
 fessed, that albeit neither the treason nor the counsell thereof had bin imparted to him, by the which
 he iustified his innocencie, yet he had heard oftentimes the Cardinall of *Sienna* both lament and

use threats to the Pope vnder such words and speeches, as he could not but comprehend that he bare in him a mind to do some violence against this person when occasion offered. The Pope after this continued his complaints in another Consistorie, wherein the Cardinals, not accustomed to be violated, fell into no small astonishment and griefe of mind, that with such cruelty and iniquity the Popes life should be betrayed by those, who for their place and dignity which made them principall members of the Sea Apostolike, stood more then all others iustly bound to defend it: he complained with great compassion against the accident and the vnthankfulnesse thereof, to returne to him such a recompence for his infinite benefites and liberalities bestowed vpon all sorts, yea not without blame and imputation of some: but the thing that made him burst out into more vehemencie of passion, was that other Cardinals were intangled with conspiracie, who neuertheless, if afore the Consistorie were dissolued, they would frankly confesse their offence, they should find him prepared to clemencie and to giue pardon, but if they deferred till the Consistorie were broken vp, he would turne his clemency into seuerity of iustice, and cal into proscription as well the accessaries as chiefe offenders. Which words working both pietie and submission in the minds of *Adriano* Cardinall of *Cornetto*, & *Fran. Soderin* Cardinall of *Volterra*, they humbled themselves vpon their knees afore the feete of the Pope, confessing that the Cardinall of *Siena* had vsed the same speeches to them, which the Cardinall *Saint George* had expressed. As soone as these examinations and the evidences incident were published in the Consistorie, *Alfonso* and *Bandinello* by sentence of the generall Consistorie, were degraded of the dignitie of the purple hat and holy orders, and deliuered ouer to the secular Court and Iudges of criminall offences. The night following *Alfonso* was secretly strangled in prison, but the sentence of *Bandinello* by the Popes grace was changed into perpetuall imprisonment, from the which neuertheless he was not long afterwards deliuered vnder a ranfome of money, and eftsoones restored to the dignitie of Cardinall, notwithstanding he had iust cause of indignation against him for the many benefites and graces he had bestowed vpon him: and yet he was become estranged from him for no other cause then for the amity he had with *Alfonso*, adding withall a disdain that the Cardinall *Medicis* was preferred afore him in the suites of certaine benefices: and there were not wanting malicious interpreters, who iudged that afore he was deliuered out of prison, there was giuen to him by the Popes commandement, a potion confected with that kind of poison which killeth not sodainly, but worketh by suttile operations vntill by times it hath wasted the life of him that receiueth it. And touching the Cardinall *Saint George*, albeit the lawes ordained by Princes for the securitie of their states, commaund that in the crime of high treason aswell the accessarie as the principall be past vnder extreame punishment: yet, what by the state of his fall, being in a condition inferiour to the others, and what for the respect of his age and authority, which time had made reuerent in him, and lastly, what for the law of friendship, which had indifferently runne betweene them afore his ascending to the Popedome, he proceeded with him with more clemencie and fauour: in so much as like as for the authoritie and reputation of iustice, he was by sentence depriued of the Cardinals dignitie, so he was immediatly by grace bought with a great summe of money, restored to his former condition in all things, sauing in the authoritie and priuiledge of his voice actiue and passiue, which grace neuertheless within the reuolution of a yeare was fully restored to him againe. There was no other vexation imposed vpon *Adrian* and *Volterra*, sauing a secret exaction of great summes of money: but seeing there was no surety to either of them to abide in *Rome* with conuenient dignitie, *Volterra* with the Popes licence went to *Fondy*, where vnder the wings of *Prosper Colonna* he remained till the Popes death: & *Adrian* departed secretly out of *Rome*, but what destinie fell vpon him it is hard to report, seeing there are none that euer could giue any informatiō of him since his going away. The bitterness of this accident drew the Pope to consider for the creation of new Cardinals, knowing that the whole presence of the Colledge, astonished by this punishment, and ielous of other occasions, were of minds much estranged from him. In which action he proceeded so immoderately, that in one morning in the Consistory, the Colledge consenting more for feare then of will, he pronounced xxxj. Cardinals, and in that abundance and plentie of numbers, as he had good meane to satisfie many ends, and to make his election of euery qualitie of men, so he preferred two sonnes of his sister, with some others, who, sauing for the seruices they had done him, & had bene acceptable to the Cardinall *Medicis* by manie offices, were in other reasons neither capable nor worthie so high

dignities: in the calling of some, he obserued the humours of great Princes, creating them at their instance: some he raised by symonie and corruption of money, to relieue his treasure being much consumed: some he called were verie famous by the opinion & credit of their learning, amongst whom were three Generals, (that appellation is of the highest degree) of the order of *S. Augustine*, *S. Dominicke*, and *S. Francis*: and in this creation he left this most rare tradition, that to one function, in one promotion, and at one time, he preferred two of the family of *Trinulce*, vsing his inducement for the one, to recompence his seruice, for that he had bene his Chamberlaire, & also vpon a desire to satisfie *Iohn Iacques*; & touching the other, he was caried with the fauour of his learning accompanied with some quantitie of mony: but that which bred matter of greatest admiration, was the election of *Frauncis Vrsin* and *Pompey Colonne*, with other five *Romains* of the principall houses, such as were followers of all factions, with counsels altogether contrarie to the resolution of his predecessor: neuerthelesse it was reputed an action not the least discreet, and yet it drew no great happinesse in the end to his friends and kindred: for, whereas the greatnesse of the Barons of *Rome* being alwayes the suppression & vexation of the Popes, and where in default of the ancient Cardinals of those families, whom *Alexander* the sixt had bitterly persecuted to make a pray of their goods, *Iulio* would neuer suffer that dignitie to be reinuested in any of the. *Leo* with great immoderation did the contrarie, not that it could be said he was drawne with the merite of the men, for that as *Frauncis* was taken from the profession of armes, & created Cardinall, so for *Pompey*, the memorie of his doings past ought to be objected against his preferment, for that though he was a Bishop, yet vsing the occasion of Pope *Iulios* sicknesse, he had laboured to seduce to tumult the people of *Rome* against the gouernment of Priests, for which cause Pope *Iulio* depriued him iustly of the dignitie of Bishop. But in this time *Franciscumaria*, albeit by the retiring, or rather manifest flying of the enemies, could haue no meane to fight, his armie being made mightie in men and valour by the continuall resort of new souldiers, running after the fame of the Captain, and partly caried with hope of pray, entred into *Marca*, where *Fabriano* & many other townes compounded with him, redeeming with readie mony the peril of sacking and robbing their houses: but others standing destitute of that humanity, he committed to the mercie of the souldiers, amongst the which the citie of *Iessi* ran a hard fortune, since during the parlie & negociation of accord, it was entred and spoyled in the vnbrideled insolencie of the souldiers: he drew from thence to *Ancona*, for the defending of the which the Legate had sent a crue of souldiers: he remained about it many dayes, to the great hinderance of his affaires by the losse of time which he suffered, not in fighting with the defendants of the place, but in temporizing to compound with them: at last, because they would not with the harmes of the war suffer also the losse of their haruest, they made him a ranome of eight thousand ducets, not swaruing in other sort from their accustomed fidelitie to the Church: afterwards he inuaded the citie of *Osim* with very ill successe: and at last he planted his camp afore the towne of *Corinaldo*, wherein were two hundred footmen forreyners, by whom together with the valour of the townes-men, it was so valiantly defended, that after he had consumed xxij. dayes about it, he leuied his siege, his despaire being greater then his hope to carie it. This did greatly diminish the terror and feare that was had of that armie, the rather for that he had not made conquest of any those townes that refused to compound with him: a matter which no way could proceed of the vnskillfulnesse of the Capitaine to dispose, nor of want of valour in the souldiers to execute: but the true reason was, for that they had but very few & those very smal field peeces, lacking withall many things to put them to seruice: besides, touching those townes which would not yeeld to him, it was necessary they should make demonstration of their constancie and valour, for that the Captaines of the Church armie, amongst whom Count *Potenza* was chiefe, had sent troupes of their men of warre to bridle and make pillage of the countrey euen to the walles of *Urbis*: and *Sise* being returned from *Citta de Castello* in *Romagnia*, and afterwards entred into *Montefeltro*, & had subdued by force *Secchiano* with certaine other small townes, was reduced to remaine incamped within five miles of *Pejera*, with intention not to minister succours to any place, nor once to stirre vnlesse necessitie moued them to retire: for, where in the times when they were superior in forces and strength, their affaires had falne out so vnhappily, now being made inferiour in numbers by the diminution of their footmen, they had not the courage to sustaine the fame of their enemies approaching, & much lesse to abide any other perill: in which resolution made according to the Popes mind, they were confirmed

confirmed by a hope of the comming of fixe thousand *Swissers*, whom the Pope, by the counsell of the French king, had sent to leaue and wage for, the French king after the confederation made, desired the victorie of the Pope, & yet at the same time he retained the same suspicion of him that he did before: he was continued in this suspition by the relations of *Galças Viscount* and *Clarke Amb. Colonne*, of whom the one being reuoked to his countrie from banishment, and the other notwithstanding his seruices and merits well recompenced by *Cesar*, and both transferred with honorable conditions to the pay of the French king, they had reported that the Pope had conspired greatly with *Cesar* & the *Swissers* against him. But much more was the French king moued, for that the Pope had contracted secretly a new confederation with *Cesar*, with the king of *Spaine*, and the *English*, which albeit was lawfull for him to do, for that it bare onely for their defence, yet both the matter & maner of it troubled not a litle the thoughts of his mind: he was induced through feare to be deliuered of the wars, least the Pope not finding his aides & succours ready, would enter into a greater coniunction with other Princes against him. And besides that, he began to take grieft & suspition of the armie of *Vrbino*, whose strength was compounded of footmen Spanish & Launceknights: therefore, besides that he had aduiled the Pope to make himselfe strong with the footmen of *Swissers*, he offered to send him of new three hundred launces vnder *Thomas de Foix* brother to *Odet*, alleaging that besides the reputation and valour of the man, he would be a conuenient instrument to imbecill from the army of *Franciscmaria* the bands of *Gascons*, with whom those brothers & race of *Foix* being descended of the noblest bloud in *Gascoigne*, had great authority. The Pope accepted this offer, but with a mind verie suspicious, for that he stood doubtfull as he did before, of the kings will, wherein he suffered his suspition to take increasing by the withdrawing of the *Gascons*, fearing least that action had priuily proceeded of the operation of *Lamirech*: and he that in those times had made obseruation of the doings of Princes, might apparantly discern, that no benefite, no office, no coniunction, was sufficient to remoue out of their hearts the distrusts and ielousies which they had one of another: for, the suspition was not only reciprocally betweene the Pope and French king, but also the king of *Spaine* hearing of the leauies of the *Swissers*, & the preparation of *Thomas de Foix*, was not without his feare, that the Pope and the French king ioynd together, would deuise to spoile him of the kingdom of *Naples*. These suspicions were thought to profite the affaires of the Pope, since both of them least they should giue him cause or matter to estrange himselfe from them, labored to confirme him, and assure him with benefits and with aydes.

Now *Franciscmaria* departing from *Corinaldo*, returned vpon the state of *Vrbino* to giue defence and protection to his people for the getting in of their haruest: & retaining with an increase of ambition his ancient desire to get *Pesera*, which was garded by the Count *Potenza* and his souldiers, he brought his armie to the borders thereof, and obiecing all impediments to cut off the resort of victuals, he put to the sea certaine ships: but against that force they of *Rimini* rigged out sixteene vessels, some barkes, and some brigantines, & some of other nature agreeable to the seruice of those times, which being armed and manned, and sent to accompanie and assure other ships loaden with victuals for *Pesera*, they encountred the nauie of *Franciscmaria*, of whō they sunk to the bottome the Admirall, and tooke all the residue; by which accidēt, despairing of the enterprise of *Pesera*, he leauied his forces and departed. In this meane while *M. de Foix* aduanced with his three hundred launces, but the *Swissers* made slow preparation, for that the Cantons denied their consent vnlesse they were first satisfied of their old pensions: from which obstinacy the king being not able to remoue them, and in the Pope no ablitie to make them satisfied for the intollerable defrayments he had expended, his Agents hauing consumed in that solicitation many dayes, entertained and waged without common priuity two thousand particulars of that nation, and foure thousand other *Germans* and *Grisons*: which leauies being descended and bestowed in the confines and suburbs of *Rimini*, and they being deuided by the riuier from the residue of the Citie, are enuironed and fetched in with walles: *Franciscmaria* was entred by night by the vaults and arches of that notable bridge of Marble which tieth the suburbs with the Citie, but he could not passe ouer, the riuier being swelled by the inundation of the sea. There grew a strong fight betweene his souldiers and the footbandes bestowed in the suburbs, in which was slaine *Iasper* Captaine of the Popes gard, who had conducted them thither: but greater was the losse of the enemies, by the death of *Balastishino* & *Vinea* Spanish Captaines, & *Federike*:

Bossolo and *Franciscumaria* being wounded in the bodie with a bullet. After this encounter he turned his armie towards *Tuscane*, being caried more by necessitie then by hope, for that in a region so much consumed, so great an armie could not be nourished. He remained certaine dayes in *Tuscane* amongst the populars of *S. Stephano*, the borough of *S. Sepulchro*; and *Anguiano*, townes of the dominion of *Florence*, where he tooke *Montedoglio*, a place verie weak, and of little importance: he gaue a long assault to *Anguiano*, a towne more strong by the fidelity and valour of the inhabitants, then by fortification of walles, or other kinds of munitions: but being not able for his owne weakenesse and wants to carie it, he retired his armie vnder the *Appennine*, betwene *S. Sepulchro* and *Città de Castello*; and causing to be drawne thither from *Mercatello* foure peeces of artilleries, he incamped within lesse then halfe a mile of the towne, vpon that way that leadeth to *Vrbino*: there he seemed to stand irresolute and doubtfull what course to take, seeing that as his enemies were passed behind him into *Tuscane*, & manie *Italian* bands entered into *S. Sepulchro*, and *Pitelli* with a great strength was got into *Città de Castello*: so within *Anguiano* within the plaine of *S. Stephano*, and within the other townes conioyning, were entered the bands of footmen of the *Germanes*, the *Grisons*, and the *Swissers*. *Laurence de Medicis* came also into *Florence* but somewhat late to *S. Sepulchro*, where *Franciscumaria* had lye with his campe manie dayes idly: and for that he began to find in these places many discommodities of victuals, and lesse hope to be able to bring forth any good effect, & withall, for that the souldiers of his armie, who were driuen to defend their liues by pray & pillage, were now of equall terror to his friends and to his enemies, he began not to discern any good expedition or end for his affaires: and the bands of footmen who had so long followed him, seeing no pay ministered, and no more hope remaining to liue by discretion, because they had no munition of qualitie to force townes, and nothing withall, that to their calamitie of want of victuals, was ioyned an increase of the force and reputation of their enemies, by the grace of many Princes disclosed in their fauour, they began to be weary with the longnesse of the warre, the rather also for that they could hope for no good issue or successe, neither by the oportunitie of present battell, nor by the benefit of longer time. The Pope for his part felt likewise the same perplexities and afflictions, for he was both made naked of wealth and treasure, and no abilitie of himselfe to continue the prouisions of his campe, & also he stood more doubtfull then euer of the fidelitie of other Princes, but chieflie of the French king, who with great slownesse and negligence did prouide for the reliefe of mony, which he was bound vnto by the capitulation. And for that *M. de Foix* hauing by the Popes directiō remained in *Romagnia*, refused to send part of his launces into *Tuscane*, alleaging that he would not deuide his strength before the armies were passed the *Appennin*, there arose many arguments & perswasions of accord betwene the Legate and *Franciscumaria* & his Captaines. In which good inclination to peace, there interposed betwene them *M. de Foix*, and *Don Hugo de Montado*; and for that effect also the Viceroy of *Sicilia* was sent by the king Catholike: but vntill that day nothing succeeded, for the hard cōditions which *Franciscumaria* vrged. At length the bands of Spanish footmen, induced both by the difficulties that appeared, & also by the sollicitation & instance of *Don Hugo*, who ioyning threats to the authority of his place, & satisfying them, that such was precisely the will of the king of *Spaine*, they were brought to incline & embrace peace: which with a verie hard consent of *Franciscumaria*, & the negociation of the Bishop of *Auellino* sent thither for the Pope by the Legate, was contracted in this sort, concurring also the consent of the bands of *Gascōn* footmen by the interposing of *M. de Foix*: That the Pope should pay to the Spanish footmen fīue and fortie thousand duckets for the full satisfying of foure moneths pay, and to the *Gascōns* & *Germanes* ioyned with the, threescore thousand duckets: That they should all depart within eight dayes out of the state of the Church, the iurisdiction of *Florence*, & the territories of *Vrbino*: That *Franciscumaria* leauing abandoned all that he possessed in that state, might passe in security to *Mantua*: That he might carie with him his artilleries, his household stufte, & namely that famous Library which with so great charge and diligence had bin erected of *Federike* his grandfather by the mothers side; a Captaine for leading of an army, of most renowme of al the Captains of his time, but most famous amongst all other his vertues for his patronage of good learning: That the Pope should absolue him of all censures, and giue remission to all the subiects of the gouernement of *Vrbino*, & to all others that had risen against him in this warre. But whilest they were reducing the substance of these capitulations into articles and writing, *Franciscumaria* sought to haue

haue inferred in speciall wordes, that the *Spaniards* were they who promised to deliuer vp to the Pope, the state of *Vrbis*; a matter which they refused for the regard of their honour, whereupon they came to contention, when *Franciscomarìa* suspecting least they would sell him to the Pope, went suddenly to *Sestina*, leading with him part of the light horsemen, with the footmen *Italians*, *Gascōns*, & *Germanis*, & foure peeces of artilleries. As soone as perfection was giuen to the peace, and the *Spaniards* receiued their payes, they went into the Realme of *Naples*, containing at their departure a strength of fixe hundred horsemen, and foure thousand footmen: by their example, the other bands of footmen departed after they had receiued the reward of their disloyaltie: onely to the *Italians*, nothing was neither giuen nor promised; and touching *Franciscomarìa* ouer whose safetie it seemed *Monsieur de Foix* had a care particular, seeing himselfe now abandoned, challenged the benefit of the first peace, and went through *Romagnia* and the countrey of *Bologna* to *Atlantua*, being accompanied with *Federike de Bossolo*, an hundred horse and sixe hundred footmen. In this sort did end the warre of *Vrbis*, continued eight monethes with great expences and ignominie to the Victors: on the Popes part were expended eight hundred thousand duckats, the greatest masse whereof was drawne out of the common weale of *Florence*; for the authoritie he bare there at that time. And touching the Captaines to whom was referred the administration of those warres, there was heaped against them, great imputation of cowardise, and of disordered gouernement, adioyning to it want of sinceritie or sound intention: for that in the beginning of the warre when the forces of *Lawrence* were mighty, and the power of the enemies in great weakenesse, they neuer could vse any occasion, neither by apparant valour, nor by their industrie, and much lesse by their prouidēce of forecast. To which beginnings drawing with them losse of their reputation, negligence in discipline, and disobedience of the armie, were adioyned in the proceedings and further course of the warre, want of many prouisions in the campe. And at last fortune seeming to take her sport and pleasure vpon their errors, did by her working so heape calamities vpon their disorders, that the affaires of the warres were reduced to these termes, that the Pope detecting the snares that were layd against his life, and being much shaken in the gouernement of the Church, and estsoones fearing the estate of *Florence*, was constrained with petitions and new obligations, to implore the aydes of all men. And yet he could not be deliuered from those calamities; but by defraying of his owne treasure vpon the armie of his enemies; and such as either were the originall mouers of the warre, or else being entertained in his pay, had vilely reuolted against him, after they had vexed him with many extortions.

In this yeare and almost in the end of the yeare, the king of *Spaine* went with prosperous navigation, to take possessions of his kingdomes: he had obtained before of the French king (betweene whom and him went many demonstrations of amitie, both of them couering the secret intention of their mindes) assurance that he would forbear for sixe monethes, the first payment of an hundred thousand duckats, which he was bound to pay in by the articles of the last accord contracted betweene them. The *Venetians* also made a reconfirmation for two yeares, of the league defensue which they had with the French King, with whom as they stood most firmly conioyned in the law of league and fidelitie, so in regard of him they made small account of the amitie of all other Princes. In so much as they omitted to send Embassadors to present their obedience to the Pope, who hauing sent Legate to *Venice*, *Allobello* Bishop of *Pola*, it was imputed against him as a matter vnworthy his maiestie.

There followeth now the yeare a thousand five hundred and eightene, in which the regions of *Italie*, contrary to the precedent of many yeares before, felt not the least impression or motion of warre, yea there appeared the selfe same disposition in all other Princes of Christendome, betweene whom by the operation of the Pope, though haply more with faire reasons, then with substantiall counsels, was solicited a vniuersall expedition of all Christendome against the pride of *Selim* Prince of the *Turkes*, who the yeare before had so enlarged and extended his greatness, that comparing with his power, his ambition to be greater, pushed on with many helpees of nature, it was worthily to be doubted, that if he were not prevented by the inuasions of the Christians, he would in his pride lift vp his victorious hand against them. For *Selim* discerning that *Baiazer* his father, reduced to extreame old age, sought to establish the succession of the Empire in the person of *Acomath* his elder brother, drew into rebellion against him, & by force of armes, concurring the corruption of the souldiers of his gard, constrained him to resigne vp to him the

authoritie of the gouernement: and not suffering his ambition to stay there, it was beleueed of all men, that for his more absolute assurance, he tooke away his life by poyson: and afterwarde obtaining an ouerthrow to his brother in an encounter of a battell, he confirmed fully the seate of his Empire, by depriving him of his life in publike shew, exercising the like rage of crueltie vpon *Corcu* the youngest brother of all. And being not satisfied according to the tyrannie of the house of *Ottomauni*, with the bloud and slaughter of all his Nephewes, or any others that remained of that line and stocke, he was in thought oftentimes (by the rage and furie of his disposition) to take away the life of *Solyman* his onely sonne. Of these beginnings breeding one warre vpon another, after he had subdued the *Aduliti* a people of the Mountaines, he passed ouer into *Persia* against the *Sopbi*, to whom he gaue battell and ouerthrew him, and in that felicitie of warre he tooke the Citie of *Tauris* the soueraigne seate of that state, together with the greatest part of *Persia*, which he was constrained to abandon, not through the valour of his enemies, who for their disabilitie to support their armie, were retired into the mountaines and places desert, but for the vniuersall dearth & barennesse of that yeare, he fell into an extreame want of victuals. He returned soone after this expeditiō to *Constantinople*, where, after he had done execution vpon certaine soldiers seditious, & for certaine moneths had refreshed his armie, he gaue out that he would eftsouones returne to make warre vpon *Persia*, but indeede he turned his forces against the *Soldan* king of *Soria* and *Egypt*, a Prince not onely of most auncient reuerence and dignitie for that religion, but most mightie for the amplitude of dominion, most rich in tributes, and very glorious by the discipline of the *Mammelukes*, of whose armes and forces that state was possessed with great reputation three hundred yeares: for that Empire being ruled of the *Soldans*, they not by succession but by election, ascended to it, and to the supreme seate of gouernement were not preferred but men of manifest vertue, and confirmed by all the degrees of war, in the administration of provinces and armies: and also the sinewes and strength of their forces, stood not vpon souldiers mercenarie and forreine, but of men elected, who taken of children in the provinces adioyning, and trayned vp by succession of yeares in hardnesse of fare, in suffering of labour and toyle, and in the exercise of armes and all customes appertaining to the discipline and law of warre, they ascribed and enroled them in the order of the *Mammelukes*. There succeeded from hand to hand in this order, not the sonnes of the *Mammelukes* that were dead, but others, who being taken of children for slaues, had their rising by the same discipline, & by the same industrie and artes, by the which their predecessours had passed from hand to hand. These not being in number aboute seueenteene or eighteene thousand, held subiected vnder a most heauy yoke, all the people of *Egypt* and *Soria*, whom they spoiled of the vse of all armes, and practise to manage horses: yea such was their fiercenesse and valour, that oftentimes they made warre of themselves, for that of their numbers and by their election were chosen the *Soldans*, and in their power rested all authoritie to distribute the honours, offices, and profit of that most rich Empire. By the oportunitie of which, hauing subdued many nations adioyning, and reduced to obedience the *Arabians*, and maintained many warres with the *Turkes*, they were many times victorious, but very seldome or neuer vanquished of others. Against these people did *Selim* conuert his forces, whom he ouerthrew in many battells fought in plaine field, wherein was slaine the *Soldan*, and afterwarde in another battell was taken prisoner the other *Soldan* his successour, who he caused be publikely murdered with an vnworthy kinde of torment. Thus hauing satisfied his bloody humour with these great slaughters, and almost wasted the name of the *Mammelukes*, he proceeded to the inuasion of *Cairo* a most populous Citie, wherein were resident the *Soldans*, and in short time subdued vnder his iurisdiction all *Soria* and all *Egypt*: the same drawing vnto him so great an increase of Imperie, such amplification of tribute and reuenue, and remouing the impediments of so mightie enemies and of so great reputation, that with great reason he was to be feared of the Christians: a feare which tooke his degrees of increasing by this consideration, that to so great a power & valour, was ioyned a settled inpression of ambition to beare rule, and by many victories to make glorious his name to all posterities: wherein reading oftentimes the Legendes and actions of the great *Alexander* and *Iulius Caesar*, he seemed to suffer grieve and perplexitie of minde, that his actions and exploits of warre could in no wise hold comparison with so many great triumphes and victories. In which humour, refurnishing continually his armies, and building of new a great number of ships, and leauying all prouisions necessarie for the warre, it was feared when his preparations were accom-

accomplished, that he would inuade *Rhodes*, the bulwarke of the Christians in the East parts, or else the kingdome of *Hungaria*, made fearefull by the valour of the inhabitants to the nation of *Turkes*, which at that time was in diuision amongst themselves, and made weake by the minority of their King, who was gouerned by Priests and the Barons of the Realme. Others were of opinion, that he had addrest all his thoughts to the inuasion of *Italie*, taking his encouragement vpon the discord of the Potentates and naturall Princes, whom he knew to be much taken with the long warres of those regions. To this was ioyned the memorie of *Mahomet* his grandfather, who with a power farre lesse then his, and with a small Nauie sent vpon the coastes of the Realme of *Naples*, had wonne by assault the Citie of *Ostonto*: and, sauing (he was preuented by death) had both opened the way, and established the meane to persecute the regions of *Italie* with continuall vexations. So that the Pope together with the whole Court of *Rome* being made astonied with so great successe, and no lesse prouident to eschue so great a daunger; making their first recourse to the ayde and succour of God, caused to be celebrated through *Rome* most deuout inuocations, which he did assist in presence bare foote: and afterwards calling vpon the helpe of men, he wrote letters to all Christian Princes, both admonishing them of the perill, and perswading them to lay aside all ciuill discordes and contentions, and attend speedily to the defence of religion and their common safetie, which he affirmed would more and more take increase of most grievous daunger, if with the vnitie of mindes, and concordances of forces, they sought not to transerre the warre into the Empire of the *Turkes*; and inuade the enemy in his owne countrey. Vpon this aduise and admonition, was taken the examination and opinion of men of warre, and persons skilfull in the discouerie of countreys, the disposing of prouinces, and of the nature and vsage of the forces and weapons of that kingdome, and thereupon a resolution being set downe to make great leauies of money by voluntarie contributions of Princes, and vniuersall impostes of all people of Christendome, it was thought necessarie that *Cesar* accompanied with the horsemen of *Hungaria* and *Polonia*, nations warlike, and practised in continuall warres against the *Turke*, and also with the footemen of *Germanie*, should saile along *Danubi* into *Bossina*, called aunciently *Misa*, and from thence to *Thracia*; and so to draw neare *Constantinople*; the seate of the Empire of the *Ottomans*: That the French King with all the forces of his kingdome, the *Venetians*, and the other Potentates of *Italie*, accompanied with the infanterie of *Switzerland*, should passe from the port of *Brindisi* in *Albania*, a passage very easie and short, to inuade *Greece*, a countrey full of Christian inhabitants, and for the intollerable yoke of the *Turkes*, most ready to rebell: That the Kings of *Spaine*, of *England*, and *Portugall*, assembling their forces together in *Carragena* and the ports thereabouts, should take their course with two hundred ships full of *Spanish* footemen and other souldiers, to the straite of *Galipoli*, to make roades vp to *Constantinople*, hauing first subdued the Castels and fortes standing vpon the mouth of the straite: and the Pope to take the same course, embarking at *Ancona* with an hundred ships armed. With these preparations, seeming sufficient to couer the land & ouerspread the sea, it was thought that of a warre so full of deuotion and pietie, there could not be but hoped a happie end, specially adding the inuocation of God, and so many seuerall inuasions made at one time against the *Turkes*, who make their principall foundation of defence, to fight in the plaine field. These matters were solicited with no small industrie, & to stop all matter of imputation against the office of the Pope, the minds of Princes were thoroughly sounded, & an vniuersall truce for five yeares betweene all the Princes of Christendome, published in the consistorie, vpon paine of most grievous censure to such as should impugne it. So that the negotiation continuing for all things appertaining to so great an enterprise, he assigned Embassadors to all Princes: to the Emperour he sent the Cardinall *S. Sisto*, to the French king he dispatched the Cardinall of *S. Maria in Portico*, the Cardinall *Giles* to the king of *Spaine*, and the Cardinall *Campium* to the king of *England*: all Cardinals of authoritie, either for their experience in affaires, or for opinion of their doctrine, or for their familiaritie with the Pope. All which things albeir they were begun with great hope and expectation, and the vniuersall truce accepted of all men, and all men with no litle ostentation and brauerie of wordes, made strew of their readinesse with their forces to aduance so good a cause: yet, what with the consideration of the perill esteemed vncertaine and farre off, and extending more to one Prince then to another, & what by the difficulties & long tract of time that appeared, to introduce a zeale & vnion so vniuersall, priuate inter-

restes and respectes particular seemed to preuaile more, then the pietie of the expedition. In so much as the negociation stood not onely naked of all hope and issue, but also it was followed very lightly and as it were by ceremonie, this being one propertie in the nature of men, that those things which in their beginnings appeare fearefull, do dayly take such degrees of diminution, and vanishing, that vnlesse the first feares be reuiued by new accidents, they leade men in processe of time to securitie: which propertie of negligence, both touching the affaires publicke and affection of priuate and particular men, was well confirmed by the death that succeeded not long after to *Selim*, who, hauing by a long maladie suspended the preparations of the warre, was in the end consumed by the passions of his disease, & so passed into other life, leauing so great an Empire to *Solyman* his sonne, young in yeares, and iudged to beare a wit and minde not so disposed to the warres, although afterwarde the effectes declared the contrarie. At this time, appeared betweene the Pope and the French King, a most great and straight coniunction: for, the King gaue to wife to *Lawrence*, his Nephew, the Lady *Magdalene* noblie descended of the bloud and house of *Bologna*, with a yearely reuenue of ten thousand crownes, whereof part was of the Kings gift, and the residue rising of her owne patrimoine. Besides, the King hauing borne to him a sonne, the Pope required that in his Baptisme, he would impose vpon him his name. By which occasion *Lawrence* making preparations to go to marrie his new wife, for his more speede, performed his iourney by post into *Fraunce*, where he was receiued with many amities and much honour of the King, to whom he became very gracious and of deare account, the rather for that besides other generall respectes, he made a dedication of himselfe wholly to the King, with promise to follow in all accidents, his fortune: he brought also to the King a writ or warrant from the Pope, by the which he graunted to him, that till the moneyes collected of the tenthes, and by other meanes of contribution, were expended vpon the holy warre against the *Turkes*, he might dispose it to his owne vses, so farre forth as he would make promise to restore it whēsoever occasiō & necessity would cal him to defray it to that end it was gathered for: his warrant bare also to deliuer to *Lawrence* of the same treasure, fiftie thousand crownes. And whereas the King till that day had dissembled not to execute the Popes promise made to him vnder writing for the restoring of *Modena* & *Reggia* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, notwithstanding the terme of seuen monethes were past, and knowing withall that he could not offer to the Pope a thing more grieuous, then to vrge him to that restitution, he redeliuered into the hands of *Lawrence* the sayd writ of promise, making a greater reckening (as it often hapneth amongst mortall men) of the stronger then of the weaker. About the same time, the *Venetians* by the operation of the French King, prolonged the truce they had with *Cesar* for five yeares, with cōdition to pay for euery one of the five yeares twentie thousand crownes, & to euery one of the exiles that had followed *Cesar*, the fourth part of their goods yearely, being rated at the value of five thousand crownes. It was supposed that *Cesar* would haue bin induced to haue made peace with them, if they would haue gratified him with a greater summe of money.

But this truce was not a litle agreeable to the French King, for that the *Venetians* not standing fully assured, had the greater reason to make deare account of his amitie, and that to *Cesar* was giuen no power, with the money he had of them, to dresse any innouation. In so much as matters on all sides, tending to peace and concord, the differences betweene the French and English were also reconciled. And for the more stabilitie of which agreement, it was confirmed with a contract of parentage and alliance, wherein the King of *England* promised to giue his onely daughter, to whom hauing no sonnes, there was hope of the descending and succession of the kingdome, to the *Dolphin* the eldest sonne of the crowne of *Fraunce*, adding for a portion foure hundred thousand duckats. Both the one and the other bare yet so tender age, that infinite accidents might happen, before perfectiō of yeares would make them able to establish matrimonie. There was made betweene them a league defensue, wherein were comprehended *Cesar* and the King of *Spaine*, in case they would ratifie it a certaine time. The king of *England* bound himself to restore *Tournay*, receiuing presently for defrayments expended vpon that town, two hundred and lx thousand duckats, & three hundred thousand to be defalked of the portion, & to pay three hundred thousand more in the space of twelue yeares. The French king also was bound, that if the peace and the parentage followed not, to render vp againe into the hands of the English, the towne of *Tournay*. Many Embassadors were sent from both the realmes to negociate this league, and

and to receiue the ratifications and oathes, by whom in the Courts of both the Kings the actes of the accord were dispatched with great solemnitie and ceremonie, with a resolution of an enterview of both the Kings betweene *Callice* and *Bolleme*, immediatly after the restitution of *Tournay*. About the same time, the daughter of the French King appointed to be married to the King of *Spaine*, being dead, the former peace and capitulation was estoones reconfirmed betweene them, wherein was promised the mariage of the second daughter of *Fraunce*. Both the Kings celebrated this coniunction with most great demonstrations of perfect amitie: for, the King of *Spaine*, hauing payed in at *Lyons* an hundred thousand duckats, ware publicly the order of *Saint Michael* vpon the day of the celebration of the same; and in recompence of that honour, the French King, vpon the day dedicated to *Saint Andrew*, was honorably attired in the robes and colour of the golden fleece.

Thus the affaires of *Italie* standing in good estate of tranquillitie, there remained onely discontented and in ill disposition, *Iohn Iacques Trinuice*, whom neither his old age reduced almost to the last time, nor his vertue so oftentimes expressed in the seruice of the house of *France*, could any way aide or comfort: for, as in himselfe were bred some occasions, partly by his ambition, which was suspected, and partly through his impatiencie, which the condition of old age might reasonably excuse. So he was crossed by the subtle humours of such as did enuie him, but chiefly and vehemently quarrelled withall in many things by *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, by whose instigatiō, the king was drawne into suspition of him, that not onely his owne person but also the whole familie and house, were too much agreeable to the *Venetians*. Wherein they tooke the consideration of their suspition, not onely for the interest of the faction of the *Guelfes*, and many other actions and traditions of times past to keep him entertained in the grace of the *Venetians*, but also for that *Theodor Trinuice* was become their gouernour, & *Rene* a member of their family, was newly receiued into the pay of that state. By reason of which, after *Galeas Viscount* by the death of *Fr. Bernardin Viscount*, was become chiefe of the *Gebelin* faction, the king indued him with the order of *S. Michael* & allowāce of pension, to the end to oppose him against *Trinuice* with a greater authoritie, hauing withall the ready hād of *Lawtrech* to push on his reputatiō & credit as oftē as occasiōs occurred to do anything to the disaduantage of *Trinuice*. The passage of which things brought no litle diminutiō to the authority of the old *Trinuice*, who, hauing no patiēce to dissemble the wrōgs he knew he had not deserued, made his dayly complaints, and was so much the more hated and suspected. *Lawtrech* with his other aduersaries made this no litle occasion to approch him and accuse him to the King, that he had made himselfe a burgesse inrolled with the *Swissers*, as though he would vse their meane to be supported against the king, and haply aspire to greater things: so apt is enuie to suborne suggestions, & so ready to enforce them dangerously, to the ruine of those against whō she contendeth: and as *Trinuice*, notwithstanding his old age which was now in the estate decrepit, & the infirmities of a body broken which draweth after it dispensation from trauell, was gone into *Fraunce* to iustifie himselfe: so, *Monsieur de Lawtrech* after his departure, restrained vnder reasonable gard by the kings directiō at *Vigenena*, his wife & grandchild borne of the Count of *Musque* his onely sonne deceased, which degree of rigour or hard dealing, was well expressed vpon himself at his coming into *France*, for that much lesse that he was receiued of the king with the same aspect, countenance, & honour that he was wont, seeing of the cōtrariety reproched to his face, his amity & correspondency with the *Swissers*, assuring him that no other thing held him frō punishing him as he had deserued, the consideration of the vniuersall renowne that ran (though not true in many parts) of the merite & seruices he had done to the crowne of *Frāce*: vpon the kings displeasure which commonly worketh many dangerous impressiōs in the minds of men, he renounced and disclaimed all societie & introduction with the *Swissers*: and not many dayes after, following the Court, he fell sicke at *Chartres*, where he gaue vp to the King, his innocencie and complaints, and made to God the last reckening of his aged dayes: he was a man in the iudgement of many, and confirmed by sundry experiences, of singular valour in the discipline of warre, and ranne a race alwayes opposed to the inconstancie of fortune, who according to her mutabilitie, made him feeble the operation of both her humours, sometimes reioycing in her fauour, and earst againe finding her sower and of bitter tast. By his commaundement were written vpon his tombe, these wordes not disagreeable to the condition and course of his life: *I finde the rest within my graue, which in my life I could not haue.*

Jealousie against Iohn Iacques Trinuice.

The death of Iohn Iacques Trinuice.

About this time, *Cæsar* desiring after his death to establish the succession of the *Romaine* Empire in the person of one of his grādchildrē, treated with the Electors to chuse one of them king of *Romains*, a dignitie which draweth with it an immediat succession to the Empire after the Emperours death, without other election or confirmation. And because none can aspire to such election, vntill the Emperour elect haue obtained the crown Imperial, he made instance to the Pope, that by a new exāple, he would accōplish his coronation in *Germanie* by the hands & deputatiō of certaine Cardinals Legates Apostolike for that action. And albeit *Cæsar* had afore wished that that dignitie might be trāsferred to *Ferdinand* his grādchild as a degree to support him, the elder hauing diuolued to him so great a puissance of estates, & albeit he iudged that for the better continuance of his house in fame & honour, & to meete with all ill accidents that run vpon the eldest, it were better that two personages were great then one alone, yet what by the operatiō of many his Courtiers, & by the perpetuall labour of the Cardinal of *Syon*, & lastly by the suborned importunities of such as feared & hated the puissance of *Fraunce*, he reiected the first counsell, & disposed all his meanes to haue the King of *Spaine* elected to that dignitie: wherein he was perswaded, that it would be farre more profitable for the house of *Austrich*, to assemble & draw into one alone, all power & greatnesse, then in canuasing & deuiding it into many parts, to make that familie lesse mightie to obtaine the issue of their purposes: That the foundations of the greatnesse of *Charles* were such & so mightie, that adding the dignitie Imperiall, there was great hope, that he might reduce into one Monarchy all *Italie* & a great part of *Christedom*; an action not only appertaining to the greatnes of his progenie & descendāts, but also agreeable to the tranquillitie of his subiectes, & for the regard of the infidels, most cōformable to the benefite of the cōmō weale of *Christendome*: That it belōged to him in office & equitie, to lay for the augmētation & exaltation of the dignitie Imperiall, which had bin so many yeares inuested in his person & his house of *Austrich*, & which till that day, both by his weakenesse & infirmitie of his predecessors, had bene greater in title & name thē in substāce & effects: that there was no hope of the rising of that dignity, or to reinuest it in his anciēt renowme, but by trāsporting it into the person of *Charles* & annexing it to his power: That seeing the humour of the time presented to him the occasion, wherein also did concur the order of nature & of fortune, it ought to be far from him to stop or hinder the course of so many helpes, to aduance & lift vp the greatnes of his house: That it was seene by examples & traditions of auncient Emperours, that *Cæsar Augustus* & many of his successors, for want of sonnes or other issue of their line, haue searched by meane of adoption for successors very farre remoued from their alliance, yea such as touched them nothing in blood and kindred, wherein they were caried by a naturall ielousie lineally descēding from one to another, that the dignitie which had bin so long resident in their persons, should not be separate or decline to diminution: That the exāple was familiar of the king Catholike, who albeit he loued as his sonne, *Ferdinand*, who had bin alwayes trained vp about him, & neuer seeing *Charles*, but found him in his last age, very disobedient to his cōmaundements: yet without hauing cōpassion of the pouertie of him whom he loued as his sonne, he neuer imparted with him any one of those estates which he held, nor of such as he might dispose by the right and prerogatiue of conquest, but left all to him whom he scarcely knew but as a straunger: That he would remember how the same King would alwayes vrge him to purchase new estates for *Ferdinand*, but to leaue the dignitie Imperiall to *Charles*: & that it was seene that for the augmentatiō of the greatnes of his successor, he had, perhaps with a counsell reproued of many and haply vniust, euested from the kingdome of *Aragon*, his proper house, & consented against the cōmō desire of most men, that the name of his house so noble and renowned, should fall into obscuritie & perdition. Against this instance of *Cæsar*, the French King opposed himselfe with all industrie and meanes possible, taking not a litle displeasure & enuie, that to so many kingdomes & great estates holden by the *Spanish*, there should be added the dignitie Imperiall, which resumng a certaine vigour & strength for so great a puissance, might subdue all others vnder his feare and iurisdiction; he made secret solicitation to all the Electors, to stop the effect of such an ambition: he stood vpon instance to the Pope not to send with an example new and daungerous, the Crowne to *Maximilian*: and he sent Embassadors to the *Venetians*, to induce them to hinder it with the Pope, whom he admonished of the perils that might fall vpon them both by the course of such a greatnesse. But the Electours for the most part were already drawne to the opinion of *Cæsar*, and no lesse assured of the summes of money promised them

The French
aspireth to be
Emperour.

them for that election by the King of *Spaine*, who for that purpose had sent into *Germanie* two hundred thousand duckats. Neither could they in reason, nor haply without daunger of slander in regard of the examples past, denie him such a demaund. Besides, it was not to be beleefed that the Pope (notwithstanding it was discontenting to him) would refuse to agree that *Cesar* should receiue in *Germanie* by the ministrations of Legates Apostolike, the Crowne Imperiall in his name, seeing that to make a voyage to *Rome* to be crowned, albeit it brought greater authoritie to the sea Apostolike, yet in all other regardes, it was a matter rather ceremonious then substantiall. With these impressions and with these accidents, ended the yeare thousand five hundred and eightene: and as the Electours had not resolued and established the deliberation, so it was made both more doubtfull and full of difficulties, by the death of *Cesar* which hapned in the first beginning of the yeare following: he dyed at *Linz* a towne vpon the marches of *Austriche*, where he remained for the delight and pleasure in hunting the wild Boare and other chases of the field. He liued alwayes vnder one condition of fortune, who many times fauoured him in offering him many faire occasions, and as often wrought against him in not suffering him to take the fruite and effect of them. He was by nature inconstant and remouable, and had conceites and impressions very ill disposed and different from the iudgement of other men, ioyned to an excessiue prodigallitie & dissipation of money; matters which cut off from him the effectes and successe of all occasions, being otherwise a Prince most perfect, and instructed in the ordering of warre, secret to lay and dispose a plot, diligent to follow it, of body able and suffering, of minde affable and easie, and replenished with many other excellent gifts and ornaments. As soone as he was dead, the French King and the King of *Spaine*, began manifestly to aspire to the Empire, the purchase whereof albeit was a matter of right great importance, and no lesse the emulation running betweene two so mightie Princes, yet they ordered their ambition with great modestie, neither vsing wordes of iniurie nor threatnes of armes, but either one labouring by his authoritie and by his meanes, to draw on his side the Electours. The French King sundry times reasoned touching the election with great comelinesse with the *Spanish* Embassadors, to whom he sayd it was a matter both agreeable and conuenient, that either of them seuerally should seeke by honest meanes to increafe the honour of his house by so great a dignitie: which for that in times before had bene transferred into the families of their predecessours, there was now the lesse occasion to breed betweene them two, matter of iniurie, or diminution of their amitie and good will: but rather he wished that in the action of the Empire they might follow the example and order of two young louers, who albeit they follow the quest of one Lady, and either one laboureth by his industry to carie her, yet they forbear to come to contention. The king of *Spaine* alluded with good right that the Empire appertained to him, as hauing continued by a long succession of time in the house of *Austriche*, and that it had not bene the custome of the Electours to depriue the issue of the Emperours without manifest cause of their disability; neither was there any in *Germanie* of that puissance and authoritie to make him equall to stand competitor with him in that election. And least of all did he hold it iust or likely, that the Electors would transport to a forreine or straunge Prince, so great a dignitie, continued by so many ages in the nation of *Germanie*. And albeit some particular amongst them, either through the insinuation of money, or other propertie of corruptiō, might be allured to another intentiō, yet he hoped to stop him with force prepared in time conuenient, not doubting also but the other Electours would oppose against him, and the Princes and free townes of *Germanie* would not endure so vniuersall an infamie, specially to suffer it to be layd vpon the person of the French king, which would be no other thing then to make great the puissance of a king enemie to their nation, & from whom there was no suetie that the Imperiall dignitie would euer returne into *Germany*: he thought it would be an action easie to obtaine & reduce to perfection, that which had bin solicited by his grandfather, who had already compounded for recompences & donations, & other diuidents for euery of the Electors. On the other side, the desire of the French king was as great, and no lesse were his hopes, which tooke their principall foundation vpon an opinion he had to corrupt the voices of the Electors with his huge summes of money, especially for that there were amongst the both Pensionaries to him, & otherwise assured by many good offices, who encouraging him with the facilitie of the enterprise, pushed him on to embrace it. And for his part, as mortall men are apt to beleue the thing they desire, so he nourished that hope with reasons rather apparant then the true: he knew

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that commonly it was a matter grievous to the Princes of *Germanie* to haue the Emperours mightie, being iealous, that in so great a puissance, they would not either in part or in all, quarrell the iurisdiccions & authorities Imperiall occupied by many of the. In which reason he perswaded himselfe, that they would in no sort consent to the election of the *Spaniard*, and so of themselves to subiect themselves to an Emperour more mightie then had bene since along descent and race of Emperours: a matter which in his person seemed to be qualified, for that hauing neither states nor auncient alliances in *Germanie*, they had no occasion of suspition of his greatnesse. The same reason also made him beleue well of the conformitie of the free townes, in whom much lesse than the regard of the glorie of the nation would carie it from him, seeing it would helpe to poise the ballance on his side, for that with most men the motions of proper and priuate interest may do more then the respect of publike and generall profite. He knew it was not a little grievous to many noble houses of *Germanie*, pretending to be capable of such a dignitie, to see the Empire continue so long time in one house, but much more did it discontent them to suffer that so great an estate which of right ought sometimes to be giuen to one of them, and sometimes to passe to another, should become a perpetuall descent and succession in one line: in so much as they might call inheritance and succession that election, which durst not leaue the line of the Emperours: that in that sort the Empire was translated from *Albert d' Austrich* to *Federike* his brother, & from *Federike* to *Maximilian* his sonne, and now there was deuice to passe it from *Maximilian* to the person of *Charles* his grandchild. By these humours and indignations of the Princes of *Germany*, he tooke hope that the discordes and iealousies amongst themselves might helpe on his cause, the rather for that it often hapneth in the contentions of men, that he that is excluded, or the partie whom he fauoureth, runneth with a naturall rashnesse rather to call in and aduaunce a third, then to giue place to him that hath opposed against his intention. Moreouer the French King was not without his hopes in the fauour of the Pope, both in regard of the amitie and alliance newly past betweene the, & also for that he was not ignorant how incouenient it would be to the sea Apostolike, to haue the Imperiall Crowne inuested in *Charles*, not so much for his owne greatnesse, as for that by the oportunitie & neighbourhood of the realme of *Naples* to the estate of the Church, and the adherencie of the Barons of the *Gabelins*, he had a plaine and open passage to runne vp to the gates of *Rome*. But in that discourse he considered not that the same reason which he iudged true against *Charles*, was also against himselfe, for that the Empire being ioyned to his person, he was no lesse to be feared of the Pope and all others, then *Charles*, for that though the one of them possessed haply more realmes and states, yet the other was not to be lesse esteemed, hauing his power not dispersed nor separate in many places, but was Prince of a realme entirely assembled and vnited, where the obedience and fidelitie of his subiectes was no lesse wonderful, then his treasure and riches infinite. Neuerthelesse not knowing in himselfe that which he considered in another, he had recourse to the Pope, and implored his fauour vnder the offer and protestation of his person and kingdomes, with all other deuotions of a louing sonne. The matter of this election pressed much the Pope, to whom it was not a litle grievous, both for the suretie of the sea Apostolike, and tranquillitie of *Italie*, that either of those two Kings should be elected Emperour: and as his authoritie with the Electours was not such as he might hope to draw them much to his purpose, so he iudged it necessarie to take a wise course, and to vse industrie in a matter that drew so great consequence. He perswaded himselfe that the French King being abused by some of the Electours, would haue litle part in the election, and that the corruptions in men salable, would not be sufficient to transport the Empire from the *Germanie* nation to the house of *Fraunce*. But he supposed the action would be easie to the King of *Spaine*, both for the conformitie of language and nation, & for the practises and sollicitations begun with *Maximilian*, and for many other regards, yea he thought he might easily leade on his intention, if he objected no impedimēt: a matter which he saw he could not worke in other sort, then to labour the French king to turne vpon the person of one of the selfe Electours the same fauours & distributions of money, which he aduaunced to procure his owne election: but he esteemed it a matter impossible to induce the kings mind to take that course, so long as he stood caried with the vehement humour of vaine hopes. And as he hoped that by how much more earnestly he should embarke himselfe into that practise, by so much more easily should he draw the French King to fauour the election of a third, with no lesse affection then he had sought to aduaunce his own: so he doubted

not that vnder that dealing he might not winne so much with the king as to bring him to receiue and heare his authoritie and counsell, especially hauing insinuated in him a credence certaine to be his friend, and to haue with him the same desire to aduance his election: besides, he thought that in fauoring at the beginning the affaires of the French king, the king of *Spaine* finding difficulty to obtaine his desire, and fearing least the French would winne some aduantage, would in like sort dispose himselfe to elect a third: for which reasons he did not onely signifie to the French king, with what affection he wished he were lifted to the Empire, but he counselled him with many reasons to proceed resolutely in the enterprise, promising him vnder large words, to fauour him with the whole authoritie of the Sea Apostolike: and as he thought he could not in better sort imprint in the kings mind the sinceritie of his intention, then to vse for that purpose an instrument whom the French king would thinke depended more vpon him then of anie other, he gaue present direction to his *Nuncio* in *Germany* called *Robert Vrsin*, Archbishop of *Reggio*, and of great confidence with the king, that both seuerally and ioynedly with the French Agents there, he should make the best labour he could to sollicite the Electors: but he diminished the libertie of this commission by secret aduertisement, that the *Nuncio* should proceed either more or lesse moderately, according as he found in *Germany* the Electors disposed, and the affaires aduanced. These actions discreetly discoursed by the Pope, and no lesse couered with a wonderfull simulation, stood in need, as well for the person of the king as in his Agents in *Germany*, of a greater wisdom and secrecie, and in the Popes ministers a more fidelitie and grauitie.

But whilest these matters tooke their proceedings by practises and by armes, the French king gaue direction to *Peter* of *Nauarre* to go to the sea with a Nauic oftwentie gallies and other vessels fraughted with a thousand souldiers: his commission was to lie to impeach the piracies and inrodes of the *Moores*, who hauing with their foists runne into our seas without impediment, became more harmefull this yeare then at any time before: his commission bare also to inuade the *Moores* of *Affrica*, if the Pope thought it so good: but the principall respect and intention of this expedition was, to take away from the Pope (who was whole for him in the chalenge of the Empire) all occasion not to feare the forces of the King Catholike, who more for feare to be troubled in his owne estates, then for desire to vexe any other, leauied with great preparations an armie by sea, to send it out for the garding of the realme of *Naples*. And yet notwithstanding amid these distrusts and suspicions, both the kings continuing in demonstrations and faire semblances of amitie, there was sent from them seuerally and in particular to *Montpellier*, the great Maister of *Fraunce*, and the Lord of *Cheures*, in the seuerall persons of whom consisted almost all the counsels and intentions of their kings: their negotiation tended partly to confirme the mariage of the second daughter of *Fraunce* with the king of *Spaine*, and partly to resolue the affaires of the kingdom of *Naples*, the restitution of which albeit being promised to the ancient King in the accord made at *Noyon*, though much solicited by the French King, was till that day deferred by the King of *Spaine* with diuerse cunning excuses: but this intercounsell and meeting was dashed, by the accident of death hapning to the great Maister, who was taken away afore they assembled.

In this time died *Laurence de Medicis*, who had languished in a continual sicknesse euer since his returne from *Fraunce*, where he had consummated his mariage with a wretched prediction by the death of his wife, who not manie dayes before, and after her deliuerie of child, was reuoked out of this world, leauing him behind to take warning of his mortall end by her going before to prepare his way. By the death of *Laurence*, the Pope standing desirous to keepe conioyned so long as he liued the power of the *Florentines* with the estate of the Church, would take no counsell of certaine his familiar friends, who aduised him, that since of the line Masculine there remained no more (except himselfe) of the lawfull descendants of *Cosmo de Medicis* the first founder of that greatnesse, he would reinlarge and restore the libertie of his country: but with a counsell singular and particular, he preferred the Cardinall *Medicis* to the administration of that estate, either in an ambitious humour to perpetuate the name of his house, or for a reuenging hatred nourished by his exile against the name of that common weale: and iudging that the Duchy of *Vrbis* for the vniuersall loue which the people bare to their ancient Duke, would hardly be holden vnder the name of the only daughter remaining of *Laurence*, who was comprehended in the inuestiture of her father, he rendered it, together with *Peferia* and *Sinigato*, to the Sea Apostolike, which seeming not sufficient to repress the vehement affection of the peoples, he threw downe to the earth the

Death of *Laurence de Medicis*.

wals of the Citie of *Vrbm* and the other principall places of that Duchie, except *Agobbio*: a Citie which for the ieaiousie it had ouer the Citie of *Vrbm*, bare no great inclination to *Franciscanaria*, he fauored, and restored it to reputation, enduing it with a chiefe iurisdiction and principallie ouer all that Duchie: and to weaken it so much the more, he gaue to the *Florentines* in recompence of the mony expended by him in the war of *Vrbm*, for the which he before had reduced the character Apostolike, as better to the state of *Florēce*, the fortresse of *S. Leo* with all *Mōsfelro* & the parishes of *Sestine* which were alwayes of the demaine of *Sesena*. The *Florentins* were not wel content with this maner of satisfaction, & yet they had no meane to oppose against his authority and will.

Let vs eftsoones returne to the challenge or sute for the Empire, which holding all *Christendome* in suspence, was pursued by both the kings with more ambition then euer. The French king was beguiled more and more vnder the inducements and great promises of the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, one of the Electours, who was allured with no small offers of money, and haply some round summe in prest, for the which he did not onely bind himself with secret capitulations, to giue him his voyce, but also to make for him & on his side his brother the Archbishop of *Magence* one of the three Prelate Electors. The king in like sort promised himselfe much of another part of the Electors, and in case it came to an equalitie of voyces, he hoped not a litle in the voice of the king of *Bohemia*, by the voice of whom the controuersie was to be decided, if the fixe Electors, whereof three be Ecclesiastike and three secular, were discordant. Therefore the French king sent to the Admirall, who was gone before into *Germanie* to solicit the action, a great quantitie of money to be distributed amongst the Electors. And as he vnderstood that many of the free townes, together with the Duke of *Wittemberg* gaue out threats against those that sought to transport the dignitie of the Empire into the person of strangers, for the which they made leaues of men of warre: so he forgot not to collect great prouisions of money and treasure, to the end that both with corruption and armes, he might oppose against such as put the Electors in feare to make choise of him. But great was the inclination of the people of *Germany* to keepe retained the Imperiall maiesty within the compasse of that nation, yea it concurred and ran euen among the communities of the *Swissers*, who for the loue they bare to their common cuntry of *Germany*, besought the Pope, that in the election, he would not beare fauor to any that were not of the naturall language of *Germany*. Neuerthelesse the Pope perseuered to push on the French king, hoping that for those degrees & demonstrations of his affection towards him, he would at least be brought to heare & take counsell of him with greater credit and faith: vnder which counsel followed with other reasons, he labored in the end to perswade the king, that shaking off all hope from him selfe to be elected, he would worke with the same instance and importunitie, to transferre the election to the person of some other of the Princes of *Germany*; a counsell that serued to small purpose, for that the Admirall and *Robert Vrsin*, being cunningly caried ouer with the promises of such, as, to make them selues rich with the money of *France*, sed them with intentions very certaine and pleasing, the one being of a French nature and the kings seruant, and the other bearing a light and vnstayed condition, & desirous to win grace with the king, consumed him daily more and more, with vaine aduertisements increasing his hope to cary the election. With these practises and operations of money and sinister meanes, the Princes, to whom not more by antiquitie of custome or well grounded reason, then through permission and priuilege, or rather dispensation of Pope *Gregory* the fift a *Germanie* of nation, belongeth the power to elect the Emperour of *Rome*, went according to that ancient vsage, to *Francfort* a towne of low *Germany*, where, as they contended vpon many points & differences touching the proceeding to the election in time due, obseruing their ordinances, they were aduertised of an armie put already to the field by the king of *Spaine*, who was more carefull to wage souldiers with money, then to expend his treasure in symonie and corruption vpon the Electors. This armie approaching neare the towne of *Francfort*, vnder title to bridle all such as should offer force to the action of election, brought no small encouragement to those Electors who fauored his cause, reduced to his part those that stood doubtfull, and so astonished the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, who was for the French king, that both despairing of the concurrence of other Electors, and also glad to auoid the hatred and vniuersall infamie of the whole nation, he had no hart to discouer his intencion. So that comming at last to the act of election, *Charles* of *Austrich* king of *Spaine* was elected Emperour the xxviij. of Iune, by the full voyces of these foure Electors, the Archbishop of *Magence*, the Archbishop of *Colleine*, the Count *Palatine*, and the Duke of *Saxony*.

Charles the fift
chosen Empe-
rour.

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the Archbishop of *Trenes* chose the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, who was also concurrant in the election of himselfe: but touching *Charles* it is not to be doubted, that if by equalitie of voyces the election had bene passed over to the gratification of the seuenth Elector, that he had not bene also caused, for that *Lewis* the king of *Bobemia*, who was also king of *Hungary*, had promised his voycel to *Charles*. This election pulled downe maruellously the heart of the French king, and not only abated the reputation of all those that in *Italy* had their expectation and dependancy of him: and on the other side, it raised into courage and stomacke all such as were occupied with hopes and thoughts contrarie, seeing transferred and conioyned so great a power, in the person of one only Prince, whose youth and other apparances made shew of great effectes of ambition in him: besides that there was promised and prophesied vpon him by many predictions, a right great and large Empire, together with many worldly fortunes and felicities: and albeit he was not so rich in treasure and money as was the French king, yet it was noted in him a matter of right great importance, to be able to furnish his armies with footmen of *Swissers*, *Germans*, and *Spaniards*, people for their valour of great glorie and reputation through the world: a matter wherein he had a singular aduantage of the French king, who for that he had not in his kingdome a strength of footmen to oppose against the vertue of these, had no meane to make strong warre, but by drawing with great expences and intollerable difficulties, bands of footmen out of foraine countries; a necessitie which constrained him to entertaine with great charge and diligence the nation of *Swissers*, and to endure of them manie iniuries, and yet he neuer stood fully assured neither of their constancie nor of their fidelitie. Moreouer, it was not to be doubted, but that betweene these two Princes of equall youth and ambition, and hauing indifferent reasons and occasions of ielousie and contention, would in the end arise a great and dangerous warre: for the French king was not without a burning desire to recouer the kingdome of *Naples*, to the which he aspired and pretended iust title: and he tooke greatly to heart the restoring of king *John* to the realme of *Nauarre*, touching the which he now discerned that he had bene fed with vaine hopes. It troubled the Emperour to pay the hundred thousand duckets promised in the accord of *Noyon*, & he interpreted against the king, that in reiecting the accord made before at *Paris*, and vsing immoderately the occasion when he was to passe into *Spaine*, he had almost forced him to make a new accord: besides, the cause of the Duke of *Guelders* was greene & fresh betweene the, a matter of it selfe without any other concurrancy, sufficient to stirre them vp to warre & armes, for that as the French king on the one side had taken him into his protection, so on the other side he was holden by the people of *Flawnders* a seuerer and bitter enemy: but aboue all other quarels the Duchie of *Burgundy* wrought in the mind of the Emperour no small emulation: which Duchy being possessed by *Lewis* the eleuenth, by reason of the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* grandfather by the mothers side to the Emperours father, hath euer since tormented the minds of his successors: lastly, there wanted no matter nor occasions of strife & war for the Duchy of *Millan*, of which the king rainging had not since the death of *Lewis* the twelfth, neither demanded nor obtained the inuestiture: besides, there was pretended to the rights which had bin gotten to him by the inuestiture which had bin made to his predecessor, many challenges & exceptions, aswel touching the inualidity, as the losse of those rights, which was matter sufficient to stirre the vp to quarrell: neuertheless, neither the time running, nor the oportunitie present (which are the guiders of actions) consented as then that they should enter into any innouation: for, besides that the Emperour of necessity was to repasse first into *Germany*, to receiue at *Aix* the crowne of the Empire, according to the custome of those that are elected: yet they were either of them so puissant and mighty, that the difficulty to offend one another kept them restrained from all inuasion vntill they had perfect information of the intention & disposition of other Princes, but specially of the Pope, in case the warre were to begin in *Italy*: his intentions and inclination were so obscured and couered with artificiall and faire semblances, that much lesse that they were knowne to others, seeing haply at some times they held no resolution in himselfe: notwithstanding he had dispensed with *Charles* for the acceptation of the election made in his person, contrary to the tenor of the inuestiture of the realme of *Naples*, wherein (being made according to the ancient forme of inuestitures) he was expressly forbidden such a matter: but whatsoeuer he did in that action, proceeded not so much of good wil, as for that he had no occasiō to refuse it to him, without offending him greatly.

So that the regions of *Italy*, for these reasons, stood in good estate of peace and tranquillitie,

Occasions of contention between the French king and the Emperour.

The Popes en-
terprise vpon
Ferrara.

notwithstanding in the end of the same yeare, the Pope sought to possesse the Citie of *Ferrara*, not with manifest armes, but by secret ambush and device: for albeit it might haue bin beleueed, that for the death of his Nephew *Lawrence de Medicis*, especially for that there wanted in his house rather men then estates, he would haue shaken off all thoughts and ambition to occupie *Ferrara*, to the which he had alwayes aspired before: yet whether he was pushed on by a hatred conceiued against that Duke, or by a desire to make himselfe equall, or at least to come as neare as he could to the glory of *Iulio*, he had not, neither for the death of his brother, nor for the loosing of his nephew, diminished any part of that burning ambition: by which experience it may be easily discerned, that the ambition of Priests taketh of nothing so great nouriture, as of it selfe. But the qualitie of the time and the situation and fortresse of that Citie, which *Alfonso* with great diligence had reduced to good rampiers & fortifications, would not agree, that he should make his enterprize with forces open and discovered, seeing withall he had provided an infinite quantitie of faire artilleries and munitions, and improving to the vttermost his reuenues, and limiting all his expences, imposing new taxations and tributes, and lastly expressing in all things the minde of a marchant more then of a Prince, it was beleueed he had gathered together a huge masse of money and treasure: in so much, that if the conditions of the time chaunged not, there remained to the Pope no other hope to carie it, then by the way of secret conspiracie and practise: whereof as he had in vaine made experience in times past with *Nicholas d'Este* and many others: and *Alfonso* for that he knew not that he followed any more those practises, held himselfe almost assured, not of his will, but of his conspiracies and ambushes. So it seemed to the Pope, for the meanes that were offered to him, and for that *Alfonso* by the oppression of a long maladie was reduced to those desperate termes, that there was almost no hope of his recouerie, and withall for that his brother the Cardinall, because he would not remaine in the Court of *Rome* with disgrace, was gone into *Hungarie*, that the time consented to execute some plot layd and preferred by some exiles of *Ferrara*, and by their working, by *Alexander Fregoso* Bishop of *Vintemille*, who was then at *Bologna*, for that aspiring to be Duke as his father the Cardinall had bene, he was suspected of *Ottavian Fregoso*. The same Bishop hauing had ill speede in the traffikes and practises which he managed to bring him againe into his owne countrey, promised to himselfe a better course, and more happy successe in the drifts which he should driue for another in a strange countrey: so that after he had secretly receiued of the Pope ten thousand duckats, he leauied vnder colour to reenter *Genes* by force, a power of two thousand footemen partly in the countreys of *Rome*, and partly within the iurisdiction of *Lunigiane*. By the brute and rumour of which mustering, *Ottavian Fregoso* fearing to be surprised by him, made himselfe strong both by sea and land. But the Bishop making as though by the disclosing of his driftes, he were fallen from all hope to be able at that time to alter the estate of *Genes*, gaue aduertisement to *Federike de Bossolo*, with whose ayde the towne of *Concorda* was chiefly maintained against Count *Iohn Francis* of *Mirandola*, that he might vse the seruice of his forces vntill the expiration of their pay, which yet continued almost a moneth: and after he had passed the *Appennin*, he descended into the countrey of *Corregio*, taking the way by slow marchings to *Concorda*. The foundation of this treatise or solicitation was to passe the riuer of *Paw*, for which effect certaine seruants of *Albert Carpi* consenting to the expedition, had vnder colour to be marchaunts of corne, hyred many barkes ryding at the mouth of the riuer of *Secchio*, and passing in them the riuer of *Paw*, the Bishop layd his pretence to approach vpon the sudden neare to *Ferrara*, where for that he had bene not many monethes before, he had carefully surueyed one part of the towne vpon the riuer side, where fortie fadomes of the wall were downe to the earth, which was a breach sufficient enough to enter. This breach or ruine of wall, for that it was but lately fallen, was not reenforced & made vp againe so speedily as appertained, both for that the neighbourhood of the riuer & the priuation of feare, had nourished securitie & negligence in such as ought to haue provided & repaired such disorders. But whē the rumor ran through the countrey, that the Bishop of *Vintemille* was passed the *Appennin* with his souldiers, the Marquis of *Mantua*, though for no particular suspition; yet following his auncient custome to take away all meanes from forreine bandes to passe the riuers, retired to *Mantua* all the barkes that lay in the mouth of *Secchio*. By which accident the Bishop lost the oportunitie and seruice of those barkes which were hyred, and lesse meane to recouer other so soone as the necessitie of the expedition required, for that the

the officers for the Church that were nearest that place, were not made priue to the practise, or at least if they had any inkling, they were without Commission to deale in it. In so much that whilst he searcheth with the Agents of *Albert* some remedie, and reposes his people about the confines of *Corregia*, where, by indiscretion he discloseth to some the particularities of his purpose, the Marquis of *Mantua* sendeth one of his men to impart the intention and discourse of the enterprize to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who doubted so litle of any such matter, that he was hardly induced to beleue it. Neuerthelesse looking with better eyes into the estate of his daunger, that part of the wall that was ruinate mouing him more then any other thing, he began to wage men of warre: and making as though he had no suspicion of the Pope, he aduertised him of the ambushes dressed against him by the Bishop of *Vintemille*, beseeching him to giue direction to the gouernours thereabouts to minister succours to him if neede required; a request which was readily graunted and executed by the Pope by writs and letters in his fauour, notwithstanding he dispatcheth secretly at the same time commissions to the contrary. The rumour that ranne of the preparations which were made at *Ferrara*, ioyned to the difficulties to passe the riuer of *Paw*, tooke from the Bishop all hope to accomplish his enterprize; by reason whereof he drew with his armie towards *Concorda*: and whilst he treated with those that were within (who were already entred into suspicion against him) to inuade *Mirandola*, he presented himselfe suddenly in the night before the wals of *Concorda*, and gaue the assault, to the end to induce a perswasion that he was come into those places not to go to *Ferrara*, but to impatronise himselfe vpon *Concorda*. But this assault as it was in vayne, so the residue of the expedition drew with it a light effect, for that afterwarde he dismissed the most part of his souldiers: he left many men in opinion, and euen *Alfonso* himselfe, that if he meane to passe the riuer of *Paw* had not bene taken from him, the breach or ruine of the wall that was reuerfed, had ministered to him a great commoditie to take *Ferrara*, wherein was not one band nor regiment of men of warre, the Duke extreemely diseased, and the vniuersall people in such discontentment of him, that in an accident so sudden and vnprouided, there were few that would haue fought their remedie by armes, or offered their bodies to be opposed against such a daunger.

Now followeth the yeare a thousand five hundred and wentie, wherein the peace of *Italie*, 1520. for the same reasons and occasions by the which it had bene preserued the yeare before; tooke continuation and held good. But new doctrines began to spread and increafe, first against the authoritie of the Church of *Rome*, and afterwarde against the course of Christian religion. This doctrine tooke beginning in *Germanie* in the countrey of *Saxonie*, by the preachings of *Martin Luther*, sometimes of the order of *Saint Augustine*, who renewed at the first for the most part, the auncient errors of the *Bohemians*, which being reprobued by the vniuersall Councell of the Church holden at *Constance*, by whose authoritie were burned *Iohn Hus* and *Ierome* of *Prage*, two heads of those heresies, had lyen of long time contained within the limittes of *Bohemia*. The cause that newly stirred vp these opinions in *Germanie*, was a contempt of the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, which Pope *Leo* abused too licentiouly: he following too much the counsell of *Lawrence Puccio* Cardinall of the title of foure Saints, touching the administration of graces which the Court of *Rome* distributeth vpon things spirituall & beneficiall, had dispersed throughout the world without distinction of times or places, most ample indulgences, whereunto he had ioyned a power to helpe not onely those that were yet in this life, but also to deliuer the soules of the dead out of the paines of Purgatorie. And because it was manifestly knowen that those indulgences were graunted onely to draw money from men, and the same impudently demaunded by the Commissaries deputed for that exaction, who had bought of the Popes officers power to exercise and distribute by sale the sayd indulgences, they had bred in many places a great indignation and many slaunders, and especially in *Germanie*, where were detected many of his ministers selling for a small price, or set vpon a game at tables in a Tauerne, the power to redeeme the soules of dead men out of Purgatorie. This indignation tooke also increasing by another degree of abuse in the Pope, who for the facilitie of his nature managing in many things the office of Pope with very litle maiestie, made donation to his sister *Magdalene*, of the profite and exaction of the indulgences in many quarters of *Germanie*, and she assigned her Commissarie Bishop *Arembould*, a minister worthy such a commission, which he executed with no litle auarice and extortion. And for as much as it was knowne notoriously through all *Germanie*,

that the money that was drawn by these indulgences, were not payed ouer to the Pope nor the Apostolike Chamber, who haply might haue expended some part of it in good vses, but was transferred indirectly to satisfie the infinite couetousnesse of a frayle woman, not onely the action became detestable and the officers of the same, but also the name and authoritie of him who with so litle discretion graunted it. Vnder this occasion *Luther* entred into his conuerſion, & began not onely to contemne those indulgences, but also in them to taxe and reprehend the authoritie of the Pope; and drawing to him euery day great numbers of auditors, who ranne to heare a matter so well receiued of the eares of the people, he began to denie and quarrell more openly the authoritie of the Pope.

Of these beginnings haply honest of themselves, or at least excusable in the greatest part, he nourished his occasion and auowed it to be iust: and being further caried with ambition and popular inclination ioyned to the speciall fauour of the Duke of *Saxon*, he went on not onely to taxe the power of the Popes and the authoritie of the Church of *Rome*, but also standing still vpon the errours of the *Bohemians*, he began with time to batter the Images of Churches, to depriue places Ecclesiastlike of their goods, and to permit mariages to Monkes and Nunnes professed, confirming his opinion not onely with authoritie and with arguments, but also with the example of himselfe. He denied that the power of the Pope was extended out of the Bishopricke of *Rome*; & maintained that euery other Bishop had as much authoritie and power in his particular Diocesse, as the Pope had within the Bishopricke of *Rome*. He reiected all matters determined in Councils, all traditions written by those that are called Doctours of the Church, and all Cannons and decrees of Popes, and reduced himselfe onely to the old Testament, to the booke of the Gospels, to the Actes of the Apostles, to all that is comprehended vnder the name of the new Testament, and to the Epistles of *S. Paul*: onely he gaue to all these a new sence and interpretation doubtful, such as neuer had bene heard of before. But the follie of *Luther* and his adherents stayed not onely there, but being in effect followed of all *Germanie*, & running dayly into errors more detestable and dangerous, he came at last to deale with the Sacraments of the Church, & to despise fastings, penances, & confessions, yea some of his followers (such as some way differed from his opinion) spake matter of blasphemie against the *Eucharist*. All which things being originally reprobued by the authoritie of Councils and holy Doctours; haue giuen an entry to all new and peruerſe inuentions and interpretations, and going on encreasing and amplifying in many places out of the bounds of *Germanie*, for that they containe such propertie of doctrine, that deliuering men from many commaundements established for their safetie by the generall Councils of the Church, by the decrees of Popes, by the authoritie of Cannons, and by the sound interpretations of holy Doctours, they bring men backe to a maner of life more full of libertie, yea euen according to their own fancies & lust. The Pope laboured in the beginning to quench this pestiferous doctrine, & yet he forbore to vse remedies & medicines proper & couenient to cure so great a maladie: for he cited to *Rome Martin Luther*, he forbad him to preach, and afterwarde for his disobedience, he imposed vpon him the censures of the Church: but he abstained not from the action of many things of ill example, and such as being reasonably reprobued and blamed by *Luther*, became very intollerable to all men: for proceeding against him in his intemperancie, with armes spirituall and Ecclesiastlike, much lesse that he did diminish, but did augment in the mindes of the people, the reputation of *Martin*, as though those persecutions had taken their beginning of the innocencie of his life and of his sound doctrine, rather then vpon any other occasion. The Pope sent into *Germany* many religious men to preach against him, and countenanced them with many letters and writs of censure to Princes and Prelates: but neither that course nor any other meanes which he vsed to repress him, serued to nothing, by reason of the vniuersall inclination of the people, and the speciall protection and fauour of the Duke of *Saxon* being within his iurisdiction. In so much as the cause of *Luther* began to seeme euery day in the Court of *Rome* to carry greater importance, & to augment a feare amongst them, that there grew not but some great damage touching the greatnesse of Popes, the profits of the Court of *Rome*, & the vnion of Christian religion: for which occasion in that yeare were summoned many consistories at *Rome*, and many consultations assembled in the chamber of the Pope; and many disputations amongst the Cardinals and diuines specially deputed, to deuise a remedie for such an euill, which tooke increasing dayly. And albeit there were some amongst them in this solemnne Councell, that sayled not to reduce

reduce to the Popes memorie, that the persecutions which had bin executed against *Luther*, since they were not accompanied with a correctiō of things dānable in theselues, had increased his reputation & good will with the people, and that it had bene a lesse euill to dissemble the knowledge of such a matter, which perhaps would haue dissolued of it selfe, then by blowing at the brand, to make the fire burne more, and cast a greater flame: yet (such is the nature of mortall men to proceede with remedies fierce and violent) the persecutions were not onely redoubled against him and his followers, commonly called *Lutherans*, but also a wonderfull writ of threatening monition, thundered out against the Duke of *Saxon*, by the which being so much the more incensed and kindled, he became with a greater affection the protectour of his cause: which, for the space of many yeares went multiplying so farre, that there was great danger least the residue of *Christedome* were not infected with the contagion. But there is nothing that so much hath restrained his course as the knowledge that men tooke that the followers of his doctrine, did no lesse impugne the imperie & power of Princes temporall, then were most enemies to the authority of the Popes of *Rome*; a reason which hath moued manie Princes for their proper interests, to labour with studie and seuerity to keepe out of their realmes and principalities that contagion: And of the contrary, albeit those errors haue bene many times at the point to confound and fall, both for the immoderate intemperancie of their heads and chieftaines, and for the diuersity and contrariety of opinions amongst their disciples, yet there is no one thing that so much hath entertained and continued the obstination of them, as the licentious libertie which the people haue gotten in their maner of liuing, together with the couetousnesse of great men, who would not suffer the deprivation of those portions of goods which they occupied of the Churches.

There hapned nothing this yeare worthy of memory, sauing that *John Paule Baillon*, and *Gentill* one of the same familie, being at *Perousa*, fell at quarrell betweene themselves, for that *John Paule* being not content that he had the greatest part & authority in the gouernment, sought to subiect the whole, in which ambition he chased *Gentill* out of *Perousa*: for which violence the Pope being not a litle grieved, cited him to appeare personally at *Rome*, but fearing some daunger to his person, he forbore to go thither, but sent *Malatesta* his sonne with his iustifications, & to protest his ready obedience to the Pope and all his commandements. Neuertheless the Pope insisting still vpon his personall appearance, after the passion of many doubts and perplexities, he was resolved at last to go to *Rome*, being caried partly with confidence in his ancient merits and seruices done in all times to his house, and partly ouer-ruled by the perswasions of *Camilla Vrsin* his sonne in law with other his friends, who both extended their authority and applyed all other meanes they could to the Pope for his safetie: of whom they obtained promise vnder his fidelity and expresse assurance (though not set downe in writing, but pronounced with the Popes mouth with great arte) vnder confidence whereof he willed them to encourage him to appeare, which they accomplished vnder warrant of assurance from them that he might do it in safety. But when he was come to *Rome*, he found the Pope vnder colour of his recreation according to his custome, gone a few dayes before to the Castle *S. Angelo*, whither *John Paule* going the morning following to present himselfe to him, he was before he came there, made prisoner by the Captaine of the Castle: afterwards he was rigorously examined by Iudges assigned, to whom in his misery he confessed, that he had committed many grieuous faults, as well for the conseruation of yrannie, as to continue his disordered pleasures, and to obserue his other interest particular: for he which, after he had bene prisoner more then two moneths, he was beheaded according to the ordinance and sentence of the law: it was beleeued that the Pope was induced to this punishment, for that he discerned in the warre of *Vrbis* by many signes, that *John Paule* bare a mind estranged from him, that he had entertained conspiracies with *Franciscomaria*, and that he could not in all accidents assure himselfe of him, and consequently so long as he was at *Perousa*, he could make no foundation of that estate. The children of *John Paule* as soone as they heard of the estraining of their father, fled from the malice of the Pope, who to readdress the gouernment of *Perousa* according to his fancy, gaue that legation to *Syluis* Cardinall of *Cortono*, his seruant, and of his ancient bringing vp: he restored *Gentill* into *Perousa*, to whom he gaue the goods which *John Paule* had possessed, and so resting vpon a foundation and subiect verie weake, he conuerted into him all greatnesse and reputation. In like sort this yeare, the Pope, who attributed more to fortune or want of discretion then to any other operation, the losse and miscarrying of

The Pope excuseth *John Paule Baillon*.

the Bishop of *Vintimille*, beganne to enforce new ambushes against the Duke of *Ferrara*, by the meane and working of *Hubert Gambaro* the Apostolike pronotarie: to him one *Rodolph* Capitaine of certaine bands of Launceknights which *Alphonso* held for his garde, had promised to put into his hands at his pleasure, the entrie of the gate of the castle *Tualto*, whither the souldiers that were to be sent from *Bologna* and *Modena*, hauing no meane to come without passing the riuer of *Paw*, but by the wooden bridge which is before that gate, direction was giuen to *Guido Rangon* and the Gouvernour of *Modena* to assemble a certaine crue of souldiers vnder some other colour, and to go make a surprise of that gate, and to defend it vntill were assuied the others that were to come from *Bologna* and *Modena*: but the day to execute the enterprise was no sooner determined vpon, then it was discouered that *Rodolph*, to whom by the Popes ordinance were giuen about two thousand duckets by *Hubert Gambaro*, had frō the beginning communicated all the conspiracie to *Alfonso*, who, after he was well informed and assured of the Popes intention and his purposes, stopped the further course and passage of things, and reuealed to all men the deceit of *Rodolph*.

The Emperour
in England.

In this yeare the Emperour passed by sea out of *Spaine* into *Flaunders*, and making his courte by the shoares of *England*, he descended and took land there, not by necessity, as his father did, but voluntarily to haue conference with the king of *England*, with whom he found good agreement: from *Flaunders* he went into *Germany*, where he receiued in the moneth of October at *Aix*, being a citie of fame and renouine for the ancient residencie and sepulcher of *Charlemaine*, the first Crowne, which is as men say, the selfe same Crowne with the which *Charlemaine* was celebrated: it was deliuered to him according to old obseruation, by the authority of the Princes of *Germany*: but that felicity was troubled with new accidents hapning in *Spaine*, which grew vpon this occasion: The populars and vniuersall multitudes of that kingdome, were not a litle agrieved with his promotion to the Empire, as knowing that to the great incommodity and harme of them all, he should for sundry occasions be constrained to spend the most part of his time out of *Spaine*: but the principall cause of that discontentment and stirre, was the generall hatred they had conceiued against the couetousnesse of such as gouerned him, especially against *Al. de Cheneu*, who expressing desires insatiable, had raked together by many means a great masse of treasure: by whose example the other *Flemmings* were caried by humours couetous, to selling for ready money to strangers those offices and magistracies, which were wont to be bestowed vpon *Spaniards*, and made vendible all other graces, priuiledges, fauors & expeditions of Court: insomuch as al mens minds being inflamed against the name of the *Flemmings*; the people of the vale of *Osje* began to draw into rebellion, at such time as the Emperour departed: and immediatly after he was gone out of *Spaine*, all the peoples of any prouince whatsoever gathered into commotion, not against their king as they protested, but to suppress the couetousnesse of his wicked gouernours: and after they had communicated together their counsels, they would no more obey the kings officers, but of themselves set downe a forme of gouernement, dressed by the vniuersal counsell of the multitude, which they called *La santa Giunta*: such is the name they giue to the vniuersal counsell of the popular sort. The Captaines and kings officers tooke armes against them, and so things being reduced to a manifest warre, the disorders increased by so many degrees, that the Emperour held amongst them a verie small authority: the same being the cause that aswell in *Italy* as out of *Italy*, the hope of those increased, who desired the diminution of such a greatnesse. Neuerthelesse as his armie by sea had won vpon the *Moors* the Ile of *Gerbes*; so in *Germany* the reputation of the French king had bene somewhat embased: for, the king, to nourish the troubles of *Germany*, fauored in that Prouince the Duke of *Wuttemberg*, who was disagreeing frō the league of *Suanbe*, which thing, his peoples finding and feeling to their damage and harme, they chased him by force out of his estate, and after they had wonne his liuing vpon him, they sold it to the Emperour whom they knew to be desirous to pull downe the factioners of the French king: the Emperour bound himselfe to defend them in all oppressions whatsoever, insomuch as the Duke seeing himselfe reduced to hope in the succors of the French, was constrained to haue his recourse to the clemency of the Emperour, and to receiue of him such lawes as was his pleasure to assigne, not being for all that restored to the possession of his Dukedome.

Commotions in
Spaine.

Towards the end of this yeare, a regiment of three thousand Spanish footmen hauing no minds to returne into *Spaine*, according to a commaundement which they receiued of the Emperour, and

and little esteeming the authority of their Captaines, passed to *Reggia* in *Calabria*: & fro thence, committing many insolencies as they past, they drew towards the territories of the Church: a matter which put the Pope (in whose mind was fixed the memorie of the accidents of *Vrbini*) in great feare: first being either stirred vp by other Princes, or ioyning themselues with *Franscomaria*, or with the sonnes of *Iohn Paule Baillon*, or some other enemies of the Church, they were the cause of some great emotion. This feare was made greater in the Pope, for that the souldiers refused the offers made to them by him and the *Viceroy* of *Naples* to entertaine part of them in pay, & to distribute money to the residue: but these offers raised the so much the more into courage, & made the to march towards the riuer of *Tronto*, not keeping the straight way of *Capinai*, but spreading ouer the large way of *Powilla*: the resort of other souldiers ioyning with them dayly, together with certaine companies of horsemen increased more & more the humor of this feare. In men timorous feare is a ready impressiō, and for the time carieth the mind in contemplations of peril & daunger: neuertheless, this emotion tooke end both with more expedition & more facility then was expected, since as soone as they had passed *Tronto* to enter into the marke of *Ancona*, whither the Pope had sent strength of souldiers; & incamping before *Ripatransono*, they were compelled to retire for the great losse of men they had sustained in a fierce assault they gaue to the souldiers within *Ripatransono*: an accident so preiudiciall to their valour and reputation, that they accepted willingly of the Emperours officers conditions of farre lesser qualitie then such as they had reiect before.

The end of the thirteenth Booke.



THE FOVRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGVMENT.

Pope Leo is the cause that the peace continueth not in Italy. He ioyneth in league with the Emperor against the French king. The French king looseth the Duchie of Millan. Pope Leo dieth. Adrian the sixt is created Pope. Francis Sforce reentresth vpon the Duchy of Millan. Warre is made in Tuscanie by Ransse de Cere.



Bout the beginning of the years 1521 was reappeared that former little stirre, touching the which mens minds suffered more feare by a fresh recordination and memorie of those bands of Spanishe footmen that inuaded the state of *Vrbini*, the for any other cause bearing either reason, likelihood or probabilitie of terrour: but as one warre draweth on another, like to diseases, that redouble in bodies ill disposed, so, not many moneths after, *Italy* began estsoones to be vexed with warres of greater peril, of longer continuance, & of more importance then were all the other quarrels that had passed afore: wherein the ambition of two most mighty kings, puffed vp with mutuall jealousies, hatreds, and deepe suspitions, drew them on to make exercise of all their power and forces in the parts and bowels of *Italy*, which hauing scarcely breathed three yeares in peace (and yet alwayes full of doubt and suspition) it seemed that in the powers of heauen, destinie and fortune, was laid vp either a manifest enuie of their tranquillitie, or else a superstitious feare that vnder the benefit of rest & concord, those regions would estsoones returne to their ancient felicitie & greatness. Such personages were the beginners of these new emotions, as albeit they had farre more interest then all others to procure the preferuatiō of the peace, yet generally & seuerally they troubled it more then any others, and by their industrie and authority, sought to kindle the fire, which

1521.

they ought to haue quenched with their proper blood, if other remedies had not sufficed. For, notwithstanding the hard moods and inclinations betweene *Cesar* and the French king grew increasing continually, yet there was no cause at all to push them on so fast to make present waire, neither did the one so farre exceed the other in *Italy*, either with force or friends, or any other property of aide; that they were able to offend one another without the fauours, oportunities, and means of the *Italian* Princes: for that as the French king had no reason to feare any vexation of *Cesar*, neither touching the kingdome of *Naples*, nor for any quarell of *Germany*, both hauing the *Venetians* conioyned with him for the defence of *Millan*, and in the *Swissers* remaining no more readinesse to make warres in their owne names, but stood onely disposed to serue as souldiers to whosoever would minister pay to them: so also he had no meane to offend *Cesar* in the realme of *Naples*, vnlesse the Pope were concurrant with him in the action, who stood solicited by them both by many offers and meanes to be their friend: insomuch as it was beleued, that if the Pope continuing indifferent betweene them, were carefull to temper and raunge with his high authority, and fidelity of a newter, their disdaines and quarrels, and to cut off and stop the passage of their troublesome counsels, the peace would easily be preferued without violation: and there was not discerned any apparant cause why he should seeke to incense the warre; both for that he had with ill speed broken out into armes before, and withall, considering the greatnesse of those two Princes; it stood him vpon to keepe an indifferent feare of the victory of either of them, since it was euidently seene into, that whether of them soeuer preuailed in that warre, could not be stayed fro subiecting to his obedience all the regions of *Italy*. The Pope possessed in peace and great obedience the large estate of the Church, and *Rome*; and his whole Court flourished wonderfully vnder him in plentifull happinesse and felicitie: he had full authority ouer the state of *Florence*, which in those times was a state mightie in people, pollicie, and riches: he was naturally inclined to ease and pleasures, and therefore made it an offence to his liberty & greatnesse, to heare speake of suits and affaires: his custome was to consume the day in hearing of Musicke, in seeing stage-playes, and trifling with scoffers and iesters; so that being more effeminate then was either conuenient or comely, it seemed he should be altogether estranged from the warre. Besides as he was full of gracious liberalities and magnificencie, such as might be feared wonderfull, though he had disceded by long succession from great kings, so he had not only by his incredible prodigalities and distributions without discretion or distinction consumed the treasures gathered by *Iulio*, but also hauing exacted an infinit quantity of mony of the expeditions of the Court, & many new sorts of offices inuented to raise gaine, he had wasted all so excessiuely, that he was still constrained to studie meanes and deuises to entertaine those immoderate expences which grew, increasing with the vanity of his disposition: he had no deuotion to make great any of his house or kindred: & though he was possessed with a vehement desire to recouer *Parma* & *Plaisance*, & no lesse ambition to reduce to him the estate of *Ferrara*, yet he thought them not causes sufficient to remoue him from his pleasures, nor to reuerse the peaceable condition of things, but in his delights & security he held it better to temporize & expect oportunities and occasions: But
 “ right trulie is it spoken, that there is no greater enemy to great men, then too great prosperity, for
 “ that it takes from them all rule of themselves, it makes them full of liberty, it giues them boldnesse
 “ to do euill, & it breedes in them a desire & aptnesse to trouble their proper weale and benefite by
 “ innouations and new things.

Pope Leo is the
cause of the
war in Italy.

Leo being thus lifted to so high estate, suffered to be bred in him many considerations: sometimes he saw what infamy it brought to him to loose *Parma* & *Plaisance* gotten by *Iulio* with so great glory, and to that mood was ioyned his burning desire to aduance the action of *Ferrara*: sometimes he seemed to see that if he dyed without doing something of importance, the memory of his Pontificacy would remaine dishonoured: sometimes he feared least those two kings (they both being excluded out of hope to haue him on their side, and therefore lesse able to offend one another) would grow at last to contract betweene themselves some league preiudiciall tending to the ruine of the Church & the residue of *Italy*: sometimes he hoped (as I haue heard the Cardinall de *Medicis* say, who knew all his secrets) that the Frenchmen being chased out of *Genet* & *Millan*, he might the more easily expulse *Cesar* out of the kingdome of *Naples*, & so appropriate to himself the glory of the liberty of *Italy*, to the which his predecessor had so manifestly aspired: an enterprize which by how much lesse he thought he was able to accomplish by his proper forces,

forces, by so much more did he hope, by appeasing somewhat the mind of the French king, either by the election of some Cardinall whom he would preferre, or by his readinesse to gratifie him in some other matters, to draw him to giue him succors against *Cesar*, as though it were a satisfacti- on to the king to see that as much was done to *Cesar* as to him. These were his conceptions, such were the discourses of his mind, and in these variations did he fashion the image of things: but which sooner of these causes moued him, whether one, or more, or all together, he took vnto him new impressions, & turned all his thoughts to the war, & to ioyne himselfe with one of these two Princes, to the end that being allied with the one, he might moue war in *Italy* against the other: & for a declaration of his readinesse to the matter, as also not to be oppressed in the meane while by either of them; whilst he negociated with them both, but more straitly and particularly with the French king: he sent into *Swisserland* *Anth. Puccio* Bishop of *Pistoie*, and afterwards Cardinall, to leaue and leade to the seruice of the Church sixe thousand *Swissers*: an armie which being deliuered to him without difficulty by the Cantons, vnder the fauour of the confederation, which since the warre of *Urbino* he had renewed with them, and hauing likewise got liberty of passage through the estate of *Millan*, was conducted vpon the lands and dominions of the Church, where he entertained them manie moneths, as well in *Romagnia*, as in *la Marqua*. Many were vncertaine to what ends he made so great & chargeable a leaue of men, & not to imploy the, seeing there was no stirre or alteration in *Italy*: & albeit he assured the regions & Potentacies of the same that he had armed them for his proper surety, for that he knew well that the rebels of the Church conspired some violent action against him: yet, the murmure of the people being not satisfied, for that his reasons bare smal resemblace with truth, men discoursed seuerally vpon it according to their feuerall fancies: some supposed that he called in those forces for feare of the French king, others beleued that he would imploy them against *Ferrara*, & some thought that he would turne the against *Cesar* to chase him out of the kingdome of *Naples*. But the practise that was secret betweene him and the French king, was, that they should with their ioynt forces invade the kingdome of *Naples*, vnder this condition, that *Caietta* and all that stood betweene the riuer of *Garillan*, and the confines of the Ecclesiastike state, should be for the Church, and the residue of the realme to reuert to the second sonne of *France*, who, vntill he came to the age of maiorty should be gouerned together with the kingdome by a Legate Apostolicall, that should lie resident at *Naples*. Moreouer, it was an article in the capitulation, that the king should aid him against the subiects and freeholders of the Sea Apostolicke, which was a condition affixed for the better assuring of that which the Church held already, and no lesse tending to the desire which the Pope had to get *Ferrara*.

In these times, and in verie good season for those practises, the French king no lesse taking the occasiō of the tumults of *Spaine*, the obseruing the perswasions of the Pope (which he afterwards assured by complaints) sent out an army into the kingdome of *Nauarre* vnder *M. d'Asperot* brother to *Lamirech*, to range that kingdome and reduce it to his ancient king, requiring at the same instant *Robert de la Marche* and the Duke of *Guelders*, to breake out & vex the confines of *Flaunders*. The seditions of *Spaine* were the cause that *M. d'Asperot* made an easie conquest of the kingdome of *Nauarre*, both being destitute of succours, and also not without a great memorie and deuotion to their originall and ancient king: for, after he had forced with his artilleries the castle of *Pampeluna*, he entred the frontiers of the kingdome of *Catelogna*, and tooke *Fontarabie*, turning vp euen to *Logroña*: of this enterprise it hapned, as oftentimes cometh to passe by the French, in humaine things, that that which men thought would haue brought preiudice & harme to *Cesar*, turned greatly to his seruice and benefit: for the matters of *Spaine* being trauelled till that time with diuerse aduentures & fortunes, were now reduced into verie great perplexities & troubles, for that on the one side, the multitude and popular fort were banded together, and on the other side many Nobles & Barons had taken armes for the seruice of *Cesar*: they, for the interest of their estates, feared the popular libertie, being now come to a manifest rebellion, and the rather to haue it gouerned by a head of authority, they had drawne out of the castle of *Sciatina* the Duke of *Calabria*, whose fidelity made him refuse to come out of prison, because he would not beare armes against *Cesar*: but such is the affection & conscience of men towards their naturall country, & such the perpetuall custome of country-men when they see inuasions made by forraigne forces, that ciuill quarrels cannot take from them the feeling of common and forraigne dangers: for when

the *Spaniards* saw the armies of *Fraunce* make slaughter and hostility vpon their countrey, notwithstanding they had suffered the losse of the realme of *Nauarre*, being a member of their dominions, by the vniing which the king Catholike made, they felt themselves so touched in conscience and affection, that partly for those regards, and partly for a happie encounter which the armie of *Cesar* had made, they became men conuerted and returned to the obedience of their king, leauing suppressed and forgotten, their domesticall hatreds and contentions.

After this easie conquest of the realme of *Nauarre*, there hapned to the king a farre greater successe if he could haue vsed the occasion: for, as both he and *Cesar* had their Embassadors with the *Swissers*, soliciting seuerally that nation to stand with them, so the Cantons did not onely refuse (contrarie to the opinion of many, and against the hope that was giuen) the friendship & offers of *Cesar*, but also embraced the alliance of the French king, binding themselves to furnish for his seruice so many footmen as he would, and for what enterprize it pleased him, and not to suffer anie leaues of souldiers for anie other against him. There rested the execution of the capitulation made at *Rome* betweene the Pope and the king, who, when he was required to ratifie it, began to temporize and dwell in suspence, being aduertised by many, that there was no expectation of suretie in the Pope, in whom was no opinion of fidelity and confidence, & who, since he was possessed of the dignity and place of Pope, had alwayes made declaration of small friendship towards the French: that it was to be feared that his doings were intangled with suttletie and deceit, since there was no congruency of reason that the Pope should desire the diuoluing of the realme of *Naples* into his power, or to the inheritance of his son, for that by how much more iurisdiction the French should haue in the kingdome of *Naples* and the Duchy of *Millan*, by so much lesse would be the surety of the Pope amid a power so mighty and redoubted: that so great a shew of amitie breaking out vpon such a sodaine, could not be without mysterie: that the tokens of deceit that appeared, warned him to take heed, that vnder the practise to conquer the kingdome of *Naples*, he fell not into the snares laid for him to loose the Duchy of *Millan*: for that to send his army into *Naples*, was none other thing then to giue power and oportunitie to the Pope with his fixe thousand *Swissers* to breake it, and put all to extreame hazard, which being ouerthrowne, there remained no defence for the Duchie of *Millan*: an estate which (as he knew) the Pope had failed to take from him by armes and warre, so it was to be feared that he would assay to depriue him of it by treacherie and deceit. These reasons so wrought with the king, that they made him doubtfull to ratifie the capitulation, and therefore expecting haply an answer of some other practises, he sent no dispatch of the ratification to *Rome*, but left the Popes Embassadors in suspence. But for that the Pope either in deed (notwithstanding his shewes & semblances) had his mind estranged from the king, or (for that all the tearmes and dates to answer being past) he began to suspect a truth: or haply for that he feared least the king would discequer to *Cesar* his practises, and so some alliance to passe betweene them to his preiudice: or it might be, he was pushed on by a yehement ambition to recouer *Parma* and *Plaisance*, and to do some thing worthie of memorie: or lastly, perhaps he might take to displeasure the insolencie of *Monsieur de Lamirech* and the Bishop of *Tarba* his minister, who contemning his commandements in the estate of *Millan*, and reiecting some Ecclesiasticall edicts, disdained him with verie proud and insolent words: for some of these causes he determined to enter league against the French king with *Cesar*, who also for his part, being kindled for the warre of *Nauarre*, and pushed on by many of the exiles of *Millan*, & lastly, induced by some of his counsell desiring to embase the greatnesse of *M. de Cheures*, who had alwayes perswaded him not to separate himselfe from the French king, resolved to ioyne confederation with the Pope against the king: which he was thought to hasten the more, vnder a hope that with the Popes authority & his owne, he should either diminish or dissolue the alliance made with the *Swissers*, afore it were confirmed by bonds and other offices of gratifications. Moreouer, the Pope tooke greater occasion of confidence in this, that *Cesar*, who had heard *Martin Luther* in the Parliament of *Wormes*, whither he was come vnder his safeconduct, and hauing passed him to be examined by many Diuines, who made report that his doctrine was erroneous & dangerous for Christendome, had banished him to gratifie the Pope: onely at last there was contracted between *Cesar* & the Pope a confederatiō for their cōmon defence, including also the family of *Medicis* & the estate of *Florence*: this league was resolved without the priuity of *M. de Cheures*, who til that time had borne with him right great place & authority, & died almost euē at the same time.

Martin Luther.
Confederation
betweene the
Pope and the
Emperour a-
gainst the
French king.

time. There were all these additions to the contract, that they should raise war against the state of *Millan* at such time and in such maner, as should be resolved vpon betweene them; and if it were subdued and conquered, then *Parma* and *Plaisance* to reuert to the Church vnder the same rights and titles with the which it had holden them before: That *Francis Sforce*, who had bene chased out of *Millan* and remained then at *Trent*, should be eftsoones restored to the possession of that state, as hauing right thereunto by the inuestiture of his father, and by the renuntiation of his brother: That the confederates should be bound to defend him in his title: That the Duchie of *Millan* should vse no other Saltes nor Saltpits then those of *Cernaia*: That it should not onely be lawfull to the Pope to proceede against his subiects and freeholders, but also *Cesar* to be bound (after the conquest of *Millan*) to ioyne with him against them, and namely for the recouerie of *Ferrara*. The tribute of the Realme of *Naples* was increased, and there was promised to the Cardinall of *Medicis* a pension of ten thousand duckats out of the Archbishoprike of *Toledo*, which was newly voyde: and to *Alexander de Medicis* bastard son to *Lawrence* and lately Duke of *Vrbis*, was promised an estate in the dominion of *Naples* of ten thousand duckats of reuenue.

For the more plaine information and opening of these things, it is not out of purpose to set downe in brieft what were the rights that *Cesar* pretended the Empire to haue vpon the Duchy of *Millan* in those times. The Lawiers of the Empire alleaged, that the ancient rights of the Dukes of *Orleance* were of no consideration, for that whatsoeuer had bene accorded touching the succession of *Madame Valentina*, was not confirmed with the authority Imperiall: and that for the present, that Duchy appertained immediatly to the Empire, because the inuestiture made to *Lodowike Sforce* for him and his sonnes, was reuoked by *Maximilian* graundfather to *Charles*, and that with so many and ample claufes that the reuocation had iudicially his effect to the preiudice chiefly of his sons, who neuer possessing it, their right and title was in hope, & not in effect. Therefore the inuestiture was available that was made to king *Lewis*, for him and for his daughter *Clawda*, in case she were married to *Charles*, and with condition that the mariage not going forward without that there were fault in *Charles*, it should be nothing, and that the Duchy of *Millan* should passe directly to *Charles*, who in that case was inuested of it in the presence of his father *Philip*: That it followed thereupon that the second inuestiture made to the same king *Lewis*, for him and for the same Lady *Clawda*, and for *Francis* Lord of *Angoulesme*, was nothing worth, as being made to the preiudice of *Charles* then an infant and vnder the tutorship of *Maximilian*: so that as the king then raigning could make no foundation of that, so he could lesse alleage interest in that Duchy by new rights or titles, for that much lesse that he had obtained inuestiture from the Emperour, seeing he had not so much as demanded it, as also it was manifest, that the session made to him by *Maximilian* at such time as he rendred to him the Castell of *Millan*, could not helpe him: for that a chiefe aliened of proper authority, reuerteth immediatly to the supreme Lord: And lastly, for that *Maximilian Sforce*, notwithstanding he had bene admitted by the consent of the Emperour, and dying in that estate without hauing euer receiued the inuestiture, he could not transport to another the rights that appertained not to himselfe. Thus as soone as the confederation was passed betweene the Pope and *Cesar* against the French king, and that as secretly as might be, they consulted together (asore they entred publicly into armes) to proceede by ambulches and practises, and by the meane of the exiles, to assaile at one time by sudden inuasion, the Duchy of *Millan* and *Genes*. In which counsell it was set downe, that *Cesars* gallies which were at *Naples*, and the Popes gallies armed with two thousand Spanish footemen, should fall at vnwares into the port of *Genes*, and hauing with them *Jerome Adorno*, by whose authority and traine of followers, those of the riuers which were of their faction drawing into commotion, they hoped that that Citie would easily fall into tumult. On the other side *Francis Sforce* and *Jerome Moron*, who was with him at *Trent* with many of the best sort of the exiles, had consulted that the French bands that were within *Parma*, *Plaisance*, and *Cremona*, should be charged at vnwares: that the like inuasion should be made at *Millan* by *Manfrey Paluorin* and *Matto de Brinzi* a chiefe commaunder in those mountaines, who should leade thither by the lake of *Coma* certaine Launceknights, and so to execute that city, where they were assured to haue secret intelligence. Moreouer if those enterprises tooke good successe, or any of the being of most importance, then the exiles of *Millan* who were many Gentlemen, and they to be conueyed

The titles of
the Empire to
the Duchy of
Millan.

Practises do
gainst the
French king.

Francis Guic-
cardin the
writer of this
story.

secretly to *Reggia* where should meete them *Ieronimo Moron* at the day appointed, should draw into a strength, and rise to enter into that state, leuying with all possible diligence a campe of three thousand footemen: for the better effect and expedition of those actions, the Pope sent to *Francis Guiccardin* an ancient gouernour of *Modena* and *Reggia*, ten thousand duckats, to be deuiered ouer to *Moron* for the entertaining of footmen to be ready vpon the euent of things, to whom *Guiccardin* was commanded to shew fauour, but secretly and in such maner, that the French king should take no occasion either to complaine of the actions of his Officers; or euill interpret the Pope: But so vnperfect are the counsels and deuises of man, and so naturally subiect to a prouidence infallible and immutable, that there is left no certainty of their resolutions, and lesse surety in their mortall doings, themselves being no other thing then bodies compounded of imperfection, error and frailty: not one of these deuises succeded either to purpose or to profit: for, the army by sea that went to *Genes*, which was compounded of seuen gallies, foure Brigantins, and certaine ships of other nature, made a vaine shew afore the port, for that Duke *Fregosa*, doubting belike of their comming, had well manned and refurnished the towne: insonmuch as they crossed sayle and retired into the riuer of *Leuant*, after they found no mutinies nor any other thing well disposed on their behalfe. And touching *Lombardy*, many of the exiles hauing speciall priuity with the negociation there, together with the voyce that *Ierom Moron* was to come to *Reggia*, *Federik de Bossolo* hauing intelligence of it, went to *Millan* to giue signification to *M. d'Escud*, supplying the place of his brother who a litle before was gone into *Fraunce*. By reason of these aduertisements, he mustered and drew together the bands of men at armes that lay dispersed in diuerse places, and after he had giuen order that *Federik* should leade thither a thousand footemen of his subiects, he went suddenly to *Parma* with foure hundred launces. In the way he was from time to time made more certaine of those things which *Federik* had reported to him, the rather for that the banished men, not obseruing the order that was giuen them to make their assemblies secret, were in an open force withdrawne to *Reggia*: They required in all places bands of soldiers, & gaue out in publike & manifest rumors, that they would immediatly attempt some new enterprise: in whose example & maner of proceeding, continued *Ierom Moron* that came after them, pushed on perhaps with this reason, that by how much they did disclose themselves and their enterprise, by so much would it breede hatred & enmity betweene the Pope and the French king. But the vanity of these deuises and enterprises declared it selfe manifestly to all men: and yet *M. d'Escud* being arriued at *Parma*, determined the morning following (a day solemne for the natiuity of *S. Iohn Baptisf*) to present himselfe afore the gates of *Reggia*: he hoped in this maner of action to find occasiō to take either all or part of the exiles, and that either as they fled out of the towne through the feare and astonishment of his comming, or else there being no strength of forraine souldiers, the feare of the gouernour (a personage estranged from the profession of war) would put them prisoners into his hands: or lastly he hoped that vnder the terror which the townsmen would haue of his forces and sudden comming, the occasion & fauor of the time would giue him leaue to enter without difficulty. The gouernour made some doubt of the matter, and albeit (the assailing of *Genes* being not yet come to his knowledge (he thought it not likely, that *M. d'Escud* would giue beginning to the war without the commandement of his king, & enter in warlike maner vpon the lands of the Pope: yet looking into the ordinary furies and importunities of the french nation, as also to be somewhat armed against a mischiefe so apparantly threatned, he sent out his present directions to *Guido Rangon* lying vpon the confines of *Modena*, to come the same night to *Reggia*, giuing the like order that those bands of footmen leuiued by *Moron*, & lodged nearest that place, should likewise march thither. And lastly his precepts went out to the people of the towne, in whom he knew was no property of affection to the French name, that at the sounding of the great bell, they should be at the gard of the gates, where euery one should receiue his charge. The morning following *M. d'Escud* arriued with foure hundred launces, *Federike de Bossolo* marching a mile behind him with a thousand footmen. As soone as *M. d'Escud* approached the towne, he sent to the gouernour a Capitaine of his, called *M. Bonnenall*, to tell him that he would speake with him: by whom it was agreed & assigned, that *Escud* should come to the posterne that entreth vpon the raueline of the gate that looketh towards *Parma*, where the gouernour would meete him, either one assuring other of their faith. *M. d'Escud* according to the appointment came neare the gate accompanied with many Gentlemē of his traine, & the gouernour issuing out of the wicket, they began to comune together:

Monsieur d'Escud before
Reggia.

The

The one complained, that contrary to the articles of confederation, there was receiued & releued in the towne of the Church, the exiles & banished peoples which were drawne into companies & bands, to trouble the states of the king: The other expressed a grieffe & vnkindnesse, that there was made sudden inuasion in manifest array of warre and force vpon the lands of the Church. But as they stood debating those complaints, certaine of the inhabitants (contrary to the order set downe) opened suddenly one of the gates, to let in a cart loden with meale: when *M. Bonnenall* (standing right against the gate (for the traine of *Escud* disperfed about the wals enuironed a great part of it) advanced with certaine men at armes to enter the gate: but he was repulſed, and the gate ſhut vpon him with a cry, which piercing euen to the place where *Monsieur Escud* and the gouernour conſulted together, it was the cauſe that they of the towne and certaine of the exiles (ſtanding by troupes vpon the wals of the Arch, gaue the bullet to ſuch as ſtood neare to *Monsieur d'Escud*, and in that violence ſo hurt *Alexander Trinnice*, that he died of the wounds within ten dayes, although he had not deſerued the ſtroke of ſuch a calamitie, for that he had diſſwaded the enterpriſe of *Reggia*. The terror of this ſudden violence made the others ſeeke ſafety by flying, and no other thing preſerued *Monsieur d'Escud*, but a feare that he had who aymed and leuelled at him, leaſt he ſhould ſtrike the Gouernour. This aſtoniſhed not a little *Monsieur d'Escud*, who tooke occaſion of the violence, to complaine of infidelitie and faith breaking, and according to the face of his perill, not knowing what reſolution to take, whether to tary or to flie, the Gouernour tooke him by the hand, and perſwading him to follow him vpon his faith, he led him vpon the Arch, being accompanied with none other of his traine then *Monsieur la Motte*, a Gentleman of *Fraunce*. It was a thing wonderfull that all the bands of men at armes vnderſtanding that *Monsieur d'Escud* was entred within the gate, were poſſeſſed forthwith with an opinion that he was made priſoner; a concept which made them fall to flying with ſuch generall feare & confuſion, that many of them caſt away their launces, reſuſing (to make the more light & eaſie to flye) the weapons which they brought to defend their liues: ſuch a matter is feare, that oftentimes it makes men forſake the things that they ought moſt to employ for their ſafety. In this confuſed feare, there were few that either looked backe, or once taried for *Monsieur d'Escud*, who finding after long reaſoning, that the diſorder grew vpon his owne people, was immediately diſmiſſed of the Gouernour, in whom was no intention to keepe him retained, both for not deſiling his faith giuen, and alſo to obſerue the commiſſions he had of the Pope to make no violent demonſtration againſt the king: as alſo in regard that the effect of the rebelling of the eſtate of *Millan* did not follow, as many beleued at that time: for, notwithstanding the troupes of men at armes fell all to flying, yet ſeeing no men purſued the chaſe for that there were then within *Reggia* very few horſemen, and withall meeting vpon the limits and confines of the countrey of *Reggia* with *Federike Boſſolo* who halted on with his regiments of a thouſand footmen, they ſtayed and drew theſelues eſſeſſoon into order. Neither had the feare continued that was begun at *Parma* and at *Millan* by the firſt rumors that came, that *Escud* was holden priſoner, and the men at armes broken, notwithstanding it had bene knowne that the bands of men at armes had bin whole, for that neither was there neare at hand any army or force to make any ſtirre, and withall many other Captaines of men at armes were there remaining. But aſſoone as *M. d'Escud* had reaſſembled his companies of horſemen and footmen, he retired to *Coriague* a village in the countrey of *Reggia* not fixe miles from the City: from thence within certaine dayes after, he withdrew to the confines of *Parma* on the other ſide the riuer of *Lenzo*, and ſent *la Motte* to the Pope to tell him what moued him to go to *Reggia*, and withall to ſolicite him in vertue of the capitulations which were betweene the French king and him, to expulſe out of the dominions of the Church, ſuch as were holden rebels againſt the king.

About this time there happened at *Millan* a matter of no leſſe wonder then feare, which brought to the Frenchmen no ſmall aſtoniſhment, as if the heauens by manifold ſignes had giuen them a forewarning of their calamities to come. For, vpon the day that is ſolemnely conſecrated to the memory of the death of the Prince of Apoſtles, the Sunne being ſet, and the aire and firmament cleare, there fell downe from the vppermoſt regiments as it were a fire, & light afore the gate of the Caſtle, whither were brought many barrells of gunpowder drawne out of the Caſtle to be ſent to certaine places offeruice. This flaſh or fiery lightning embraced by and by the powder, with a horrible noyſe, and by the violence of it the faire tower of marble builded ouer the gate and

Lightning vpon the Caſtell of Millan.

bearing vpon his top a goodly clocke, was cast downe and rased from the top to the foundation: in which furie did communicate also the wals and chambers of the Castell with other buildings adioyning the tower: yea in one instant all the whole bodie of the Castell, together with the vniuersall City of *Millan* trembled and shaked with the furie of a tempest, which blew into the ayre from sundry places many huge and great stones, falling to the hurt of many persons. And as in a generall calamity euery one hath his fortune, so there were many that being happie to escape the fall of the huge stones, were made wretched by the ruines of the wals, vnder the which they were smothered and rammed to death; with which ruines, the Castell Greene was so spred and couered, that it was a terror to behold such an alteration, but specially it brought astonishment euen to the most assured, to see the stones of incredible greatnesse which the fury of the tempest had cast more then 500 pases from the place. It happened in the very howr wherein the people of all sorts were gone for their recreation to take the ayre vpon the Greene, by which occasion were slaine more then fife hundred footemen of the Castle, and the Captaine of the Rocke and the Castell, together with others of principall place so amazed and desperate both in courage and counsell, that if the people would haue taken the benefite of that accident and false to armes, they might without difficulty that night haue occupied the Castell, specially so great a quantity of the wall being reuerfed.

After the Pope was aduertised how *Monsieur d'Escud* was come euen to the gates of *Reggia*, he serued his turne of that enterprife, and enforced it to the iustification of his owne actions, he complained greatly of that doing in the consistory of Cardinals, where, concealing the confederation made secretly afore with *Cesar*, and also the direction that both their gallies should be armed to the assailing of *Genes*, he declared that since *Monsieur d'Escud* had attempted to take *Reggia*, it was to be supposed that the French king bare no good mind to the sea Apostolike: he concluded that for the defence of the Church and the rights of the same, he was constrained to ioyne with *Cesar*, in whom had neuer bin discerned any action that was not worthy a Christian Prince, & the same expressed as well in his other operations, as in his late zeale which he published at *Wormes* touching the protection of religion. Therefore he made semblance, and shew to contract then, with *Don Iohn Emanuel Casars* Embassador, the confederation which had bin concluded afore, & for that matter he caused to be sent for to *Rome*, *Prosper Colonne*, vpon whom was determined the charge of the enterprife, and with whom they consulted in what maner and with what forces, they should enter into open war, seeing they had found no successe in ambushes and assaults sudden, like as indeede the treatie of *Coma* did no more happily succeed then the enterprife of *Genes*: for, as *Manfroy Paluoyfin* and *M. de Brinzi* were by night drawne neare the wals of *Cuma* with 800 footmen, as well *Italians* as *Launceknights*, hoping that *Anthony de Rusquo* a Citizen there would breake downe so much of the wall next ioyning to his house, as they should haue meane to enter, where, for the slender strength of Frenchmen that were there, they supposed would be offered no resistance. And after they had expected some good space of time, the gouernour of the place, assembling together all the Frenchmen, with certaine of the townsmen, whose fidelity he held most assured (& yet their numbers were lesse then they that were without) gaue the charge vpon them with a violence and suddenesse so terrible, that they brake and fell easily into flight, not without suspicion that he had corrupted the *Almaine* Captaines both with mony and greater promises. In the chase three barkes were sunke vpon the lake, & seuen taken: many of the generall souldiers fell into the fortune of prisoners, and amongst the chieftaines were taken *Matto* & *Manfroy* as they fled by the way of the mountaines. The *Launceknights* were suffered to go away freely, & the residue were led to *Millan*, where *Manfroy* & *Matto* were publicly quartered: They confessed in their execution, that *Bar. Ferrery* of *Millan* a man of place and authority, was consenting to the practises of *Moron*: vpon which accusation he was imprisoned together with his son, & so committed to the same punishment, for that he had not reuealed that *Moron* had induced him by secret messages, to practise innouations, and to raise enterprises against the king. About this time, the Pope knowing of what oportunitie was the estate of *Mantua* for the wars of *Lombardy*, tooke to his pay *Federik* Marquis of *Mantua* with 200 men at armes, & 200 light horsemen, and indued him with the title of Captaine Generall of the Church: but before he possessed himselfe of the entertainment of the Pope, he renounced the order of *S. Michael*, and returned the coller and Ensigne that the king accustomed to giue to those that were received into that order.

The Marquis
of Mantua for
the Pope.

This was the resolution set downe at *Rome* betweene the Pope and *Casars* Embassador, touching the order and maner of proceeding in this warre, and that according to the counsell & resolutions of *Prosper Colomo* First, that along the frontiers of the Church, inuasio should be made with all speed possible ypon the estate of *Millan*, employing in that enterprise the companies of men at armes of the Pope & the *Florentins*; a regiment which (comprehending the bands of the Marquis of *Manhua*) mounted to the full number of six hundred men at armes, & to them were to be adioyned all the bands of men at armes which *Cesar* had in the realme of *Naples*, being almost as many as the residue: That there should be leuied six thousand footmen *Italians*: That the regiment of two thousand footmen Spanish which were with *Adorno* in the riuer of *Genes* should come to the army, making their assembly betweene the countrey of *Modena* and *Reggia*: That the Marquis of *Pesquero* should bring two thousand other footbands from *Naples*: That there should be leuied of the common purse of the Pope & *Cesar*, foure thousand Launceknights & two thousand *Grisons*: That there should be also ioyned to the army the two thousand *Swissers* which remained voluntarily in the Popes pay: for the residue of their countrey men both weary with wandring so long time without any thing doing, & also the season of their haruest drawing on, were now returned to their countrey afore *M. d'Escud* came to *Reggia*, neither could the Pope retaine them any longer, notwithstanding he had vnprofitably consumed amongst them an hundred & fiftie thousand duckats. Besides these prouisions, it was determined that with the authority of the Pope and *Cesar*, there should be instance made to the *Swisser* Cantons, both to aduance six thousand footmen according to the tenor of the contract which the Pope had made with them, & also to refuse to minister any succors of mē to the French king: and the better to draw them to his demaund, the Pope alleaged that the confederation which he had made with thē, was afore that which they had contracted with the French king. If these demands were obtained, it was resolved in the generall order & resolution of the war, that the Duchy of *Millan* should be inuaded on that side towards *Coma*, in which quarter was hope that there would be made some insurrection, both for the great multitude of the banished men being the most part of honourable houses, & also for that the ancient reuerence & affection which the people were wont to beare to the name of king *Louis*, was converted into hatred, & that not little thereto was, that the mē at armes ordinary for the gard of that estate, liued in a great & vnbridled liberty, the rather for that they were ill payd through the ill order the king vsed in his affaires, whereat partly by necessity & partly by will, he had couenanted to allow huge expences. The *Gouernors* rising more insolent and haughty by the negligence of the king, did not minister that true & liuely iustice which they were wont to execute with integrity & roundnesse in the time of the late king, who bearing a deare affection to the Duchy of *Millan*, had alwayes a particular care & regard to the interests of the people and subiects there. This was also one thing that went hard with them, that they were constrained according to the custome of *Fraunce*, to lodge continually in their houses: the officers & souldiers of the French, which albeit was nothing of their expences & charges, yet the trouble being perpetuall & generall, it was so much the more intollerable and grievous. And albeit it was a yoke which they bare during the time of the late king, who enforcing the example of *Paris*, would neuer exempt the subiectes of *Millan*, yet the discommodity drawing with it the other evils that we haue spoken of, it seemed to them for the present very heauy and irkesome. To this also was added the common nature of the people, alwayes desirous of new things, together with a vehement thirst and inclination which mortall men haue to deliuer themselves from perplexities present, not considering what will be the cuent and afterchance of things.

The rumor of this warre set downe by the Pope and *Cesar* with so mighty preparations, gaue warning to the French king to looke to the defending of *Millan* with prouisions no lesse resolute and well appointed: wherein, not to delay the danger that was so imminent and manifest, *Monsieur Lautrech* who was ypon his way to go to the Court for certaine his particular affaires, was estsoones readiourned and remaunded to returne to *Millan*. And albeit, doubting of the kings variety and negligence, and inconstancy of such as gouerned, he refused the iourney, vnlesse they first deliuered him in prest three hundred thousand duckats, which he assured to be no more then necessary for the defence of that state: yet being no lesse ouerruled with the importunities of the king and his mother, then beguiled with the promises and oathes of such as had the charge of his treasure, assuring him that his person and the money he demanded, should arrive there with

The resolution
for the warre
against the
Frenchmen.

Monsieur de
Lautrech re-
turneth to
Millan.

one speede: he embraced the journey and returned thither with great diligence, putting carefully in order all things necessary for the defence. This was the order which he set downe vnto the king. That to the kings men at armes which were then in *Lombardy*, should be ioyned the six hundred men at armes, and six thousand footmen, which the *Venetians* were bound to sende to the kings seruice, whom they offered to aduance speedily, making their men at armes to march euery by the countrey of *Verona* and *Bressia*: That there should be leuied ten thousand *Swissers*, which they held for certaine would not be denied by vertue & tenor of the new confederation: That they should cause to passe into *Italy* six thousand aduenturers, and to adioyne to the whole army certaine bands of Italian footemen. With these forces he hoped without great danger to be able to aduenture the fortune of a battell, or being too weake for such an action, he should at least sufficiently strengthen his places with garrisons of men; and so temporise vpon the depending of them, that both the enemies in time would draw to be wearie: the one by his naturall prodigality and huge expenses disbursed in the warre of *Vrbis*, was drayned of all money and treasure, and for the other he stood so abridged and restrained at that time, that the tribute and reuenues which he leuied of his kingdomes and dominions, could not suffice to furnish for any long season the expenses of such a war. This was also considered, that *Alfonso d'Este* dispayring of his proper estates, if the victory fell to the Pope, would either rise to recouer that which he had lost, or at least standing vpon his readinesse, would so hold the Pope in suspition, that of necessity he should employ many bands of souldiers for the gard of townes and places adioyning his confines and limits. These were the counsels and preparations of both parts, the king neuerthelesse labouring by all his meanes (but in vaine) to appease the Pope.

At that time *Prosper Colonne* was at *Bologna*, and from thence not tarying for the regiments that were to come from the kingdome of *Naples*, nor the bands of Launceknights, after he had mustred his other companies, and left sufficient garrisons within *Modena*, *Reggia*, *Bologna*, *Ravenna*, and *Imola*, for feare of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he marched and encamped vpon the riuer of *Lenza* within five miles of *Parma*: he nourished himselfe with a full hope that the Frenchmen could draw no strength of footmen from the *Swissers*, and that as well for that disappointment as for the ill disposition of the people, he supposed they would rather abandon then defend the Duchy of *Millan*: but it hapned otherwise: for the Cantons, notwithstanding the vehement labour to the contrary made by the Cardinall of *Sion* and the Embassadors of the Pope and *Cesar*, determined to deliuer to the king, bands of men such as they were bound to leuie by the last conventions. And whilest those leuies were in preparing, *George Sopressan* was descended to *Millan* with foure thousand footmen *Valesiens*: by reason of which succour, *Monsieur Lamirech* desirous to defend *Parma*, sent thither *Monsieur d'Escud* his brother with foure hundred launces and five thousand Italian footemen, ouer whom *Federike Bossolo* was Captaine. Moreouer it was vnderstood that the *Venetians* made their musters at *Poniquo* to send speedily to the ayde of the French king, and also that the Duke of *Ferrara* leuied certaine regiments of footemen. By reason of these preparations, *Prosper* seeing in what neede he stood of greater forces, kept himselfe incamped seuen dayes in that place, during which time, there ioyned to the army foure hundred Spanish launces led by *Anthony de Lema*, and drawne out of the kingdome of *Naples*: there came also to the army the Marquis of *Mantua* with part of his regiments, and yet for his coming being Captaine Generall of all the souldiers of the Church, was nothing altered the authority of *Prosper Colonne*; in whose person according to the Popes will and *Casars*, rested the Government of the whole army, but without any supreme title, for that to *Francis Guicciardin* was giuen soueraighe and absolute power to command ouer the whole regiments of the Church, and namely ouer the Marquis of *Mantua*, & did beare this title, Generall commander ouer the army; a place which he exercised with a right great authority, far contrary to the custome of the generall commanders before. After this, *Prosper* led the army to *S. Lazaro* within a mile of *Parma*, taking the way that goeth to *Reggia*: there he determined to passe no further till the Marquis of *Pesquero* were come, who was then vehemently expected to march from *Naples* with three hundred Launces and two thousand Spanish footemen: he looked also to receiue there the regiments of Launceknights that were to come: and so long as the army remained there, there were no other violences done vpon the countrey men of *Parma*, then by common industrie, to turne the streames and course of waters, and by breaking downe their milles, to take from them

Francis Guicciardin Generall commander ouer the army.

all meane and vse of finding. There was great expectation when & what way the Launceknights would come; and to hinder their passing, the *Venetians* at the instance of the French, sent part of their regiments vpon the territories of *Verona*: for it was knowne by relation, that being come to *Isprach*, they sought to receiue at *Trent* their first moneths pay, and required that there might be sent to meete them, certaine numbers of horsemen, to the end that being once descended to *Montbaldo*, they might with more suretie passe on with their bands: whereupon *Prosper Colono* had dispatched to *Mantua* two hundred light horsemen, to the end that ioyning with two thousand footemen commaunded by the countrey of *Mantua*, they might aduaunce and march together with the artilleries of the Marquis, who (to be the more acceptable to the Pope and *Cesar*) proceeded in all things as in his owne action, and not in the condition of one mercenarie or taking their pay. But it was a matter of farre greater difficultie to make payment of the intertainments of the Launceknights at *Trent*, for that the Pope did not onely make prouision of his part, but also disbursed *Cesars* portion; neither could the money haue passage ouer the lands of the *Venetians* but with great difficultie and perill: in so much as the Launceknights hearing what impediments the *Venetians* would obiect against their comming, required for their suretie greater forces, and varied at the same time touching the passage of the mountaine and the way, notwithstanding that the Marquis of *Pesquero* turned his companies vpon the partes of *Mantua*, and was at that time arriued vpon the lands of *Modena*, and had sent to him from the campe two hundred men at armes and three hundred *Spanish* footemen. At last the Launceknights hauing no deuotion nor patience to attend the time they had set downe and signified, sent a new aduertisement that they would estoones cut off and lessen fise dayes, with this resolution, that they would not expect the horsemen more then one day at the foot of *Montbaldo*, and if they came not, they would returne backe againe. At which time the Marquis of *Pesquero* being not able to be there to hold appointment, they were constrained to send fro the campe in great diligence, *Guido Rangon* & *Lewis Gonsaquo*, which neuerthelesse serued to no purpose, for that (as *Prosper* did alwayes warrant and assure) the *Venetians* were not able to stop the passage to fixe thousand footemen (that being their number aswell Launceknights as *Grisons*) a force able to haue encountered the bands of horsemen, and for the *Italian* footemen, they had no courage to oppose against them. For which reason, and also for that the Senat (to whom was alwayes hatefull that the war should be managed vpon their proper estate) sought to satisfie the Frenchmen more with demonstrations then with effectes, they caused to retire towards *Verona* all their bands and regiments the day before the Launceknights should passe. By which occasion they found libertie of passage and went to *Valegge* without any impediment, and so the day after they drew vpon the confines of *Mantua*: and assoone as the Marquis of *Pesquero* was come to the campe, the armie that had remained three dayes at *S. Lazaro*, marched the day following to *S. Martin*, where did ioyn with them the same day the footemen of the Launceknights and *Grisons*.

Thus the forces ordained for this warre, reduced and drawne into one armie, the Captaines *The Captaines of the League take counsell together.* began to consult what was to be done: some gaue counsell to besiege *Parma*, both for that it was the first and chiefe towne of the frontier, and also that it was no suretie to leaue it behind for the armie that was to come on, in regard of the incommodities of victuals and conduct of money and other prouisions that might be necessarie, and much lesse was it profitable for the townes that should remaine betweene *Parma* and *Bologna*. They alledged, that the footmen that were within *Parma* were bodies of no valour, both because they were leauied in hast and at randon, and also they made continuall disorders, stealing to the campe by stealth, no lesse for the difficultie and straitnesse of their payes, then for want of meale and prouision for foode: that the circuite of the towne was great, and the people ill disposed, who though they were embased of courage, would yet take heart when they saw the armie neare the wals: so that exerceuting batterie vpon the Citie in many places, it would be heard for the Frenchmen at one time both to resist the enemy without, and also keepe gard vpon the people that were within. Others reasoned of the contrarie, that the Citie was well fortified, that it was strong in bands of men, that touching the footemen that wandred fro them, they were people vnprofitable, vnapt, & cowardly, but the bodies bearing abilitie, experience, & disposition to the war remained there, together with many bands of the French souldiers, all resolutely prepared to defend their life. Lastly, that without this good suretie and prouision, it stood not with the experience and conduct of *M. d'Escaud*, *Federike*

de Bossolo, and other right braue and worthy Captaines, to suffer themselves to be environed: That it was well knowen (for that of late time the maner of warrefaring and to keepe and defend a place was chaunged) what difficulties were in the taking of townes: And that it belongeth to them to consider thoroughly, in what degree of reputation the armie should stand, if they could accomplish the first enterprize: That as they held it necessarie to plant before *Parma* their artilleries in two seuerall places, so they had to looke whether the campe were furnished with artilleries and other prouisions fit for the action: That such a quantitie of artilleries could not be drawn thither without the losse of certaine dayes, which (besides the consuming of too much time before) would be an intermission preiudiciall, for that in such respite the *Venetian* companies and the most part of the *Swissers* would be ioyned with *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, who was dayly expected at *Cremona*: That one part of the regiment of *Swissers* was already arriued, & the forerunners of the French army were neare at hand: That whilest the armie was intangled with the siege of *Parma*, it would bring no small preiudice if *Monsieur de Lawtrech* came and planted his campe afore some place adioyning: And as it would be a hard matter to force him to fight, so he might and would easily vex the scouts of the forragers, & giue impediments to the victuals which dayly were brought from *Reggia*, and they already in diuerse sortes distressed by such as were within *Parma*: That it were a better counsell to make prouision of victuals for certaine dayes, and leauing *Parma* behind, to proceede to surprise *Plaisance*, a Citie of farre greater circuite, and of lesse strength and garrison of souldiers, the place voyde of fortifications and artilleries, and the people of the same disposition with them of *Parma*: That these reasons remoued all doubt, that making their approaches, they should forthwith carie it, wherein *Prosper Colommo* being of the same aduise and counsell, assured the residue that he knew a place which in no sort could be possible to hinder their entring, being the same by the which *Frauncis Sforce* at that time Captaine ouer the peoples of *Millan*, made his victorious entrie against the *Venetians*, who had occupied it after the death of *Philp Maria Viscount*: That *Plaisance* was a Citie wonderfully abounding with great quantities of victuals, and stood so apt to assaile *Millan*, that the French men would be constrained to retire thither most of their forces, by which meane the Cities adioyning to *Parma* should stand in no estate of daunger. Lastly *Prosper* held himselfe assured, that passing the riuer of *Paw* onely with light horsemen, and so marching with diligence to *Millan*, that Citie would draw into tumult hearing of the rumour of his name: Such was his opinion afore he parted from *Eclognia*, and in that regard, not thinking it needefull to stay about the taking of any particular place, he would not haue a plentifull prouision of artillerie nor munitions.

In this varietie of counsels and opinions, it was determined by such as had authoritie to deliberate and resolute, that assoone as sufficient prouision might be made of meale and bread to nourish the armie for foure dayes, a regiment of five hundred men at armes, one part of the light horsemen, the regiments of *Spanish* footemen, and fiftene hundred footemen *Italians*, should march with great speede towards *Plaisance*, and the residue of the armie to come after, which could not march but with slow paze, by reason of the artilleries, victuals, and many other impediments following ordinarily a campe. And it was assuredly beleueed, that vpon the arriuall of the first companies, either the Citie would rise for the Church, or at least they should be a reasonable let for the entring of succours, and so vpon the comming of the residue & full force of the armie, they made no doubt to carie it. But it hapned the day before that the army should remoue, that certaine troupes of French horsemen hauing passed the riuer of *Paw*, ranne vp euen as farre as *Bossetto*: a matter which made a brute that the whole French army was come ouer *Paw*, and therefore that accident breaking the deliberatiō that had bin made, the departing of the bands was deferred vntill the certainty & truth were knowen, for the discouery whereof they dispatched *Ioh. Medicis* Captaine of the Popes light horsemen with a troupe of foure hundred horses. But that which most troubled this deuise & the executiō of it, was the ambitiō & controuersie that fell betweene *Prosper* & the Marquis of *Pesquero*, betweene who was no great agreemēt before. *Prosper* contended to leade the vauward & principall part of the army, against who the Marquis alledged that it was not reasonable that the regiments of *Spanish* footemen ouer who he was Captaine general, should go to any expedition without him. In regard of which ambition and ieaousie of the chiefe Captaines, daungerous most comonly for the affaires of Princes, notwithstanding it was knowen within few houres after, that the bands of Frenchmen were estsoones returned beyond *Paw*, and that

Monsieur

Monsieur de Lamirech stirred not, yet the first resolution was not followed. But what by the diversitie of opinions and for the naturall slownesse of *Prosper*, things had proceeded in greater delays and longnesse, if the Popes Agent had not stept in with them, and declared with discourte full of reasons and efficacie, how much and how iustly the Pope might take offence that they had temporised so long: wherein they could not in any reasonable sort excuse themselves towards the holinesse of the delays and respites they had vsed till then, first in expecting the *Spaniards*, and then in tarying for the Launceknights: vpon whose admonition they drew all to a present resolution (but more in maner of tumult, then by maturitie of counsell) to plant the campe before *Parma*, wherein euen such as the day before had assured the contrarie, began to haue a wonderfull hope of the victorie, the rather for that the numbers and bodies of footemen ceased not to issue out of *Parma* for want of money and food: onely it was reasonable to make some succour for certaine dayes, both to tary for two other Cannons that were expected from *Bologna*, and to make prouision of many other things necessarie for the executing of townes with artillerie; matters which *Prosper* had refused before. This, whether it may be called negligence, or mutation of counsell, brought no litle preiudice to the state of the enterprise, for that by how much more time was wasted in temporising, or in that propertie of controuersie, by so much more leasure and respite was giuen to *Monsieur de Lamirech* to assemble his companies which he expected out of *Fraunce*, from the *Venetians* and from the *Swissers*: so greatly doth it import wise Captaines, remembring how necessarie it is in warres to chaunge counsels according to the variety of accidents that happen, to accommodate in the beginning all prouisions for all accidents, and for all counsels. In this meane while, the armie remaining idle, there was executed nothing touching the seruice of *Parma*, but certaine very light skirmishes: neuerthelesse the third day after the campe was reduced to *S. Martin*, the armie passing beyond the riuer of *Parma*, was lodged vpon the way of *Rome* in the suburbs of the gate that leadeth to *Plaisance* called *S. Crosse*; which suburbs *Monsieur d'Escud* had burned the day before, hauing doubt of their comming.

The towne of *Parma* is deuided by a riuer that beareth the name of it, whose streame and channell is neither so deepe nor violent, but it may be alwayes passed by foord, sauing in seasons waterie and raynie: the lesser part of the towne, peopled by men of base condition, and yet containing the third part of the whole, called by the inhabitants *Codipont*, is situated on that side towards *Plaisance*. The Captaines made choise of this place, to be the more apt and ready to stop the entrie of succours into *Parma*, but much more for that on that part the wall was weake, and bare such situation that it could not beate the campe in flanke. The Marquis, who the day before went with certaine other Captaines to take knowledge and view of the place, made his report the same day that the batterie might easily be begun: but because it was necessarie (the better to remouetheir defences) to batter first a tower vpon the top of the gate, giuing no small strength to the wall, all the day was wasted in that action and a great Culuerine broken in the execution. The night following, the artillerie was planted against the wall vpon the left hand of the gate to such as entred, their purpose being to do the like on the right hand, and to leaue the gate in the midst. The reason was, for that hauing no conueniencie to bestow the artilleries in two places separate, for that there were as yet brought to the campe no more then sixe Cannons, and two great Culuerines, it seemed that by constraining the defendants to be amuled at that defence for a long space, it would worke all one effect: but that deuise was not put in execution, for that there was on that side vpon the compasse of the trench that environeth the wals, a rising or mount, so high, that vnlesse it were either made plaine or layd open (a matter vnpossible in so short time) it would giue great impediment to the artillerie to batter the wall. The wall, for that it was old and weake, made no great resistance to the artilleries, which hauing easily made two sufficient breaches, the Captaines spake of giuing the assault the same day, notwithstanding without any firme or assured resolution: onely the Marquis, who with his bandes of *Spaniards* had the whole charge of the batterie, sent certaine companies of footemen to discover the breach, and to disclose if they could, what fortifications they had within: who being mounted vpon the wall, began to make showts and signes to the armie to approach and enter; in so much that the footebandes of *Spaniards* and *Italians* ranne to the wall more by heapes and troupes then by order. But by that time they were approached and began to climbe the breach, vpon the which was slaine *Ierome Guicciardin* leader of the footmen,

The siege of
Parma.

the Captaines ranne thither with the Alarme, and caused them immediately to retire, doubting there could no good fruite come of that charge, being rather a feeble and weak rumult then assault well ordered. This retraite either made cold all their thoughts to the charge, or at least so serued for excuse, that that day they forbore to follow the assault in order. The day after they continued to batter the wall which stood whole in the midst of the two breaches, and also a flanke, which had bene made within vpon the tower of the gate. But for that there ranne through the armie a brute, that for the huge rampiers which the French had made, it would be hard to carie it with a simple assault, the Captaines sent out to discover the batterie two footemen of both the languages, who, either by feare, or by their little diligence, or perhaps by subornation (as was supposed) brought word that there remained of the wall which had bene battered to the ground, more then fise sadomes on height. They reported also that the defendants had cast a very deepe ditch, and had made so many other sortes of fortifications, that it was determined to make mines neare to the wall that was battered, and to open the wall fast by, and so with the ruines of the same, to fill the ditch that was made within, thereby to make the entrie more easie. It was also agreed, that as soone as those workes were brought to perfection, and that the artilleries of the armie were increased with two Cannons that came from *Mamua*, there should be made another batterie in that place, where the wall by turning makes an angle after it hath gone forthright a long space, on the right side of the gate, on which side, after the wall was cast downe, they might beare the defendants in flanke. But as they began to cast a trench on that side which had bene battered, and within few dayes after, another, the better to cast downe the wall with the working of the mines: so neuerthelesse those workes proceeded slowly, as well for that the necessarie prouisions and instruments for such actions, were not yet in the campe, because *Prosper* nourished endes and thoughts diuerse, as also for that the earth where they digged was hard to open, bearing a propertie of soile resisting their labour and diligence.

Whilest these things were in doing, and a generall intention not to assault the towne vntill they were fully accomplished, *Monsieur de Lavirech* who had bene slow to march for the long tarying of such as came to the armie, hauing now assembled the most part of his men of warre, aduanced and marched fise myles, holding alwayes along the riuier. He had in his armie fise hundred Launces, seuen thousand *Swissers*, foure thousand footemen brought the same day by *Monsieur S. Valer* out of *Fraunce*, and foure hundred men at armes with foure thousand footemen vnder *Theodor Trinulce* commaunder of the *Venetian* bands, and *Andrew Gritti* their Legate or commissarie. There followed this armie the Duke of *Vrbis*, and *Alarke Anthoine Colonne*, the one as souldier to the French King, but without title and charge, and the other following the common hope of such as were banished: he expected also a regiment of fise thousand *Swissers* which the *Câtons* had made him graunt of, they were already vpon their way, but according to their custome, they marched slowly and with many difficulties. All which forces being ioyned to his armie, he would not haue refused for the rescue of *Parma*, to aduenture the fortune of battell. In which regard, what in expecting such as were to come, and what in soliciting and labouring the bandes already arriued, he stayed on the way and went not far from the shores of the riuier of *Paw*. Onely he feared least whilest he temporised vpon those good causes, his brother might compound with the enemies, and therefore he sent to him to let him vnderstand, that the cause why he prolonged and lingered so much, was that he taried for a greater force of *Swissers* who were neare at hand, and without whom the regiments that were already with him made difficultie to passe *Paw*. Neuerthelesse he would draw neare to *Parma*, and would giue him a token of his comming by shooting off certaine peeces of artilleries, and so the day following he would affront the enemy and prouoke them to fight, sending out certaine troupes of his horsemen to entertaine the skirmish, to the end he might with better oportunitie issue out and ioyne with the armie; a matter which *Monsieur d'Escud* did chiefly sollicite, who assured him that he was not able to hold out aboue two or three dayes in that part of the towne, and not aboue two dayes more beyond the riuier, both for that the towne was large and weak, and his forces remaining not aboue two thousand footemen, for that many of them were straggled away, and also the men at armes being but three hundred, vpon whom lay the burden of the seruice, were not able to make resistance, if the towne were assaulted in many places. Thus afterwarde the same day he had promised, he accosted the enemies in the
borough

borough of *Zibelle* which is about twentie myles from *Parma*, and from thence dispatched foure hundred horsemen to runne vp euen to the tents of the enemies, who hauing brought their mines euen to the wal, and afterwards turning them and dressing them in the place where the fire should be put, Count *Guido Rangon* with the *Italian* footebandes ouer whom he was Capitaine general, began to plant the artilleries on the other side of the wall. But the Frenchmen hearing the bruit that was made in executing the mines, hauing for two houres afore abandoned the *Codispont*, retired in order and without noyse on the other side the water, drawing with them their artilleries: which retrace being knowen to those that were without, they entred into the *Codispont* the morning following at the breake of the day, some making their way by the breach, and some vled the seruice of scaling ladders. They were receiued with an vniuersall gladnesse of the *Parmesans*, to whom nothing could be more acceptable then to retorne vnder the dominion of the Church: but it was a ioy that drew with it a present sorrow and heauinesse, and a gladnesse that was easily conuerted into dolour and lamentations, for that they saw afore their eyes their houses sacked and spoyled, in no lesse rigour and furie then if they had bene mortall enemies. And it was not to be doubted that if certaine dayes before, the artilleries had bene planted in the same place, but the Frenchmen had in the same maner abandoned the *Codispont*. After their entrie, they fell to breaking open the gates which afore had bene rammed vp with no small industrie, and so the artillerie hauing passage euen to the shore of the riuer, they began to batter the wall that defendeth the other banke of the riuer: but the neare approach of the night hindered the benefite and effect of their working that way, and by the litle time they had left, it was well knowen they could do no great execution for that day. The same day *Monsieur de Lawtrech* came and incamped vpon the riuer of *Taro* within seuen myles of *Parma*: some supposed his comming so neare was to bid battell to the enemy, but others were of opinion, that he aduanced the shew of his armie, to the end that either he might be ready to receiue his brother and his companies if they issued out of *Parma* by night, being no longer able to hold out: or else to entertaine some treatie or parley with the enemy, for the better deliuerie of his brother, and his souldiers with safetie and without obligation, according to the example of *Federike de Bossolo*, who had begun a conference by the solicitation of the Marquis, notwithstanding he had receiued a hurt in his shoulder with a shot not many dayes before as he walked about the rampiers. But the parley was not so farre forward, as that there could be made any certaine coniecture of the will of *Monsieur d'Esud*. The truth was (by the experience of things that hapned afterwarde) that *Monsieur de Lawtrech* was not determined to fight, vnlesse the regiments of *Swissers* came to him: for notwithstanding he had somewhat the aduantage, both for the numbers and valour of men at armes, and also was more mightie in artillerie, yet the enemy was stronger then he in footemen, containing (according to a iust computation and account) nine thousand Launceknights and *Spaniards*, two thousand *Swissers*, and more then foure thousand *Italians*. Let it here be considered how often and how much vpon small accidents & moments in warres, depend things of very great consequence: for the night after the armie entred the *Codispont*, it hapned iust at the instant that by aduertisements comming from *Modena* & *Bologna*, they vnderstood that *Alfonso d'Este* issuing out of *Ferrara* with a hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, and two thousand footemen, amongst whom were a thousand aswell *Corse-kais* as *Italians*, which *Lawtrech* had sent him, and with twelue peeces of artillerie, had surprised the boroughs of *Finalo* and *S. Felix*, with great feare that he would passe further. This bred no small trouble and terrour in the mindes of the Captaines, notwithstanding they had feare of such a leauie long time before, being not ignorant with what vehement instance the Frenchmen solicited him to it: and yet had they not made at *Modena* such a prouision as might suffice for the surerie of the Citie, for that *Prosper* maintaining to the vttermost the contrary opinion, would neuer consent that souldiers should be drawne out of the armie to be sent to *Modena*: his reason was, that either he reposed assured faith in the promises of the duke who was his right deare friend, and with whom euen vnder the Popes directions, he was interposed to sollicite some accord: or else for that he had no wil to diminish the number of his men of warre, in a time when they feared the enemy would approach: One principall reason might be also taken of his naturall disposition alwayes inclined to do things surely, which made him for the most part to desire to haue in his armie more men then the seruice needed. It may be he had other ends & considerations more secre-

and priuate to him selfe, then to be knowen of others by any coniecture or apparance : onely as soone as the aduertisements were thoroughly disclosed and vnderstood, the Captaynes assembled in counsell vpon those affaires, determined that *Guido Rangon* should depart for *Modena* with two hundred light horsemen and eight hundred footemen, which being ioyned to the sixe hundred footemen that were left there before, they thought would be a sufficient strength and garrison against the forces of *Alfonso*. After they had set downe this order & resolution, there remained yet certaine houres afore it was day. A litle before also there came aduertisement that *Monsieur de Lawtrech* was incamped the night before vpon *Taro*, which aduertisement was partly true and partly doubtfull, for that it contained that the *Swissers* were ioyned with him, and it was not knowne that those which he had then in the army, notwithstanding his infinite requestes, had made him no further promise then to come to *Taro*. The Captaynes, though they were not assembled for that matter, yet seeing there yet remained certaine houres of the night, and by that occasion they had no necessitie to employ themselves seuerally in other affaires, they began to reason amongst themselves rather to beguile the time then by way of counsell, into what estate things would be reduced now that *Lawtrech* did approach. In which discourfing it seemed the wordes and reasons of *Prosper*, the Marquis, and *Vitelli*, tended to this end : That it would be hard to take *Parma*, if they planted not a batterie on the other side the Citie: for that though the wall beyond the water should be executed, which they had begun to batter the day before, yet there would be a wonderfull difficultie to climbe vp from the bottome or lower part of the riuier to the banke: neither could they put that matter in practise without great daunger, for that the artilleries and shots bestowed vpon the three bridges standing vpon the same riuier, and in the houses there adioyning, would be as flankers to the perill of such as offered to climbe the banke: They reasoned that the neighbourhood of *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, who was to march on and incampe in some place towards *Paw*, though he would not attempt the fortune of the field, would be the cause that the assault could not be giuen without great daunger. Moreouer it was to be considered, that by reason of the pillage and sacke which had bene lately made of part of *Parma*, there were many footemen gone away laden with spoile, and the other that remained were more carefull to saue the things they had gotten, then disposed or apt to fight: That the armie could not remaine there without many difficulties, discommodities, and daungers, for that as it should be necessarie for the seruice to send out every day great troupes and bands, not onely to defend the forragers, but also for the suretie of victuals and money which came dayly, making a long circuit about the wals of *Parma*: so, whilst such troupes should occupy the fieldes, it might come to passe that the residue of the campe should haue to do at one time with the French men that were without, and such also as were within. They brought into discourse also, that if the Duke of *Ferrara* reenforced his armie with mo bandes of souldiers, they should be driuen of necessitie to leaue from the campe farre greater forces for the suretie of *Modena* and *Reggio*: yea, if he ouerranne the countrey with such bandes as he had, he might so hinder the resort of victuals that they should be driuen to breake vp and dissolue the campe; extremities which brought with them manifest apparances of most great daungers. These reasons albeit they expressed an inclination to leaue the siege, yet they were so cloaked and dissembled, that it could not be discerned that such was their counsell and intention. At last after they had occupied many reasons and long discourfes, the Marquis of *Pesquero* seeming to haue already comprehended the intention of the residue, sayd that he discerned well enough that there was amongst them all one opinion and counsell, but euery one seuerally respecting his particular, was content to vse silence, expecting that the mouth of another should be the authour of the thing which they conceiued in their hearts. But for my part, sayd he, depriuing my selfe of such interest and respect, I can not but pronounce in the presence of you all, that as whilst we remaine about the confines of *Parma*, our daungers are greater then our hopes, and our labours more then the fruites we shall reape, so to auoyd greater euils, I thinke it very necessarie we leaue and depart. *Prosper* iustifying the wordes of the Marquis, alleaged that he had expressed no lesse, had not the celeritie of the Marquis preuented his slownesse to speake. *Vitelli* confirmed the opinion of them both: but *Antioch Lena* well allowing of the breaking vp of the campe fro thence, made this proposition, to consider whether it were not better to seeke *M. de Lawtrech* and to giue the charge vpon him. Whereunto it was answered, that as it would be very hard to constrain the enemy to fight, so also to

remain

remaine there would be a matter so much the more impossible, by how much the difficulties that were to be brought into consideration about their abiding there, would rise farre greater, seeing it was not vnlikely to come to passe, but the regiment of two thousand *Swissers* would follow them, both for that many dayes before they had receiued commandement from the Cantons to depart out of the Popes pay; and also it was not likely that they would be drawne or disposed to fight against an armie, wherein were so many bodies of the same language and nation. Moreouer, it could not be denied but that by reason of the sacke and pillage made the day before, it would be very hard to moue the footmen that were so disordered: so that this counsell and the reasons of it being reiected, it seemed that the opinions and willes of all the Captaines drew to this, that it were best to breake vp the Campe from before *Parma*. Vpon which resolution, no lesse settled then vniuersall, *Prosper* and the Marquis, withdrawing themselues apart from the residue, after a long conference in priuate, demaunded of the Popes Legate, what the Pope would say if they leauied the Campe. The Legate answered the Marquis with this question: Shall we not take *Parma* this day, according as you assured vs yesternight? To whom the Marquis replied in his Spanish language, neither this day, nor to morow, nor after to morow. The Legate said, it could not be doubted, that the Pope would be right greatly discontented with the matter, for that it would altogether depriue him of the hope of the victorie: onely he said that the point of that deliberation consisted in the truth or error of the suppositions and reasons by them set downe, for that if to surcease and abstaine, were a matter dangerous and without hope, it could not be doubted that to remaine there were great indiscretion, but if it were otherwise, to breake vp could not but bring slaunder of too great disorder. Therefore he willed them to consider with deep counsell and discretion, both the estate of the armie and importance of things, and to ballance indifferently whether was the greater, either the daunger or the hope. But *Prosper* and the Marquis stood continually vpon this, that all reasons and rules of warre aduised them to retire: against whom being Captaines of such name and authoritie, the Legate forbore to object any further: in so much as it was set downe the same day that the Campe should breake vp, and the artilleries should be retired from the wals, which being published through the campe, it was blamed as a resolution timorous and fearefull by all those that were not present at the counsell. And albeit it was a counsell euen then disposed to execution, yet by the murmure of the vniuersall bodie of the Campe, the Legate and *Moron* ioyning together, laboured to alter *Prosper* and retire him from his opinion: they found him not much estranged to consult againe and call a new counsell, alleaging with words and reasons so much the more worthy and commendable, by how much was great or graue the personage that spake them, that he held it no shame to chaunge counsell when he was encountred with better reasons, and therefore caused estoones to be summoned all such, as were at the first resolution. But the Marquis of *Pesquero*, being busie about retiring the artillery, would not heare speake of changing the first conclusion, & refused to come to counsell: inso much as the matter remaining rather confused them resolved, they proceeded to execute the first determinatiō. Thus the same day, which was the xij. since their encāping, they returned to *S. Lazaro*; and at the departing there wanted not much of a verie great disorder, for that the footmen Launceknights demanding so vnreasonable conditions touching their payes, that they could not be accorded, refused to followe the armie: and the old Captaines that impugned the counsell, concurring with them in that tumult, had created amongst themselues a Captaine & Author of that sedition. In which disorder it was feared least they would compound and accord with the Frenchmen: neuerthelesse the armie being already gone, and no hope that the sentence or resolution would be altered, they prepared also to depart, and followed the army. In this maner of perturbation, the army being full of feare and faction, both for so sodaine a breaking vp, and for the tumult of the Launceknights, there is no doubt, if *Lamirech* had aduanced and taken the occasion but he had easily put them all to flight: Such a thing is disorder, that in an army deuided, it breeds more daunger then the multitude or sword of the enemy. This sodaine discamping wonderfully afflicted the mind of the Pope, who expected from one day to another, that newes would be brought to him that his souldiers were within *Parma*: he seemed to be depriued of his hope contrary to all reason & order, & that he was now entred into a most deepe subiection to a heauie & intollerable charge, for that (except the men at armes & the Spanish footmē) he supported generally all the burthen & expences of the warre: but that which worse was, he was not without doubt

of the Captaines Imperials, whom many others held also suspected, perswading themselves that the retiring of the Campe from before *Parma* proceeded not of feare, but of art and cunning, as though they had suspected that after the Pope had recovered *Parma* and *Plaisance* (nothing else appertaining to him in the estate of *Millan*) he would waxe wearie of the warre & the thoughts thereof, forbearing any longer to sustaine so great a charge and trauell for the interests of another: he was induced to these suspitions, both by the long tract & delay that was used to plant the campe afore *Parma*, and also that they had bestowed it in a place so vnapt and inconuenient, seeing the lesser part of the towne being taken, they were to deuise to take the other part with the same difficulties: lastly they proceeded in the siege slowly, and drawing things in delay, as though they meant expressly to giue time and respite to the succours of the French: and being at last in possession of one part of the towne, they cowardly left it abandoned as soone as they heard *Lawtrech* approached, and yet he was not stronger then they. Some there were that supposed all this action might proceed (without the priuity of *Prosper*) of the arte and suttletie of the Marquis of *Pesquero*, who as much as he could, was enuious and iealous of the glorie of *Prosper*: neuertheless it might be, that those sortes of men supposed the truth, who beleued that all was done with sincerity and good meaning, and that they were not pushed on with other motions then of a feare that *Lawtrech* was at hand, wherein they were greatly beguiled by the first aduertisements, by the which they were made to vnderstand that his armie contained farre greater forces. But it is most certaine that the French Captaines maruelled more then all the residue, being reduced into a verie small hope to be able to defend *Parma*, for that the *Swissers*, being gouerned more by their owne humours and nature, then obseruing the necessities of those that payd them their wages, were verie long in coming: which made many amongst them (not attributing to feare so sodaine a discamping) interpret rather that *Prosper*, a wise and experienced Captaine, knowing what disorder the sacking of cities brings vpon armies, and considering how hard it would be to restrain the souldiers from spoyling of *Parma*, iudged it a matter of perill to take it; the enemies being so neare. Whatsoever was the cause, *M. Lawtrech* after he had refurnished *Parma* with new bands, incamped at *Fontanella*, and within three dayes after he sent one part of the armie to take *Roccabianqua*, a borough of the territories of *Parma* neare to *Paw*, which after it had bene battered with artilleries, the borough and the Castle were rendered by *Rowland Paluoin* Lord of the place, himselfe hauing liberty to depart. After this the armie was dispersed betweene *S. Secondo* and the riuer of *Taro*, the better to be ready for imployment according to the proceedings of the enemies, and it was now become strong and well resolved, as well for the defence of *Parma*, as for that the new regiments of *Swissers* which were expected, were now arriued at *Cremona*: the same being the cause that the armie of the enemies not seeming to be insufficient surety at *S. Lazaro* (notwithstanding *M. Lawtrech* had commanded them not to stir frō thence) that they retired to the riuer of *Lenza* on that side towards *Reggia*, with intention to draw yet further off, if the Frenchmen aduanced: yea the Captaines without further tarying, had made a greater retrait, if they had not bene contained by the complaints of the Pope and the Agents of *Cesar*, and touched with the murmure and blame of the whole armie. This was the behauiour and disposition of both the armies for many dayes, *Lawtrech* notwithstanding making diuerse incursions with his horsemen and the souldiers of *Parma*, euen vp to *Reggia* by the way of the mountaine: wherein he gaue great impediments to the victuals which were brought to the enemies from *Reggia*, and that to the great discommendation of *Prosper*, who would hardly suffer his light horsemen to do seruice, and verie slowly provided for the safetie of such things, as he might haue remedied with good facilitie. On the other side the mounts, the affaires of *Cesar* ran the same fortune, for that being entred into the dominions of the French king on *Flanders* side, with a mighty armie, and holding *Mesieres* besieged with great hope to carie it, he was deceiued in his expectation: insomuch as being not able to take it, for that a strong succour of the French came to rescue it, he retired with perill lest his armie were broken and ouerthrowne. But in *Italy* notwithstanding the successe of the war was not happy nor acceptable, yet the thoughts & counsels of men were nothing restrained or forslowd: for, the enemies to the French, not deuising any more to take *Parma* or any other towne, determined to enter deeper into the Duchie of *Millan*, joyning to the army so many bands of *Italians*, that in all they contained six thousand, which were leuied frō hand to hand: they were the more boldned to take this resolutiō, by a hope they had that there

The Pope captaines and the Emperors take counsel to passe further.

there would of newe descend to the pay of the Pope, twelue thousand *Swissers*: who albeit had bene refused by the Cardinall of *Sion* soliciting openly in their parliaments against the French, and by *Ennius* Bishop of *Verola* the Popes Legat, and alio by *Casars* Embassadors, for that the Cantons would not deliuer such a regiment of their nation, but for the defence of the dominions of the Church, and with expresse direction not to march to offend the estates of the French king: yet for that they could not haue them with other reason, they were glad at last to accept them vnder the same condition, hoping that being once descended into the regions of *Italy*, they might be induc- ed to follow the armie against the Duchie of *Millan*; and that either through their naturall in- constancie, or by their vniuersall couetousnesse, or at least by the sleights and corruptions that might be ministred to their Captaines. In this deliberation to passe further; there was no doubt made into what quarter they would draw: for that, to continue the warre on this side the riuer of *Paw*, could not be without manifest and right great difficulties, seeing it was a matter desperat to take *Parma*: & if they would leaue that Citie behind, they must of necessitie go seeke out the ene- mies to fight with them; an action euidently daungerous, for that they were lodged in a place of aduantage and well fortified with artilleries: to remaine betweene *Parma* and them; or to passe further without fighting, there was no reason nor abilitie to do so, for that standing betweene the townes that were possessed by them and the armie, they should within few dayes be afflicted with penurie of victuals, the countrey of the enemy denying all resort, and no possibilitie of traffike fur- ther off. All which difficulties would be auoyded in transferring the warre beyond *Paw*, for that in that country, naturally abounding in all things and had not as yet tasted of the harmes of the war, they made good warrantie to find victuals sufficient, and to meete with no impediment vntill the riuer of *Adda*: both for that, leauing *Cremona* on the left hand, and drawing neare to the riuer of *Oglio*, there were no places to make resistance, and also they were perswaded that the Senate of *Venice* would not (for the interests of others) deliuer vp their bands of souldiers to the fortune of a battell. They beleueed also that the French durst not oppose against them, but at the passage of the riuer of *Adda*: yea the vniuersall hope was, that the armie approaching the *Venetian* frontiers, the Senate (for the suretie of their owne estates) would call home the most part of those souldiers which they had sent to the seruice of the French king. Lastly, ouer and besides all these considera- tions, to passe beyond *Paw*, sel out very aptly for the armie to ioin with the *Swissers*; a matter not of least importance. But whilest necessarie prouisions were in preparing for this deliberation, as artilleries, munitions, pioners, bridges, and victuals: and whilest bands of *Italian* footmen were le- uied in *Tuscane* and *Romagnia*, Count *Guido Rangon*, vnder the Popes commaundement, mar- ched towards the mountaine of *Modena*, with part of the footmen that were already leuied, and with those bands that were vnder his gouernement. This mountaine did neuer acknowledge other Lord then the Duke of *Ferrara*, neither so long as *Modena* stood vnder the iurisdiction of *Cesar*, nor afterwards when it diuolued to the dominion of the Church. But the peoples of the countrey hearing how armed men came to inuade them, made publike protestation for the Church; not tarying till they were assailed. At the same time fled from *Millan*, *Boniface* Bishop of *Alexan- dria*, and sonne to the late *Frauncis Barnardin* Viscount: the cause of his euasion, was, for that certaine conspiracies which he had practised against the French, came to light: as also was disclo- sed a practise managed within *Cremona* by *Nicholas Varola*, one of the best sort of the banished men of that Citie, by reason of which conspiracie, certaine inhabitants in *Cremona*, partakers of the matter, were executed and made an example: a great number of the exiles of *Millan* followed the armie, in whom I know not which was greater in those seasons, either their ill fortune, or their vndiscreet behauiour: for, besides that all the enterprises that they tooke in hand drew verie vnto- ward effects & successe, yet being wholly giuen to pill and spoile the country, they were the cause that there came not to the armie so great store of victuals as was necessarie, yea (except the indus- trie of *Moron*) they recouered not these euils by any diligence or intelligence of espials. Lastly, and which is of more importance then all the residue, *Prosper* hauing sent them long time before towards *Plaisance*, they executed great domages & hostilities indifferently both vpon their friends and enemies, and fell at last into such ciuill contention amongst them selues by reason of the bod- ties, that *Peter Scot* of *Plaisance* a chieftaine amongst them, was slaine by *Hector* Viscount and diuerse others: Such destinie followeth vnlawfull pillage and spoile, that being purchased by vn- just armes and violence; it either brings with it the feedes of sedition, hostilitie, and blood, or at

least leaues to the getters a miserable vse and fruition. In this meane while *Prosper* attempted to burne the barks of the bridge, which the Frenchmen had retired neare to *Cremona* with a very slender gard, he set vpon the enterprise to this end, to win so much the more time to enter the countrey, whilst *Lawirech* should reassemble the barks necessary to reedifie the bridge. But the expedition being imposed vpon *Iohn de Medicis*, sent out to that end with two hundred horsemen and three hundred Spanish footemen, the longnesse of the way was the cause that he could not arriue there till after the night was passed: in somuch as the mariners iudging for the violence by the noyse or brutes that were made, retired the barks into the middelt of the riuer of *Paw*, where the enemy that lay planted vpon the shore, had no way to offend them. At last when all things necessary to passe *Paw* were prepared, the army marched to *Bresselle* where was erected a bridge of barks: but afore they passed ouer, for that to their purpose to offend another, was ioyned a necessity to see to the defending of themselves, there was sent to the garde of the townes of the Church which should remaine behind, *Vitello Vitelli* with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, the like number of light horsemen, and two thousand footmen of the pension and pay of the *Florentins*. In like sort went thither the Bishop of *Pistoia* with the regiment of two thousand *Swissers*, who were turned to that enterprise, for that it seemed to stand neither with surety nor pollicy to lead them against the French, in whose armie was so strong a power of the same nation deliuered to them by vniuersall decree, and bearing their publike Ensignes: neither were they assured what the new companies of *Swissers* would resolue, who being mustered and assembled at *Coire*, there was dayly expectation of assured aduertisements that they had taken the fields to march. The Bishop and *Vitelli* had charge, not onely to defend *Modena* and other townes of the Church: if any inuasion were made, but also to assaile the Duke of *Ferrara*, who attributing to himselfe the glory to haue deliuered *Parma*, and occupied *Finalo*, and *Saint Felix*, passed not further, for that the Pope (in whom was redoubled a hatred for that surprise) proceeded against him with censures and excommunications of the Church, to deprive him of the Duchie of *Ferrara*.

The army of
the league pas-
sed the riuer
of Paw.

Thus the army passed the riuer of *Paw* the first of October, and went to incampe at *Casalmaior*: they consumed in passing not onely all the day, but a great part of the night, the multitudes of such as followed the campe giuing no lesse impediments then the baggage that was drawne and caried. In this the Captaines were much deceived, for that they made their reckening to see the whole army passed before noone, in somuch as what by the slownesse and negligence of the stragglers which are no small impediments to a campe marching, and what by the darkenesse of the night, in which the vse of the eyes and hands is taken away, one part of the artilleries and munitions, with many bands of souldiers remained disperfed the whole night betweene *Paw* and *Casalmaior*, in danger to be made a pray to euery small troupe of enemies that would haue set vpon them in their disorder: yea it was not to be doubted, that if *Monsieur Lawirech* (who after he had assembled all his *Swissers*, came to incampe at *Colorgne* the same day that the enemies incamped at *Bresselle*) had passed ouer his bridge at *Casalmaior*, which is but three miles from *Colorgne* at the instant that they made their passage, or at least at midday, had charged that part of the army which was not yet passed (for betweene *Bresselle* and *Colorgne* is but six miles) he had had good meane and oportunitie to bring his businesse well to passe: But in warres many occasions are lost, for that the Captaines and leaders haue not alwayes knowledge of the disorders and difficulties that happen amongst the enemies. The same night arriued at *Casalmaior*, Cardinall de *Medicis*, whom the Pope sent as Legate into the army. This was the Popes reason to send him thither: That albeir he had very secretly begun to giue care to the Embassador of the French king, yet for the feare he had least these aduersities and contrary successes, together with the burden of the war which was almost wholly reduced vpon him, should giue occasion to *Cesar* and his ministers to doubt, that to shake off so many difficulties and doubts, he would chaunge his mind and turne his thoughts to new deuises: he iudged there could be nothing more apt to assure them, and so by consequence to induce them to proceede more resolutely in the war, then to send amongst them Cardinall de *Medicis*; both for that by reason of his affinity and nearenesse of kinred, he bare no litle authority with him, & also for that without his priuity and counsell, they knew was done nothing of importance, notwithstanding he remained for the most part at *Florence*. And besides that in him were concluded the very counsels & authority of the Pope, yet in sending him to the armie,

was thought to rest no small matter to hold vpon the reputation of the enterprife which was somewhat declined: & lastly, it was likely that for the presence of so great a personage the Captaines would deliberate vpon the affaires with a greater agreement and vnitie; a matter of no lesse necessity to be looked into and remedied, for that betwene *Prosper* and the Marquis of *Pesquero* the quarrell rose more and more increasing, the rather for that the Marquis since the Campe was leuied from before *Parma*, seeking to lay vpon others the infamie of that deliberation, gaue aduertisements to *Rome*, that the resolution had bene set downe without his counsell or priuity. The armie rested one day at *Casalmajor*, and from thence they marched along the territories of *Cremona* to draw neare the riuer *Oglia*, where they arriued in foure remoues of marching: and in this while was nothing done of consequence, sauing that as the armie was lodged in a farme called *la Corte de Frati*, there arose a great fray and mutiny betwene the footbands of *Spaniards* & *Italians*, in the which were slaine many of the *Italian* nation, and yet more by the pollicie of the *Spaniards* then by their valour, for that they knew how to vse the oportunitie of the occasion: neuerthelesse, by the authoritie and labour of the Captaines, the matter was speedily reappeased. The day before, *Iohn de Medicis* alwayes pursuing the enemies, who the same day that the armie stayed at *Casalmajor*, were passed the riuer of *Paw* somewhat higher towards *Cremona*, brake a band of *Venetian* eltradiots led by *Mercurie*, with whom were certaine French horsemen, who tooke prisoner *Don Louis Caietan* sonne to the Duke of *Tracetta*, whose estate neuerthelesse was holden by *Prosper Colonne*: but assoone as they came to incampe vpon the riuer of *Oglia*, fortune beholding with better eye the affaires of the Pope and *Cesar*, broke the sinister counsels of the Captaines, who had determined that from the farme of the Friers or Monks the armie should go to lodge in the towne of *Bordelano*, a place about eight miles from thence, and vpon the same riuer of *Oglia*: for, being not possible to draw thither the artilleries by reason of the ill wayes, it was necessarie to stay in the towne of *Rebecca*, being in the midway, and a place which is only separate by the riuer of *Oglia* from *Pontuike* a towne of the *Venetians*: and whilst they incamped there, they had aduertisement that *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, being followed with the *Venetian* regiments, and had also left at *Cremona* all his baggage and impediments of campe, was come the same day to *S. Martin*, within five miles of that place, with full resolution to meete the enemies the day after in the field, if they offered to passe any further. This troubled not a litle the minds of the Cardinall and the Captaines, for that the Senate of *Venice*, at such time as they sent their people into *Lawtreches* armie, had signified that deliberation to the Pope with such words as seemed to haue some power to stirre and moue him, not for any desire of the French victorie, but for that he had not iust cause not to obserue the confederation. They were also perswaded afore, and the comming of the Cardinall did well confirme that opinion, that *Andrew Grutti* had secret commaundement not to suffer his bands to come to the fight: which perswasion or opinion falling out to be false, it was necessarie to leaue there all their former counsels, since it was confessed of all men, that the armie of the enemy was farre about them in forces, containing, besides the horsemen which were mightie and strong, and seuen thousand footmen French and *Italians*, a puissant strength of ten thousand *Swissers*. But in the armie of the Pope and *Cesar* the numbers of Launceknights were so diminished, and the bands of the *Spaniards* abated, that scarcely were they able to bring to the musters seuen thousand bodies, and of sixe thousand *Italians* (for that the most of them were new supplies, & leuied in haste) their number was more in consideration then their vertue.

Thus *Prosper* with the others determined to tarie in that place for the comming of the *Swissers*, who being vpon their way, and the Cardinall of *Sion* that led them, hauing sent word not to linger for them in any place, it was thought they could not tarie about three or foure dayes: and therefore the morning following, after the Captaines had diligently considered the situation of the place, they reduced into a better forme the lodging, which the night before had bene made almost in tumult and mutinie: in which action they did not consider in what perill they stood to be offended with the artilleries of the towne of *Pontuike* which stood vpon the opposite; for this was the perswasion of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, retaining still his first impressions, that the *Venetians* who stood not bound to the French king in other conditions then to ayde him with men for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, would neuer consent nor suffer that out of their places should be drawne anie meane to vexe the armie of the Church and

Cesar. The difficultie of victuals was one thing that seemed contrarie to the resolution to tarry for the *Swissers* at *Rebecca*; for besides that the quantities that were caried with the armie were not sufficient to feed them but for verie few dayes, yet by reason of the labours done by the exiles of *Millan*, and the vniuersall flying and abandoning that was made through the whole countrey, there was supplied and brought verie litle, and yet that more and more diminished dayly. In respect of these difficulties and wants, *Gnecardin* their Agent gave this counsell, that seeing there was no abiding there for want of victuals, and lesse expectation of the coming of the *Swissers*, who might be stayed by manie occasions, it could not be prejudicial to retire backe againe five or sixe miles vpon the same riuer to the confines of *Mantua*, where hauing vpon their backs the countries of their friends, they should not feare the affliction of famine or want of prouisions. He enforced this counsell with this reasonable allegation, that the thing which presently might be done with suretie, might perhaps stand intangled with greater perill whensoever the enemies should approach. This counsell haply was not displeasing to the Captaines, but the late infamie of the retiring from before *Parma* kept manie of them restrained from the libertie of free speaking. They were also not a litle caried with the hope that the *Swissers* could make no long tarrying, for that within sixe dayes they might easily descend from *Coure* to the territorie of *Bergamo*, and from thence they had no great way to make to ioine with the armie: so that being thus determined to awaite their coming at *Rebecca*, the prouisions of meale caried with the armie were distributed by measure to all the bands. And because there were in the campe no ouens portatiue, and the houses wherein any were built were taken vp by the souldiers, euerie one for his particular feeding baked vpon stones and hote coles the part that was deliuered to him for his prouision: which incommoditie ioyned to the small distributions that were made of meale, was the cause that the bands of *Italian* footmen, notwithstanding they had plentie of wine and flesh, fled secretly from the campe. But the third day *M. Lawtrech* remaining at *Bordellane*, caused about noone-tide to passe ouer *Ogha*, one part of the artilleries, and sent them to *Pontuike* vnder the sufferance and priuity of the *Venetian* Agent, notwithstanding he made semblance of the contrary: and albeit it was almost night, yet they began the same day to draw towards the lodgings of the enemies, whose Captains seeing into the manifest danger, notwithstanding they might haue conueyed themselves into a place where they might haue found defence in the court and shadowes of certaine litle hilles, yet what with the calamitie of want of victuals, and a redoubled feare that the *Swissers* would make long tarrying, they caused the armie to depart the morning following by breake of the day: and as their going away was without brute or sound of trumpet or drumme, and their baggage and traine of Campe drawne afore their companies, so there was no band which did not march in good order and well appointed to fight: they incamped at *Gabbionetta*, about five miles from thence vpon the confines of *Mantua*, confessing with one voyce that they were deliuered from a great daunger, partly by the benefite of fortune, and partly by the negligence and indiscretion of the enemies: for if they had not stayed at *Rebecca* the verie same day that they were appointed to go to *Bordellano*, there had remayned to them a verie small hope of safetie, for that the selfesame or else greater necessities had constrained them to retire, by which aduersitie the retraite being longer, and the enemies more neare, the perill was most manifest. In like sort it is most certaine, that the victorie had vndoubtedly fallen vpon *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, if he had marched to incampe neare the enemies, the same day.

A fault of M. de Lawtrech. he sent the artilleries to *Pontuike*, whereunto hee was aduised by manie of the Captaines, but chiefly by the *Swissers*: for by reason of his nearenesse, they had stood deprived of all meanes to retire in safetie, both for that they could not raunge themselves into battell-array for the impediments of the artilleries of *Pontuike*, and also the rage of the famine would not giue them sufferance in that place aboue three or foure dayes. But such are the ordinarie fruites of singularity and selfe-weening, that whilst by his nature and custome he despised the counsels of all others, he layd open to the enemies the knowledge of the perill that was towards them, and through his fault made them able to preuent his threatnings by their sodaine departure; in so much as it was not without reason that the *Swisser* Captaines told him, that they had well deserued the payes accustomed to be giuen to souldiers that had wonne the battell, seeing it was not long of them that they had not got the victorie. At *Gabbionetta* the armie

of the League fortified their campe with great industry, and in their owne safety remained there many dayes. Neuerthelesse both for that the coming of the *Swissers* seemed dayly to linger and suspend, and also for feare of the neighborhood of the French, both mighty in strength and braue in demonstrations to set vpon them, they passed the riuier of *Oglia*, and went to incampe in the borough of *Ostiano* appertaining to *Lodowik de Bossolo*, with intention not to depart from thence till the *Swissers* were come: which resolution made with wisdom and counsell, was also accompanied with good fortune, for that at *Gabbionetta* by reason of the low and shallow situation, the army had receiued great damages by the abundance of raines and waters falling assoone as the campe was gone.

But whilest in this sort the time ranne forth idly betweene both the armies, the one lying at *Ostiano* and the other at *Rebecca*, the Bishop of *Pistoia Vitelli* hauing drawne into one strength the *Swissers* and the bands of *Italian* footemen, gaue charge vpon the garrisons of the Duke of *Ferrara* that lay at *Finalo*, who albeit had for their aduantage the opportunity of the place, both strong by nature and well fortified by art, yet the *Swissers* whose feare is alwayes least when the perill seemes most, presented themselues with a braue resolution to the daunger, and giuing an ouerthrowe to the whole, they slue manie of them, amongst whom the knight *Coruano* passed by the sword as he was fighting. This brought so great feare and amazement to the Duke of *Ferrara* lying then at *Bodena*, that yeelding to the aduersitie which he could not overcome, he abandoned forthwith that towne, and fled to *Ferrara*, his feares being greater then his assurance. And to take from the enemies all oportunities to follow him, he retired with a present diligence all those barks, vpon the which he had builded a bridge in the same place.

In this meane while the regiments of *Swissers* that were expected, were discented vpon the territories of *Bergama*: and yet their minds being no lesse variable then their difficulties certaine, they stayed to passe further, hauing expressely refused to turne themselues to inuade the Duchy of *Millan* according to the instance of the Cardinall of *Sion* and the Agents of the Pope and *Cesar*. They also made difficultie to ioyne with the armie that expected them at *Ostiano*, for that it was prepared to march against the French king, offering to go to the seruice of any place that the Pope should thinke good in the estate or dominion of the Church, for the defending of which, they sayd they were entred into pay: and yet according to their barbarous interpretation of things, they consented to march to assaile *Parma* and *Plaisance* as Cities manifestly appertaining to the Church, or at least to they which the French king had no certaine right or interest. They required also that afore they should march, there should be sent to them from the army, three hundred light horsemen, the better with their ayde to leaue victuals in those countries and places through the which they should passe. These were the difficulties they stood vpon, bearing more vpon froward wilfulnesse, then vpon reason or necessitie of the present seruice: neuerthelesse in the ende the light horsemen were sent, who passed at vnwares in great diligence along the territories of the *Venetians*: they disposed their marching so, as they might come into some place most neare the army, to haue the more conueniency and oportunitie to consult and resolue what were to be done: and in their way they gaue the chase to certaine bands of the French and the *Venetians* which were bestowed at *Pondowille* or rather vpon the lake of *Eupile* to stoppe their passage. Assoone as they were drawne neare to the armie, there was present labour made to dispose them to ioyne, against the French, in which solicitation were employed manie messengers and Embassadors, and chiefly the Archbishop of *Capua* going to and fro in the name of the Cardinall de *Medicis*. At last, the bands that were leuiued of the Canton of *Surich*, who as they haue a greater authority, so they make profession to do things with a greater grauity, refused it constantly: the others after many doubts and obiections, neither expressely denied, nor manifestly accepted the offers that were made to them, for that as they refused not to follow the armie, so yet it was without declaration that they would enter with them into the Duchie of *Millan*. So that, what by the counsell of the Cardinall of *Sion*, and labour of the Captaines, into whose wils were made many corrupt insinuations by offers and promises, the army determined to march on vnder this hope, that since they refused not to follow, they would not be hard to be drawne to any place where the army went.

*The Swissers
leuiued by the
Pope would
not march a-
gainst the
French king.*

The bands of *Surich* containing foure thousand in number, braken off and returned toward *Reggia*: and the army after it had remained about a moneth betwene *Gabbionetta* and *Osirano*, ioyned with the other *Swissers* at *Gambaro*: they caried marching in the middle of them the Legats of *Sion* and *Medicis* with their crosses of siluer, enuironed with infinite weapons, artificeries, blasphemers, mankillers, & robbers: so much at that time did they abuse the reuerence of religion. They went in three remouings of campe through the lands of the *Venetians* to *Orchiueche*, a towne of their obedience, making this excuse to the Senate, that it was a passage necessary, and that they had no intention or desire to offend them. In the same sort was it excused to them when *Andrewe Gritti* their Agent was constrained to consent to *Monsieur Lawirech*, to send artilleries to *Pontuice*. At *Orchiueche* arriued certaine Curriers sent by the Lords of the Cantons to commaund the *Swissers* to depart from the army, sending also the like commaundement by other Postes to the bands that were in the French campe, to whom was alleaged, that it was a thing vnworthy the reputation of their name and countrey, to suffer the footemen of their nation to serue vnder publike Ensignes in the armies of two enemies: but these commandements brought forth diuerse effects, for, the Postes that were dispatched to the campe of the League, were by coming stayed in the way, so that they came not so farre as to those bands that were with the Cardinall of *Sion*. And touching the companies that followed the French campe, they dismissed themselves immediatly without bidding farewell, not that they moued by the commandements that were sent, and much lesse for the longnesse of the warre, wherein they are wont to be most impatient aboue all other nations. But they saw into the disability of *Monsieur de Lawirech* to answer their payes, who as he had of long time receiued no mony out of *France*, so the extreame exactions which he leuied vpon the Duchie of *Millan* were farre insufficient to satisfie his charge.

Here may be gathered a fit experience, how much the enuie and indiscretion of officers brings preiudice and damage to Princes, who either through negligence haue no employment in affaires, or else by incapacity, are not able of themselves to discern good counsels from euill: for, where direction was giuen for the leuying of three hundred thousand crownes to be sent to *Lawirech* according to the kings promise: the Lady Regent being the kings mother, bare so great emulation of his greatnesse, that vsing her enuie against the profite of her sonne, she procured the Treasurers and Receiuers without the kings priuie, to turne that summe to another vse. The same being the cause that *Monsieur Lawirech* suffered himselfe to runne into confusion and priuate grieft, since by the departing of the *Swissers*, the successe of the warres which afore he promised to be good and happie, was become full of doubts and dispaire: and therefore forbearing to contend against enuie, fortune and the time, he bestowed garrisons in *Cremona* and *Pisqueton*, and reduced himselfe with the residue of the armie to *Cassan*, hoping to giue impediment to the enemies to passe *Adda*, both in respect of the ordinarie difficulties which follow armiesthat are to passe riuers when there stands resistance vpon the shore opposite, and also for the oportunity of the place, bearing his banke towards *Millan* verie high and raised, and therefore the offence is greater that is done to the enemies with the artilleries, then that which they can receiue.

On the other side, the Legats Apostolike and the Captaines were broken vp from *Orchiueche*, and passing eftsoones the riuer of *Oglio*, were come in three remouings to *Rinolco*, not feeling any more the incommodity of victuals, for that they were plentifully relieved by the townes of *Gumaradadda*, which the Frenchmen had left abandoned. At this place, as both the armies were vpon tearmes, the one to winne, and the other to stoppe the passage of the riuer, *Prosper* and the other Captaines made preparation to build a bridge betwene *Rinolco* and *Cassan*; a matter very doubtfull and hard for the stopping of the enemies. Wherein hauing consumed two or three dayes in controuersies and counsels, at last *Prosper* who would not communicate his thoughts with the Marquis of *Pesquero*, to the ende he should haue no interest in the glory of that action, and much lesse would vse the seruice of the *Spaniards* least they would disclose his deuise, caused secretly to be taken from the riuer of *Bembe*, two small barks, and sent by night with great silence certaine bands of *Italian* footmen to passe the riuer right against the towne of *Vaury*: *Vaury* is a towne open, discouered, and without wals, and hath his situation vpon the barks of *Adda* fife miles from *Cassan*: There is conuenient
passage

passage ouer the riuer, & in the midst of the towne is there a small circuit of wal raised in forme ^{The souldiers of the league passe the riuer of Adda.} of a litle Castell: these were for the gard of this place, certaine bands of horsmen vnder the charge of *Hugh de Pape* Lieutenant to the men at armes which the French king had giuen to *Othman Fregosa*: vpon the hearing of the noyse that was made, he presented himselfe vpon the banke or shore, from the which he was presently repulsed with force of shot, and yet it was thought that he might easily haue maintained resistance, if a certaine troupe of hargubuziers had ioyned with those horsmen which he had with him; a matter which afterwards he said he did require of *Monsieur Lawtrech*.

As the footmen passed in troupes and numbers, so they assembled and drew into strength in a place within the towne raised and somewhat fortified, expecting there the succours which *Prosper* had appointed: who as soone as he was aduertised of that happie beginning, caused to be turned that way almost all the footebands of the army bestowed in diuerse boroughs of *Guiradadda*, to who he gaue this order, that as they arriued they should passe successiuelly vpon the same small barks, and vpon two others that were appointed to follow the armie to serue for bridges ouer riuers, which by night were caried ouer land to the same banke or shore: then he and the other Captaines with the Cardinall *Medicis*, tooke forthwith the same way, leauing this commandement to such as taried at *Rimolto*, that if the Frenchmen retired from thence, they should immediatly set vp the bridge. But at *Vadry* the successe of the enterprise was vncertaine for certaine howers, for, if *Monsieur Lawtrech* vpon his first aduertisement of the passing of his enemies, had conuerted thither one part of the armie, he had no doubt giuen them the ouerthrowe: but after he had spent certaine howers in doubt what he had to do, he dispatched thither *Monsieur d'Escud* with foure hundred Launces and the bands of the French footemen, causing to be drawne afterwards certaine peeces of artilleries. *Monsieur d'Escud* and his regiments marched thither in great diligence, and beganne very resolutely to charge the place where the enemies were retired, euē at the same time that the succours which were expected appeared vpon the other shore: for whose coming, together with the hope that they brought, the enemies made a valiant defence, notwithstanding that *Monsieur d'Escud* descended on foote with all his men at armes, and made so resolute a fight in the straightes of the streetes, that if the artilleries had come in time, his valour no doubt had giuen them the ouerthrowe: but on the other side the shore, did make speede to passe as much as the fraught of the barks could carie, *Tegame* Captaine of the *Grisons*, and two Ensignes of Spanish footemen, pushed on with the comforts and speeches of Cardinall *de Medicis* and the other Captaines. And as in matters of execution examples do much, so in this heate of valour and valiant doings, *Iohn de Medicis*, more moued of his naturall magnanimity and great desire of glorie, then by any other mans incitation, swam ouer the deepnesse of the water vpon a Turkish horse to the other side, giuing in that action both a present feare to the enemy, and a iust courage to his owne companies. At last notwithstanding the present arriual of the artilleries, *Monsieur d'Escud* finding the defence that was made to be so farre aboue his forces, and his fortune no lesse inferiour, that he could not but dispaire of the victory, retired to *Cassan* with the losse of an Ensigne, and by his example *Lawtrech* departed from *Cassan*, and withdrew to *Mullan* with the whole army. There, whether it was that he would not lose the occasion to satisfie his hate conceiued afore, or whether he thought that by that spectacle he should make himselfe more feared and redoubted, he caused to be executed publicly, *Christopher Paluoin*: an action of great pitie and compassion to behold, no lesse for the noblenesse of his house, greatnesse and authority of his person, and flourishing estate of his age, then for that he was committed to prison many monerhs afore the warre; in which point his iustice was not without extreame feueritie. By this passing ouer *Adda*, *Prosper* wonne a name and glory aboue the Sunne: he was afore not only infamous at *Rome*, but contemned throughout the whole army, not so much for his breaking vp from before *Parma*, as for his custome in protracting the warre: but now, as it often happeneth that things done first, loose their memorie by the consideration of such as follow and are done afterwards, so the infamie of his former vices was now defaced, and the minds of all men conuerted to prayse and extoll him, the rather for that without bloud and daunger, yea altogether with counsell and industrie worthy of so well experienced a Captaine, he had stolne from the enemies the passage of that riuer: a matter which *Monsieur Lawtrech* did not onely

promise to himselfe and his whole armie to let and stoppe, but also assured it absolutely to the king vnder his writing and publike protestations: and yet (such emulation followeth valour and the glory thereof) there were some, who with reasons either true, or apparent, laboured to diminish the glory of this action, wherein they alleaged that there was no vertue nor rare industry neither in the inuention nor in the execution: for that nature and naturall providence doth teach all men finding impediments in riuers and strait passages, to search and sound some other way to passe either higher or lower, where nothing is obiected to stop them. They could say also that the passage of *Vaur* was at hand, and by his ordinary frequentation a passage very conuenient, and that *Lawtrech* had bene so carelesse to gard it, that his negligence had left no place to industrie: so that in no other thing could be recommended the providence of *Prosper*, then that with secrecie he had made prouision of the barkes, and managed the whole enterprise with necessary silence. There were other also, who perhaps either too diligent to iudge of things, or more ready to reprehend faults that be doubtfull, then apt to commend actions and doings certaine, were not contented to diminish the renoume of his industrie, but with a spirite more enuious, they iustified that there was in him neither providence nor order conuenient: for, say they, in not sending commaundement to those bands to stirre that were appointed for succours and lodged within *Treny*, *Carauage* and many other places, but when the footemen whom he had sent before were possessed of *Vaur*: it fell out that the first companies could not arriue vpon the shore of theriuier vntill noone, which was foureteene houres after the first bands of footmen were past: so that if *Monsieur Lawtrech* had done presently vpon the aduertisement that was sent to him, the thing which he did many houres after, there is no doubt but he had recouered *Vaur*, and giuen the ouerthrowe to those footebandes that were passed, for that the succours or rescue were too slowe and lingering: But such interpretations and fancies of men did nothing at all depraue the glorie of *Prosper*, for that commonly in humane wittes this collection is made, that they iudge the counsels of men by the euent of things, and so sometimes with praise and sometimes with dishonour according as the successe is happie or contrarie, they giue that to counsell and providence, which for the most part takes his proceeding of fortune.

Monsieur Lawtrech being departed from the shores of *Adda*, it was to be doubted that the enemies who the day following builded a bridge betweene *Rimolia* & *Cassan*, wold draw neare to *Millan* as fast as they could: yet *Prosper*, whose counsell albeit was blamed by the popular sort, was yet approued by such as saw into the science of war, was of mind that in taking a longer circuite, they should march the first day to incampe at *Marignan*, a towne equally distant from *Millan* & *Pauia*: for, being not possible for the hardnesse of the time both cold and rainy, to keepe the field, he iudged it best to draw neare to *Millan* on that side, by the which if he found it hard to enter, he might immediatly turne to *Pauia*, where *Lawtrech* had left no garrison, for that he sought to reduce all his forces to *Millan*: in which city both for the plenty of victuals, & many other oportunities, he thought to settle the seate of the war. On the other side, *M. Lawtrech* whose army of footmen was reduced to a very small number, had from the beginning deuised to gard only the City of *Millan*: but considering afterwards that if he abandoned the suburbs, he gaue meane to the enemy to lodge and incampe, and therewithall many ready oportunities to take the towne, he changed opinion, and determined as yet to defend the suburbs: This no doubt was a resolute and wise counsell, if it had bene accompanied with that vigilancy that appertained, for that by it, considering the vnlooked for accidents that fell within few dayes after, things had brought forth another issue then they did. But the army of the league being lodged for the greatest part at *Marignan*, & the *Swissers* more forward in the Abbay of *Cleruault*, after they had remained there three dayes to expect the artilleries which could not follow for the extremity of the wayes: presented themselves the xix. day of Nouember before *Millan*, hauing this intention, that if they could not enter the same day, they wold depart the day after and draw to *Pauia*, whither was already dispatched part of the light horfmen to take possession of the towne. There hapned that morning this matter worthy of memory, as the Legates and Chieftaines of the army stood in a medow neare to *Cleruault* to giue place to the *Swissers* to passe, there came to them an old mā of aspect & habit popular, who telling them that he was sent by the parish of *S. Cir* in *Millan* solicited & called vpon them with great exclamations to passe further: for that saith he, order was giue that

not

not onely the parish of *Saint Cir*, but all the parts of *Millan* vpon the approching of the army would rise and take armes against the Frenchmen at the vniuersall ringing of the bells of euery parish. This relation was made more wonderfull by the consideration of the man and his departure, for that notwithstanding al their diligence to find him againe, they could neuer learne what he was, nor by whom he was sent. The army then marched in order towards the gate of *Rome*, and the great artilleries stayed at the entry of a way which turneth to *Pania*. The Marquis of *Pesquero* who was in the former front of the battell with his bands of Spanish footmen, obseruing the coming on of the euening, drew neare the trench that is betweene the gate of *Rome*, and the port *Thesin*, & presenting his harquebuziers against a bastillion made in a place called *Vicentin*, neare the gate named *Lodowikes* gate, and that more to make a triall, then in hope to cary it, the *Venetian* footebands that garded the place, after they had with much ado endured the presence of the enemies, gaue their backs with an incredible basenesse of mind, by whose example the *Swissers* that lay neare them, put themselves to flight, their feare being greater then their fidelity. By which yeelding, the Spanish footebands that passed the trench and the rampier without any impediment, entred with the same facility the suburbes, and in that hurliburley of entring they rooke and hurt lightly *Theodor Trinnlce* being all disarmed vpon a little nagge, who payed afterward to the Marquis of *Pesquero* for his liberty twentie thousand duckats. In this confusion of feare and perill, *Andrew Gritti* with many others made way with great hardnesse for their safety, who after by the benefite of chase and flying, they were esstoones vnited with the French; they retired altogether into the towne by fetching a very long compasse: but both for that they had made no prouision for their defence, and also that they had no strength of footemen, and therewithall the people disposed to rebell, they stayed about the Castell. On the other side, the Marquis of *Pesquero* in whom wanted no diligence to follow his fortune, made his approach to the gate of *Rome* (the gates of the City and the suburbes beare all one name) & was receiued into the towne by the principall partners of the *Gebelin* faction, hauing the gate in gard. And not long after the Cardinall *Medici*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, *Prosper*, and one part of the army made their entrie in the same sort by the port *Thesin*, the victors themselves being almost ignorant in what manner or by what disorder they had won so great a victory: onely the principall cause proceeded of the negligence of the Frenchmen, for that (as was discerned afterwards) *Monsieur Lawtrech* had no aduertisement that the enemies were remoued that day; yea it was beleueed that he assured himselfe, that for the disaduantage of the wayes being much disordered and broken with the raynes that were fallen, they would not that day make their artilleries march, without the which he neuer thought that they would assault the rampiers: yea such was his security, that at the same time that the enemy entred the rampiers, he was walking vnarmed in the City of *Millan*, accompanied with other Captaines, without any cogitation of enterprise, as also *Monsieur d'Escud* being made wearie with watching the night before, was layd downe to sleepe in his owne lodging: both of them being beguiled in the care which they ought to haue had of their proper safety, honor and reputation. And yet it seemed fortune reserued for them a fauour which their destiny would not let them enioy: for if *Monsieur de Lawtrech* after his feare and flying had reassembled his people vpon the Castell greene, it was beleueed that there was offered to him no little occasion to offend the enemies, for that one part were dispersed disorderly within *Millan*, another part stood houering in the suburbes in confusion; and the residue remained without in a troubled expectation. But what through his feare, which could not be reappeased, and what by the error of the darke night to discerne in so little time the estate of the enemies, he departed the same night to *Coma*, where leauing fiftie men at armes and fixe hundred footemen, he tooke the way by the parish of *Inzina*, and so after he was passed *Adda* to *Lecco*, he drew to the countrey of *Bergama*, the Castell of *Millan* remaining well garded and furnished. *Lodi* and *Pania* followed the example of *Millan*: and at the same time the Bishop of *Pisoya* and *Vitelli*, who leauing *Parma* behind them, had taken the way of *Plaisance*, were willingly receiued into that City. The like successe they had in *Cremona*, where vpon the newes not onely that *Millan* was taken, but also that the French were ouerthrowne, the people ran to armes and cried vpon the name of the Empire and Duke of *Millan*: As soone as the commotion was vnderstood by *Monsieur Lawtrech*, who was then arriued vpon the territories of *Bergama*, he dispatched thither *Monsieur d'Escud* with one part of the armie to recouer it: he

The taking of
Millan by the
League.

was repulsed by the people, by which occasion *Lamirech* notwithstanding he had very small hope of good successe, for that the *Swissers* that were within *Parma* might easily succor it, went thither with the whole arme, hauing first giuen order that *Federike de Bessolo* should abandon *Parma*, holding it a matter of too great difficulty to furnish so many places. This enterprize drew with it a good successe and issue: for, notwithstanding that Cardinall *Medici* assoone as he understood of the rebellion of *Cremona*, had sent to the Bishop of *Pistoia*, that the better to assure such a conquest, he should dispatch thither one part of the *Swissers*: yet because he would neither deuide them, nor intangle himselfe with other affaires, standing alwayes vpon a desire to go with them to an enterprize determined vpon *Genes*, he lingred so long, that he left sufficient time to *Monsieur Lamirech* to recouer it, hauing both the Castell to hold for him, and also knowing there was to be objected against him no other defence then a confused resistance of the people, in whom he discerned already an inclination to yeeld, for that they sent Embassadors to sollicite their pardon. This good euent ministred eftsoones some good courage and life to *Monsieur Lamirech*, who sent forthwith to *Federike Bessolo* not to abandon *Parma*: but he was departed afore the sommons came, and had passed *Pau* with his bands and companies: at what time *Vitelli* who went to *Plaisance* with his companies, and was not farre from *Parma* when *Federike* departed, was called in by an vniuersall consent of the people, and made his entrie. The Capitaines and Assistantes of the League deuised how to recouer the residue of the estate, vnder this foundation, to make no more so great expences: and accordingly they dispatched from *Millean* at the same time the Marquis of *Pesquero* with his bands of *Spaniards* and the Launceknights and *Grisons*, to lay siege to *Coma*. In which enterprize it may be doubted whether was more forward his desire or his fortune, for he had no sooner begunne to enforce the terrour of his artilleries, then the defendants dispayring of rescue, agreed to render vp the place vnder condition of safety of life and goods, aswell to the French bands as to the inhabitants of the towne: and yet when the Frenchmen were vpon their departure, the *Spaniards* made their entrie and sacked it, to the great infamy of the Marquis, who being afterwards accused of faith breaking by *Iohn Chabannes* chiefe of the French bands within *Coma*, was by him defied and chalenged to the combate.

At the same instant they of the League sent the Bishop of *Verula* to the *Swissers*, to assure them of their wils, neuertheless assoone as he was come to *Belinsone* they committed him to ward, for that standing ill contented that their regiments of footmen had marched against the French king, they did not only complaine of the Cardinall of *Sion* and the Pope, but also of all their ministers and officers: but chiefly they inueyed against the Bishop of *Verula*, for that being the Popes *Nuncio* with them at such time as they leuied their men, he laboured to induce them to go against the exception vnder the which they had bene accorded.

The estate and affaires of the warre was reduced into these rearmes, with a wonderfull hope in the Pope and *Cesar* to confirme the victory, both for that the French king had no meane to dispatch with expedition new companies into *Italy*, and also for themselues they thought the power of those who had won *Millean* vpon him with the most part of the Duchy, was sufficient not onely to preserve it, but also to runne through all the residue that remained in the hands of the enemy. Yea such a thing is terrour, that the Senate of *Venice* fearing least the warre begunne against others would fall vpon them, gaue hope to the Pope to cause the French bands to depart out of their lands. But of thoughts sudden beganne to spring an accident vnlooked for: for, newes came that the Pope was dead suddenly the first day of December: as he lay at the village of of *Magliana* whither he went oftentimes for his recreation, he heard the first report of the taking of *Millean*, which stirred in him such an extreame passion of ioy, that the same night he entred into a small feauer: and for his better remedie he caused himselfe the next day to be removed to *Rome*, where he died within very few dayes after, notwithstanding the Physicians in the beginning made no great reckening of his disease. There was great suspition that he was poysoned by *Barnaby Malestina* his Chamberleine, whose office was alwayes to giue him drinke: and yet though he was made prisoner through the suspition of the fact & the vehement reasons of the same: yet the matter was dashed and the examination thereof, for that the Cardinall *Medici* assoone as he came to *Rome*, set him at liberty, fearing to fall further into the disgrace of the French king, by whose practise it was supposed that *Barnaby* gaue him the fatall drinke. This was

The death of
Pope Leo the
seenth,

but

but whispered secretly, the author being no lesse doubtfull then the coniectures vncertaine: he died, if we consider the common opinion of men, in verie great glorie and felicitie, not so much for that by the surprising of *Millan* he saw himselfe deliuered of daungers and expences intollerable, which hauing drayned him of all store of money and treasure, he was constrained to aduaunce all means and maners for his supply and relieuing: but also that a verie few dayes afore his death he receiued aduertisement of the taking of *Plaisance*, and the very day he died, newes came to him of the winning of *Parma*; a matter so greatly desired by him, that at such time as he debated to moue warre against the Frenchmen, it is verie well remebred that he said to the Cardinall *de Medici* labouring to dissuade him, that as he was in nothing more caried to the desire of that warre, then to recouer to the Church those two cities, so whensoever God should blesse him with the effect of that desire, it would not grieue him to die. He was a Prince in whom were many things worthy to be commended and blamed, and in the estate and discourse of his life he deceiued greatly the expectation that was had of him when he was created Pope, for that his gouernement was with a greater discretion, but with farre lesse bounty then was looked for.

The death of the Pope did greatly diminish the affaires of *Cesar* in *Italy*, as also it was not vnlikely that such an enemy being taken away, with whose money the whole warre was both begun and continued, both the French king would enter into a new spirit, and dispatch a new armie into *Italy*, and also the *Venetians* for the same causes would recontinue the confederation they had with him: so that it seemed that by this accident, the deuises to assaile *Cremona* and *Genes* vanished and were dissolued: and the officers of *Cesar*, who till then had payd the Spanish bands, with great difficultie were constrained to dismisse a great part of them; a matter not without daunger, since there were holden yet for the king *Cremona*, *Genes*, *Alexandria*, and Castle of *Millan*, the Castles of *Nouaro* and *Tressa*, *Pisqueton*, *Domussolo*, *Arona*, and all the Lake maiors besides, the rocke of *Pontremio* was eftsoones returned to his deuotion, which being lost before, was reconquered by *Sinibaldo de Fiesquo* and the Count *Nocero*. Neither had the affaires of the French king anie good successe beyond the mounts, for that *Cesar* bringing warre vpon *Flanders*, had taken from him the Citie of *Tournay*, and not long after the Castle, wherein were no small quantities of artilleries and munitions: in so much that by reason of the Popes death, new gouernements, new counsels, and new estates of affaires and doings were introduced into the Duchie of *Millan*. The Cardinals of *Syon* and *Medici* made forthwith to *Rome*, to communicate in the election of the new Pope. The Imperials kept retained with them fifteene hundred footmen *Swissers*, and dismissed all the others, together with the Launceknights, who went their way: the bands of the *Florentines* tooke their way to returne into *Tuscane*: touching the regiments of the Church, *Guido Rangon* led one part of them to *Modena*, and the other remained in the estate of *Millan* with the Marquis of *Mantua*, and that more of his proper resolution then by the consent of the Colledge of Cardinals, who standing deuided amongst themselves, could bring forth nothing in determinatiō: insomuch as when *Monsieur Lawtrech* made his complaints to them, that the souldiers of the Church remayned vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, to the preiudice of the French king, to whom for the charitable actions of his predecessors done to the Church, was transferred the title of Protector and eldest sonne of the same; they could not agree to returne other answer or resolution, then that they referred his remedy to the determination of the Pope to come. Of those *Swissers* that were in *Plaisance*, one part went with the Bishop of *Pisoy* to *Modena*, for the defence of that Citie and *Reggia* against the Duke of *Ferrara*, who immediately vpon the death of the Pope had taken the field with an hundred men at armes, two thousand footmen, and three hundred light horsemen, and so went to incampe before *Cente*, after he had recouered by the will of the inhabitants *Bondene*, *Finalo*, the mountaine of *Modena*, and *Tarfagnano*, and with the same facility had taken *Lugo*, *Bagnacaval*, with other townes of *Romagnia*. Those *Swissers* that were of the Canton of *Zurich* continued at *Plaisance*, and for that they would not suffer themselves to be separated, they would not giue leaue to a thousand of them to go to the guard of *Parma*, which Citie remaining almost disfurnished, *Monsieur Lawtrech* being then within *Cremona* with sixe hundred Launces, and two thousand five hundred footmen, tooke occasion of the nakednesse of the place, to attempt to reconquer it, being specially induced to the action by *Federike Bossolo*, who caried great credite in that matter for he peculiar knowledge he had in enterprises of like nature.

The Frenchmen
before Parma.

It was then determined that *M. de Bonneau* with three hundred *Launces*, and *Federike* and *Marke Anth. Colonne*, the one with the French footmen, the other with the *Venetian* bands containing in one strength and general number five thousand bodies, should be employed to surprise the citie of *Parma*, wherein were sixe hundred footmen *Italians*, and fiftie men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, besides that the people & inhabitants were at the deuotion of the Church, but slenderly armed, and no lesse ill contented for the memorie of the French, and violences wed by *Federike*. With these was also concurrant this aduantage, that of that part of the towne which had bene battered by the Campe of the Church, the walles lay yet on the ground without any restoring or repairing: lastly, the Sea Apostolike was in vacation, a matter which is alwayes wont to keepe the minds of men in variation, and make gouernours rather carefull of their proper safety, then to looke to the defence of townes, as not knowing for whom they should put themselves into daunger. So that with these foundations, the French footmen were sent below, along the riuer of *Pau* euen vnto *Torricelle*, where the bands of men at armes that were come from *Cremona* by land, ioyned with them: and many Barks being sent thither from *Cremona*, they passed ouer *Pau* by night to *Torricelle*, which is within twelue miles of *Parma*, hauing to follow them by direction *Marke Anth. Colonne* with the *Venetian* footbands that were lodged vpon *Oglio*. *Frauncis Guicciardin* was sent thither for the guard of the towne by commission of Cardinall *de Medici*, and doubting of the daunger that was so apparant, he caused to call together by night the whole people and inhabitants, whom he encouraged to stand valiantly to the defence of their liues and libertie: and because they should fight against their perill more with weapons then with words, he caused to be bestowed among them two thousand pikes, which two dayes before he had sent for from *Reggia*: it imported him much to be carefull to make prouisions necessarie for defence, wherein by so much greater was his diligence and studie, by how much more both the time and the place ministred many difficulties, both for that the small numbers of souldiers within the towne were not sufficient to defend it, without the ayde of the people, vpon whom in those sodaine and daungerous cases can be laid no firme foundation, for the variableness of their condition: and also for that he saw it impossible to let the enemies for entring the *Codipont*, for which cause he retired the souldiers and all the townes-men into the other part of the citie, but not without a wonderfull difficultie: for, hauing a vaine perswasion amongst them, that it might be defended, as also the inhabitants of that quarter, interpreting to rigour and hardnesse to leaue abandoned their owne houses, they could not be disposed to it neither with reasons, nor with authoritie, vntill they saw the enemies approach: because the inhabitants were so long afore they would be perswaded to retire, the enemy lacked not much to enter with them pell-mell into the other part of the towne, where concurred at one time many difficulties, both necessity of mony, and inconueniency of the time, being the selfe same day wherein they were to pay the footbands, who protested to go out of the towne if they were not satisfied of their payes within xxiiij. houres. The first day *Federike Bossolo* with threethousand footmen and certaine light horsemen, entred the *Codipont* which was left abandoned: the day after arriued there *M. de Bonneau* with the French *Launces*, and *Marke Anth.* with 2000 footmen *Venetians*: they had not with them other artilleries then two Sakers, for that by the impediment of the ill wayes all along *Pau*, the places being lowe and apt to retaine water, made it verie hard for the vse of carts to draw greater artilleries: which had not bene without losse of time, and that contrary to their hopes, grounded altogether vpon celeritie and diligence, for that they feared in lingring much, least *Parma* should receiue some rescue either from *Modena* or from *Plaisance*. Neuerthelesse the inhabitants being abused with the fancies and feares of certaine paynants of the countrey that were fled, stood possessed with an opinion that the great artilleries were comming: by which occasion they were entred into a wonderfull terrour, and the same redoubled by a deuise of *Federike*, who hauing taken in the countrey certaine Citizens, he made them assuredly beleue by certaine rebels of *Parma* which he had with him, that *Marke Anth.* and the Frenchmen came after with a great armie and artilleries: and after he had let them go to *Parma*, they brought newes touching the forces of the enemies and other things, much against the truth, and so replenished the people with terrour and amaze, that not only the Commons through all the quarters of the towne, but euen their Magistrates and counsell, hauing charge of the affaires publike, began with importunities to entreate the Gouernour, that what for the safetie of himselfe and his souldiers, and to deliuer the Citie fro

ser-

seruitude and sacking, he would suffer them to compound with the enemies. Against which demand whilest the Gouernour made resistance, sometimes with reasons, and sometimes with requests, & consumed the time in debating, there hapned this new difficultie, that the pay day being come, the souldiers that were drawne into insurrection, published in maner of tumult, that if they were not paid, they would depart the towne: So litle assurance is there in souldiers mercenarie, in whom in times of triall and danger, is commonly found lesse fidelity then forwardnesse, and more corruption then constancie, and seruing but for pay, they haue no regards about the desire of money and gaine. Neuerthelesse the Agent or treasurer obtained with manie perswasions of the inhabitants, to furnish one part of the money, which though they had promised before, yet they became slowe to performe; notwithstanding he declared to them that in alleuents & changes that action would stand them in no small stead of iustification with the Popes to come: with this mony he reappeased the tumult as well as he could, the same being the cause that the feare of the people augmented. And as the souldiers, who for their small numbers saw themselves at the discretion of the people, and had no suretie of any one of the Citie, so they entred into present suspicion that the forces that were both within and without would set vpon them at one time: inso-much as they rather wished that the Citie would render by accord vnder capitulations of their safetie, then to continue and dwell in that daunger: So vnquiet a passion is feare, that whom it possesseth, it maketh them nothing lesse apt then to be resolute or constant, and keepeth them deprived of that reason and counsell which in other cases is the guide of mortall men and their doings. But in this estate of affaires reduced thus to extremities, it was necessarie for the gouer-nour to shew himselfe constant and absolute, & therefore he sometimes assured the souldiers that the perill was aswell comon to him as to the, & somtimes he stirred vp the principals of the towne assembled in counsell, with whom he reasoned that there was no occasion of feare, for that he was assured the enemies caused not to march their great artilleries, without the which it was both childish & scornfull to doubt that by the benefit of scaling ladders they would offer to enter or force the towne, wherein was a sufficient strength of youth and souldiers to make resistance against a far greater violence: he told them he had sent to require succours at *Modena*, where were the *Swissers*, *Vstelli*, & *Guido Rangon*, with their bands, not doubting but that the day following he should be supplied with such a strength as wold be able to enforce the enemy to depart: that aswell in regard of their own honor, as for feare least with the loosing of *Parma*, there hapned not a greater disorder, those succors wold make haste & their rescue be almost as ready as their danger: that he had sent to *Plaisance* for the same matter, & for the same reasons he had manifest hope to be relieved fro thence: that they had to consider that the Pope being dead, who had honored him with the credit of that place wherein he was, there remained to him no interest or bond (if things stood vpon such such termes as they imagined) to subiect himselfe to a perill so apparant; for that according to experience & comon examples past, much lesse that the officers of the Pope deceased can expect of the Pope to come any degree of recopence, since it was most likely that the Pope of the new election wold become enemy to *Florence* his naturall country: for which reasons he had no cause to desire the greatnesse of the Church, respects publike being no lesse against it the occasions priuate: only such might be the concurrence of accidents, that the diminution of the same wold be most acceptable to him: that touching his owne particular, he had not within *Parma* either wife, children, or any goods, for the which he was to feare that by the translation of the gouernment they might be made a pray to the lusts, to the insolencies, & rapines of the French: that lastly, since he had no reason to hope for any profite by the defence of *Parma*, and lesse feare (by rendring it) of the aduersities they had proued vnder the hard yoke of the French, & taking it by force, his person communicating in the same daungers that they did: they might be assured that no other thing moued him to remaine constant, then the manifest knowledge he had that the enemies had no ability to force the towne without their great artilleries; of which as he was assured, they had none at all, so if he stood in doubt, it stood him vpon not to stand against the accord, hauing no lesse care of his owne safety, then all they had desire to auoyd their common daunger: seeing withall, that by the vacation of the Sea Apostolike, and he not able in such a towne as that was, to oppose himselfe against so great an inclination and will of the people, he could not be within daunger of imputation, and much lesse stand charged with their reuolt. With these reasons sometimes dealing apart and seuerall with many particulars, and sometimes disputing with them altogether

and sometimes leading them along the walles, and eversoones reasoning with them of other provisions, he robbed the time from them, and entertained them all the night: yea he was not ignorant that notwithstanding they had vehement imaginations to compound with the enemies, and that not for other cause then for feare to be passed into captiuitie and spoile; yet they retained this consideration, that in according without his consent, they could not auoid the note of rebels and faith-breakers. But assoone as the day appeared, which was a day dedicated to Saint *Thomas* the Apostle, they began to know by the bullets that were shot from the two sakers planted there the same night, that the enemies had no peeces for batterie: which made the gouernour to hope that returning to counsell, he should find them chaunged and assured, but he found them of disposition contrarie, their feares being by so much augmented & redoubled, by how much by the light of the day making them able to discern, they esteemed themselves to be neare the perill: inso much as laying aside all regards to fidelitie, & aptnesse to heare reason, they began with manifest instance, with protestations and threatnings to compell him to aduance the composition:

“ Such is the rage of a multitude vnbridled, and so violently do they run to execute the thing which
 “ in their feares they haue imagined, that their minds being once made timorous, there is nothing
 “ lesse respected with them then the thing which should most assure them. The Gouernour made
 answer with a liuely resolution and libertie of mind, that since he had no power to stop in them
 the course of those speeches & thoughts, which he wold do, if he had in *Parma* a greater strength,
 there remained to him no other satisfaction of the iniurie which they were determined to do to
 the Sea Apostolike, & to him being a minister of the same, then that they could not auoid the in-
 famie of rebellion, and imputation of disloyalty to their Lords, if reason could not hold them from
 executing the resolution which their timorous condition had stirred in them: he reproched to the
 with vehement words the oath of homage & fidelity, which a few dayes before they had solemnly
 made to him on the behalfe of the Sea Apostolike: he told them, that though he saw afore his
 eyes their destruction & death manifest, yet they were not to draw fro him any other conclusion
 then that he would continue to make good his faith in that seruice, vntill either by supplies of new
 bands, or by the comming of great artilleries to the campe of the enemies, or some other accident
 hapning, he were satisfied that the daunger was more manifest to loose the towne, then the hope
 greater to defend it. He flung out of the Counsell immediatly vpon the deliuey of these spee-
 ches, partly to leaue them sounding in their eares, and imprinted in their minds with greater au-
 thoritie, and partly to giue order to many things necessarie, if the enemies should offer to giue
 to the assault that day, as was beleueed: but they remained in suspence, and stood so much the
 more confused, by how much their reason was lesse then their feares: whereupon yeelding at last
 the thing that could least assure them, and subduing in their fearfulness all other good regards,
 they resolved to send out at aduenture to sollicite an accord, dispatching withall certaine of them
 to the gouernour, to protest to him, that if he continued obstinate to consent to their safety, they were
 determined by their owne meane, both to put away the perill that was towards them, and to pre-
 serue the City fro the spoyle that they saw pretended: but at the verie instant that they were deter-
 mined to addresse their Embassage, there began to be heard on all sides the cries of such as gar-
 ded the gates and the wals, together with the Alarme sounded by the bells of the high tower of the
 Citie, which gaue the signe that the enemies being issued out of the *Codipont* in order of battell,
 made their approches to the walles to giue the assault: by which occasion the Gouernour return-
 ing to those that he had not spokē to as yet, cried vnto the, that though all men were willing, yet
 “ the time now was incōuenient to come to accord: This is the election (saith he) you stand in, either
 “ to defend your liues honourably, or to see your Citie put to shamefull sacke, and your selues de-
 “ liuered into captiuitie: your aduersity calleth you to be warned by the example of *Rauenna* and
 “ *Capua*, whose inhabitants and the eyes of the naturall children borne in them, saw them misera-
 “ bly sacked, euen as they were soliciting an accord with the enemies that stood vpon the walles: I
 “ haue done hitherunto as much as might be concluded in the abilitie of one alone: my will hath
 “ bene so much aboute my power, by how much my fortune hath bene lesse then my meanes: I
 “ haue gouerned you thus long, not more to mine owne praise then to your profite, not lesse to
 “ your vniuersall safetie, then to the due satisfaction of the place I hold, and now haue I led you to
 “ this election whether, you will vanquish or die. I would of my selfe I could suffice to defend the
 “ thing which our fortune hath made not to be preserved without your ayde, then should you see
 with

with what affection I desire to defend or to die: Be not the more discouraged for the nearnesse of your perill, let not your confidence be so much abated, by how much your danger is imminent: strive not lesse to vanquish feare then to overcome shame: and be not lesse resolute to defend your liues, your goods, the honour of your Wiues and daughters, then you haue bene importunate to desire without any necessitie to runne into willing seruitude of the French, in whom you are not ignorant remaineth a naturall malice towards you. After these speeches, he turned his horse away, and left them all possessed with contemplations of feare: but as necessity is mightie to make men resolute, so for that their fortune had left them now no time to procure other remedies, they let fall all parleys for accord, for the present necessity they had to defend themselves: for that one part of the enemies, who the day before had gathered in the country a great quantity of scaling ladders, made approach to the Bastillion which *Federike* had builded on that side towards *Paw*, and inuaded it valiantly: and at the same time was a furious assault giuen to the gate that leades to *Reggia*, as also the fight was begunne in two other places, with so much the more difficultie of defence to them within, by how much the enemies were more braue and encouraged by the examples of the Captaines; and the men of the towne filled full of terrour and cowardise, went not to the walles, but closed themselves within their houses, as though euerie moment they had expected the latest ruine of the Citie. These assaults being releued manie times, continued the space of foure houres, the daunger of the townes-men diminishing continually, not so much for the wearinesse of the enemies, who by the wounds and harmes they receiued in many places, began to loose hart, as also by the example of the Gouvernour, and valour of the townes-men, who seeing the defence to succeed well, tooke courage in their good fortune, and laboured more and more at the wall: insomuch that afore the assault retired, not onely the vniuersall multitude of people was run thither together with the Church-men to defend the breaches, but also in the action was concurrant the valour of many women, who despising the daunger, were seene to carie wine and other refreshings to their husbands. By these, the enemies without despairing of the victorie, retired with the losse of some, and manie wounded, to the *Codipont*, from whence they dislodged the morning following, and so returned beyond *Paw*, after they had remained a day or two about the borders of *Parma*. *Federike* confessed that in this expedition, whereof he was the authour, nothing did more beguile him, then that he would neuer haue beleued, that in a Gouvernour neither for his profession a man of warre, nor for his time of any continuance in the citie, would be found such valour; that the Pope being dead, he would rather throw himselfe into daunger without anie hope of profite, then seeke for his safety which he might do without his dishonour or infamie.

This defending of *Parma* hurt greatly the affaires of the French, for that it put the people of *Millan* & other subiects of that state into greater hart to defend themselves then they had before: but specially they tooke courage when they knew what weakenesse of souldiers was within, and had receiued no succours abroad, for that besides that there came no rescue from *Plasance*, neither the *Swissers* that were within *Modena*, nor *Guido Rangon*, nor *Vitelli*, would once make out any men for the succours of *Parma*: wherein *Guido* alleaged for his excuse, that notwithstanding the duke of *Ferrara* because he could not take *Cente* defended by the *Bolognois*, was retired to *Finale* at such time as the *Swissers* arriued: yet he stood afraid least he would attempt some violent action vpon *Modena* being made naked of the garrison. And the Bishop of *Pistoia* so wauered, and was troubled for the instant requests which *Guicciardin* made to him, & for the perswasions of *Vitelli*, who for his owne interest stirred him vp to passe into *Romagnia* with the *Swissers*, to the end to stop the passage of the Duke of *Vrbino*: that what for that he was irresolute, & what through his naturall slownesse, he did neither the one nor the other of those matters, both for that *Parma* defended her self, & in *Romagnia* no impediment was giuen to the Duke of *Vrbino*, because the *Swissers* would not march for want of their payes: which Duke of *Vrbino* and with him *Malatesta* & *Horace* of the family of the *Baillous* passed, the one to recouer his estates lost, and the other to returne to *Perousa*, hauing assembled at *Ferrara* 200 men at armes, 300 light horsemen, and 3000 footmen; an army which willingly followed them, partly for friendship, & partly for hope of spoile: for neither of the Frenchmen nor *Venetians* they could obtaine no other fauour then a permission: to whosoever had take their pay, to follow the, & that the *Venetians* were contented that *Malatesta* & *Horace* should depart out of their pay. Thus they went from *Ferrara* to *Lugo* all along *Paw*,

The Duke of
Vrbino re-
neweth his es-
tates.

and finding no impediments in the estate of the Church, they drew neare to the Duchy of *Vrbino*, where the Duke being called in by the peoples, recovered presently his whole estate, except certaine peeces holden by the *Florentines*, and so turning towards *Peſera*, he tooke the towne with the same facility, and within few dayes after the Castle: he ioyned diligence to his good fortune, & hauing chased out of *Camerino*, *John Maria de Varana* the ancient Lord, who for his greater dignity & illustration had obtained of Pope *Leo* the title of Duke; he bestowed within it *Symond* a Gentleman of the same family, by whom was pretended a better right in the same estate, and yet the Duke, who was withdrawne within *Aquila*, kept still the castle: and so after the expedition of these matters, he returned with *Malatesta* and *Horace Baillon* to *Perouſa*, of which place the *Florentines* had taken the defence, not so much of their owne counsell, as following the will of the Cardinall de *Medici*: wherein he was pushed on, either by a kind of hatred, that he nourished against the Duke of *Vrbino* and the *Bailions*, or by the impediment of their neighbourhood, which he thought might put in daunger the authority he had in *Florence*, or lastly, for that aspiring to the Popedom, he sought to carie the reputation that he alone was the defender of the Church during the Sea vacant, the Colledge of Cardinals hauing no care to defend anie part of the Ecclesiastike dominion, neither in *Lombardy*, in *Tuscane*, nor else where: the same proceeding partly by the diuision of the Cardinals, being no lesse full of ciuill factions, then wholly drowned in deepe ambition to climbe to the Popedom, and partly for that it could not be found neither in the treasure Pontificall, nor in the castle *S. Angelo*, that the late Pope had left any prouision of money: for such were his prodigalities that he had not onely consumed the moneyes which his predecessor had left him, with an incredible quantity of treasure which he had leuied of the creation of new officers, with a yearely diminution of forty thousand duckets of reuenue, but also he had left the Sea charged with huge debts, & layd to pawn al the precious iewels of the holy treasure: vpon which occasion was published this suttile speech, that other Prelacies ended with the death of Popes, but the Pontificacie of *Leo* was to continue many yeares after. Onely the Archbishop *Vrbino* was sent by the Colledge to *Perouſa*, to accord an vnite and reconciliation with the *Bailions*, but that deuise was no lesse vaine then the labour fruitlesse, for that the man was suspected to *Gentill* for the alliance he had with the sonnes of *John Paule*, and also for the conditions that were offered, bearing no surety for him: insomuch, as towards the last day of the yeare the Duke of *Vrbino*, *Malatesta* and *Horace Baillon* with *Camilla Vrbino*, who being followed of certaine voluntaries was newly vnited with them, went to *Pont. S. John*, and from thence running vp to the other places thereabouts, they did great domages as well by night as by day to the Citie of *Perouſa*, where ouer and besides fise hundred footmen which *Gentill* had leuied, the *Florentines* had sent thither two thousand footmen and an hundred light horsmen vnder *Guido Vaino*, and an hundred and twenty men at armes, and an hundred light horsmen vnder *Vitelli*.

This time was quiet in the Duchie of *Millan*, no other thing being done by either of the parties then certaine roades and pillages: and the better to execute those domages vpon places holden by the Church, those bands of Frenchmen which were remaining in *Cremona* being two thousand footmen, had set vpon a bridge vpon *Paw*, by the oportunitie wherof passing oftentimes vpon the territories of *Plaisance* and *Parma*, they did harmes to the whole countrie: and notwithstanding *Prosper* by the incitation of other Captaines did publish that he would take *Trezzo*, & had already sent thither artilleries, yet he forbore to put the deuise to execution, alleaging that it was not conuenient that the armie should be restrained to any one place, to the end to be the more able to succour the estates of the Church, if the French should begin to execute any action vpon them: but it seemed his thoughts were farre different from his words, for that when he was told that the French campe was planted before *Parma*, much lesse that he made anie signe to succour it, seeing he said it was more conuenient to expect the euent and issue; yea, that which more is, at such time as *Plaisance* remained disfurnished of garrison, for that the *Swissers* of the Cantons of *Zurich*, according to the summons of their Lords, were gone away in halle, *Prosper* did what he could to let the Marquis of *Mantua* for going from *Millan* with his bands: and he being put within *Plaisance*, sustained that citie to his great praise with the footbands of his estates, not sparing oftentimes to relieue their necessities with money.

Amid so manie daungers and variations, there was no prouision for the election of the new Pope, a matter which was deferred to the great preiudice of the estate Ecclesiastike, both to giue
time

time to the absent Cardinals to resort to *Rome*, & also for that the Cardinall of *Turea* going frō *Tburin* to *Rome*, was retained in *Millan* by commaundement from *Prosper Colonna*, to the end he should not assitt the assembly in the Cōclauē, for that he was a fauorer of the Frēch: vpo whose restraining the Colledge set down a decree, that so many dayes would they tary to enter the Cōclauē, how many the Cardinall *Turea* either had bin or should be stopped frō passing further: but as soone as he was deliuered, the Cōclauē assembled the xxvij. of Decēber, wherein were drawne together in solēne assembly nine & thirtie Cardinals: so much was increased the nūber by the immoderate promotiōs of *Leo*, at whose creatiō were not present aboue foure & twentie Cardinals.

The first Act of the yeare a thousand siue hundred two and twentie, was the mutation of the estate of *Perousa*, which according to the iudgement of men; hapned no lesse through the cowardise of the defendants, then by the valour of the assailants: who with their voluntaries and followers, were risen to a number of two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, and siue thousand footemen. This armie after it had lodged in the suburbs of *Saint Peter*, which they within had abandoned, gaue the fourth day of the yeare an assault with many numbers of ladders both at *Saint Peters* gate, *Solions* gate, and the gate *Brōgnio*, with many other places, hauing first remoued the defences of all these places with seuen field peeces which the Duke of *Ferrara* had lent them. The assault began about the breach of the day, and being many times relieued, it continued almost the whole day: and albeit entrie was made in two or three places of the towne, which onely was defended by the souldiers without the ayde of the people who stirred not, yet the assailants were alwayes repulsed with slaughter, which gaue no lesse courage to *Gentill*, then hope to the *Florentine* Agent, to be able to defend it still with no lesse felicitie and successe: but the timorousnesse of *Vitelli* was the cause that the matter drew an other euent: for fearing least the people bearing more inclination the sonnes of *Iohn Paule* then to *Gentill*, would rise in their fauours, and finding it withall a matter of no litle importance that they were bestowed in the suburbs betweene the two gates of *Saint Peter*: but principallie standing fearefull to loose his life vpon the ill euent of things, for the hatred which he knew the Duke of *Vrbis* and the sonnes of *Iohn Paule* bare to him; he signified in the night to the other Capitaines, that he would depart, alleaging that his presence would be to litle purpose for the seruice, for that the day before he had receiued at the assault a wound in his foote with a bullet, the anguish whercof constrained him to keepe his bed. *Gentill* and the other Capitaines laboured him with many requestes to chaunge that intention, wherein albeit they layd before him how hurtfull would be his departure to the whole seruice, & of no lesse ill example to the souldiers and people of the towne, yet they found him lesse apt to be remoued then belonged to a man of his place and valour, and in that inclination they ioyned with him to follow him: and so the same night they departed to *Citta de Castello*, leauing *Perousa* to receiue the *Baillons*, not without an incredible wonder to all those, who being aduertised by letters writtē the same night what good successe they within had the day before, heard within few houres after, how *Vitelli* and the residue had cowardly left it abandoned.

The election of the new Pope was not yet accomplished, which had bene deferred by reason of the discord that was amongst the Cardinals, deriuing principally from the Cardinall de *Medicis* who aspired to the place, and who could do much for the reputation of his greatnesse, & for his reuenues: he had also by the glory of the late conquest of *Millan* corrupted the voices of fiftene Cardinals, pushed on either by their proper interrests, or for the affection they bare to him, or by the memory of the benefites they had receiued of Pope *Leo*: yea some of them were carried with this hope, that though he should not be able to carie the soueraigne seate of the Popedom, yet he would at least beare fauour to those that had stood with him and for him: but many wayes his ambition was suspected, and many things were contrarie to his desire: for to many of them it seemed a matter most preiudiciall, that one of the familie should succede the dead Pope, and that in it would be concluded a President & example to dispose the Popedom by succession. All the elder sort of Cardinals obiected theselues against him, holding the dignitie of their time and grauitie much deprauid, to suffer the election to settle vpon one that had lesse then fiftie yeares of age. All those that were of the French part were against him, with whom did ioyn also some of the Imperiall factiō: for notwithstanding in the beginning the Cardinall *Colonna* gaue it out that he would fauour him, yet afterwards he opposed himselfe openly against him: as also all those

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Electiō of Pope
Adrian the
Sixt.

companies of Cardinals that were ill contented with Pope *Leo*, declared themselves his enemies: neuertheless amid these difficulties, the thing that nourished him was, that he knew that such as were of his side, making more then a third part of the Colledge, so long as they stood vnited and constant, the election could not be accomplished without their consent: a matter which kept him delited in this hope; that with time his aduersaries would either be wearie or deuided, the rather for that there were of them who for their age and other infirmities, were not able to beare out a long paine: and withall, though they stood firme not to receiue him at all, yet he saw their diuersitie would keepe them from concluding the creation of another euerie one struing to transerre the election to his friend, & most of the retaining a seuered obstinacie not to giue place one to another. But the chaunge of the estate of *Perousa* did somewhat say the ambition of Cardinall *de Medicis*, by the instance of Cardinall *Petrucci*, one of the Cardinals of his faction: who being chiefe of the estate of *Sienna*, and fearing least by his absence there might happen some mutation in the Citie, whereunto he vnderstood the Duke of *Vrbino* would addresse his armie, did vehemently labour to aduance the election of the new Pope: his importunities together with the interest and consideration of the daunger which would fall vpon the state of *Florence*, if *Sienna* should happen to chaunge, drew the Cardinall *de Medicis* somewhat to incline and yeeld, and yet was not determined to whom to giue his voyce. At last they fell to the custome of lotting of voyces in the Conclau, wherein Cardinall *Adrian* Bishop of *Derchuso* was preferred without any affection or partialitie of voyce: he was of nation a *Flemming*, and in his youth hauing bene Schoolemaister to *Cesar*, and by his meane made Cardinall vnder Pope *Leo*, did at that time gouerne *Spaine* in the absence *Cesar*: and as there began some voyces to publish for him, so Cardinall *Xisto* one of that election, began vnder an Oration speciall, to recount and amplifie his vertues and knowledge, by whose example certaine other Cardinals yeelded, and the residue from hand to hand followed, though more by compulsion then by counsell. Thus was he chosen with the voyces of all the Cardinals, and had his creation perfected the same morning: wherein this was to be wondred at, that euen those that had elected him could giue no reason, why amid so many troubles and daungers in the estate Ecclesiastike, they had raised to the soueraigne sea, a straunger, a forreiner, and of long absence out of the countrey, and wherein were helping no respectes of fauour, no consideration of former merites, nor any couersation had with any of the other Cardinals: yea they scarcely knew his name; he had neuer bene in *Italie*, & had no hope nor cogitation to see it: of which strauagant maner of dealing, being not able to excuse themselves by any reason, they attributed all to the working of the holy Ghost, who is wont (so they alleaged) to inspire the hearts of the Cardinals in the electing of Popes: he receiued newes of his election in the towne of *Victoria* in *Biskay*, and would not haue imposed vpon him any other name then his owne, which he caused to be published vnder *Adrian* the sixth.

The Duke of
Vrbino and the
Baillons before
Sienna.

Vpon the mutation of *Perousa*, after the bandes of souldiers had lingred certaine dayes to march, not without some litle preiudice to their other businesse, they went (to the end to leaue monie of their friends) from *Perousa* & *Todie*, where *Camilla Vrsin* had restored the exiles. The Duke of *Vrbino* with the residue leauing *Malatesta* in *Perousa*, marched in great diligence towards *Sienna*, hauing with them *Laclanco Petrucci*, whom Pope *Leo* had depriued of the Bishoprike of *Sienna*, for that the Emperours officers had stayed *Bourgesio* & *Fabio* the sonnes of *Pandolfo Petrucci* from going fro *Naples*. Those that gouerned in *Sienna* had no other hopes then in the succours of the *Florentins*, and that by intelligence which they had with Cardinall *de Medicis*: at whose instance his faction ruling for him in his absence the estate of *Florence*, vnderstanding that the Duke of *Vrbino* was gone fro *Perousa*, dispatched presently to *Sienna*, *Guido Vaino* with an hundred light horsemen & prouision of money, to ioyne with them certaine bands of footmen which they of *Sienna* had leauied. But the principall foundation was vpon the forces appointed many dayes before: for, when they were aduertised of the first mouing of the Duke of *Vrbino* and the Baillons, & withall, hauing feare of *Tuskane*, they had solicited to wage the *Swissers* of the Canton of *Berne*, who being in number almost a thousand, were remaining within *Bologna* with the Bishop of *Pistoia*, making no reckening of the commaundements sent to them by their Lords to returne into *Switzerland*. This practise albeit it drew a longer time then was needefull by many difficulties objected by the Bishop of *Pistoia*, yet at last it was put in execution, not without great expences, besides the leauying of foure hundred *Almaine* footmen, who were ioyned in *Bologna* with the *Swissers*:

Swissers : they had also called out of *Lombardie* *Iohn de Medicis*, and with those forces arriuing in time, they made no doubt to assure the affaires of *Sienna*, which were now reduced to very ill termes, both for that the greatest part of the people enuid the present gouernement, and also for an ancient hatred against the *Florentines*, they could hardly endure that their bands of souldiers should enter into *Sienna*. But the matter that redoubled the danger present, was the absence of Cardinal *Petrucchi*, in whose place notwithstanding his nephew *Frauncis* did what he could to sustaine things, though his authoritie was not equall to the Cardinall: for this cause, being carefull either to auoid or to prolong the danger present, (wherein the principals & chieftaines were concurring) they had dispatched Enbassadours to the Duke of *Urbino* as soone as he was entered vpon the territories of *Sienna*: who notwithstanding required in the beginning a change of the state, and thirty thousand ducats; yet afterwards his demaunds were reduced to a moderatiō, in so much as it was to be feared greatly that there would grow betweene the Duke & the *Siennesis* some composition, either by the consent & priuie of the gouernors, or by the motion of the people against their wils. Neuerthelesse as the bands of the *Florentines* entred continually within *Sienna*, together with a brute running, that *Iohn de Medicis* approached with the *Swissers*, so such as impugned the accord & the solicitation of the same, tooke so much the more courage to hinder it from conclusion: so that the Duke being drawne neare to the wals with his armie, which contained but foure thousand footmen the most part leauied at random, he euenly left the enterprise of *Sienna* to retire into his estate, he hopes of the accord diminishing, and the *Swissers* being come within a dayes iourney.

The same companies that succoured *Sienna* turned towards *Perousa*, and the *Florentines* tooke occasion to execute speedily the thing which they desired, being thereunto also solicited by the Colledge of Cardinals: vnder whose name and authoritie the state of the Church was gouerned in the absence of the Pope, and by that reason the Cardinall *Cortona*, who from the time of Pope *Leo* was Legate of the Citie of *Perousa*, was personally in the armie. But since the creation of the Pope, there was in the Colledge no greater vnitie or resolution then had bene before in the Conclauē, but the variations were more apparant and their controuersies not lesse violent: for, they had set down an order, that euery moneth the affaires should be gouerned by three Cardinals bearing the title of *Priors*, whose office was to conuocate and assemble the residue and dispatch causes: of which the first three that were newly entred, began to oppose against the Cardinall *Medicis*, who was immediatly returned to *Florence* after the election of the Pope, and cried out that the bandes of the *Florentines* should do no harmes nor damage to the lands of the Church. These bands hauing already sacked the towne of *Passignian* refusing to lodge them, and afterwarde being bestowed within *Olma* three myles from *Perousa*, vnder an assured hope almost to cary that Citie, they had held small reckening of those commaundements, had not bene the knowledge when had of the vanitie of their hopes: for the familie of the *Baillons* had made to enter *Perousa* many bandes of souldiers, and bare besides a greater authoritie with the people then *Gentili* who followed the armie: in which regard no lesse despairing of the victorie, then hauing proceeded in vaine to cary it by composition, they retired somewhat about the borders of *Perousa*, as though they would not oppose against the wil of the Colledge. They entred into the countrey of *Monfietro*, which except *Saint Leo* and the rocke of *Mainola*, was wholly returned vnder the obedience of the Duke of *Urbino*: and after they had recouered it with more facilitie then losse, armes were depozed on that side as it were by a peaceable conuention, both for that the Duke was not sufficiently mighty to continue the warres with the *Florentines*, nor they had not cause to hold him in warre, neither for their owne profit, nor to content others: for, the Colledge wherein the aduersaries of Cardinall *Medicis* could do most, had at the same instant couenanted with him to retaine the estate which he had recouered vntill the Popes coming into *Italie*, & longer if it so pleased the Pope, & that he should not molest the *Florentines* nor the *Siennesis*, nor enter into confederacie with any Prince, nor any way communicate with him or administer to him.

Hitherunto the matters of *Lombardie* had bene in peaceable estate, the one part hauing want *Alexandria* of money, and the other no lesse necessitie of men: and therefore the souldiers of the Imperials taken by the who were not payed, refusing to stirre out of their lodgings, there was dispatched into *Alexandria* *Imperials*, onely *Iohn Sasserella* with his regiment, & other souldiers & subiectes of the Duchie of *Mil-lan*. This Captaine in the beginning of the warre changing a benefit certaine for hopes incertaine, left the pay of the *Venetians* to take the wages of the Duke of *Mil-lan*, notwithstanding he was

banished from his estate . In which disposition of minde, and with a fortune more ready then a counsell stayed , he approached to *Alexandria* , where the rashnesse of the *Guelfes* defending the Citie more then the force of the French souldiers , made easie to him the action which all men esteemed hard: for that being issued out to skirmish with the enemies, and not able to sustaine the encounter, their disabilitie gaue them occasion to enter pellmell into the Citie, which by that accident more then through their valour , became a pray to the victors , and a reproch to the vanquished: and not many dayes after with the same facilitie, were chased out of *Ast*, certaine bands of the French being there entred, by the meane of certaine particulars of the *Guelfes* faction.

Ten thousand
Swissers desired
into the Duchie
of Millan for
the Fréichlung.

But of this short and suspected quietnesse , there were already discerned to grow on beginnings of verie great troubles: for, notwithstanding in the Parliaments of the *Swissers* , there were great contentions risen vpon the demands of the French King, wherein as the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Zurich* stood obstinate against him , and the Canton of *Lucerna* wholly with him, and the residue deuided amongst themselves , so also the publike affaires were troubled by the couetousnesse of priuate persons, some demanding of the King pension and entertainment present, & some requiring their old payes and debts due in times past : yet they accorded to him at last those proportions of footemen, which he required for the recouerie of the Duchie of *Millan*: which leauie making a number of more then ten thousand bodies , descended into *Lombardie* by the mountaines of *S. Bernard* and *S. Goddard*, and were conducted by the bastard of *Sauoy* great Maister of *Fraunce*, and by *Galeas S. Senerin* maister of the horse. About this time the king of *England* being estraunged from the amitie of the French, had lent to *Cesar* a great quantitie of money , the better to furnish him against so great an emotion : and with that money the Emperour had sent *Ierome Adorno* to *Trent*, to leaue sixe thousand Launceknights, & to leade them to *Millan*, together with the person of *Frauncis Sforce*: his comming was the esteemed of great importance, both to keepe contained & constant, *Millan* and the other places of that estate which greatly desired his presence, & also by his authoritie & fauours to make easie the exactions of money whereof there was extreame want. At the same time they of *Millan* not knowing the prouisiōs that *Cesar* made, had sent money to *Trent* to wage foure thousand footemen, & they being prepared by that time that *Adorno* came thither, he left the other sixe thousand to be made ready , and with these foure thousand drew towards *Millan* to descend to *Coma* by the vale of *Volturna*. And albeit the *Grisons* denied to giue him passage, yet his celeritie & valour made his way, passing with so great diligence vpon the territories of *Bergama*, & fro thence to *Guia-radadda*, that the *Venetian* gouernours who were within *Bergama*, had no time to stop them. And after he had led these first companies of Launceknights to *Millan*, he returned with the same diligence to *Trent*, to guide thither *Frauncis Sforce* with the residue of that leaue. In *Millan* there was no care omitted to make all sorts of prouisiōs, wherein this was chiefly obserued, to forget no meanes that might augment the hatred, of the people against the French, to prepare them the better to defend themselves, and to relieue the common necessities with money . To this action was much helping many counterfet letters and false messages, together with other cunning stratagemes proceeding from the diligence & art of *Moron*. But the thing that most of all aduanced so great an inclination, was the preachings and Sermons of *Andrew Barbato* a religious man of the order of *S. Augustin*, who drawing to him a wonderfull cōcourse and affluence of people, induced them with reasons and perswasions to take vpon them the defence of their liues , and the redeeming of their free countrey from the yoke of straungers, auncient enemies to that Citie: he willed them not to be lesse forward to execute, then God was ready to raise them a meane to set themselves at libertie: he told them , the soueraigne care of mortall folkes was to care for their proper safety: he reduced to their memories the example of *Parma*, a weake & small citie in compariōn of *Millan*, and left not vnrecorded the actions of their Elders whose names had caried reputation & glory throughout all *Italie*: he layed out by reasons and examples, how far mortall men were bound to defend their countrey , for the which if the Gentiles who expected no other recompence then glorie , offered their liues willingly to death: the far greater was the office and bond of Christians, to whom, dying in so iust and holy an enterprise, was prepared for recompence, not the glory of this world fraile and transitorie, but the fruition of the immortal kingdome, infinite and euerlasting. They had to consider, what vniuersall ruine would be brought vpon that Citie by the victorie of the Frenchmen, whose yoke if it had seemed heavy & grieuous afore, their burdē now could not be lesse the extreame & intollerable; and

and by how much their rigour ragged vpon them without any cause afore, by so much had they to assure themselves of extreame oppression now vpon the occasion of these offences: That one execution of the people of *Millan* would not suffice to quench the thirst of their crueltie and hatred: That the goods of the Citie could not satisfie their immoderate couetousnesse: yea nothing could content them but the vtter defacing of the name and memorie of the inhabitants of *Millan*, and by a horrible example to surpass the vnnaturall crueltie of *Federike Barberousse*. These speeches so redoubled the hatred of the inhabitants, and no lesse suppressed all feare of the victorie of the Frenchmen, that it seemed now more necessarie to appease and retaine them, then to moue or prouoke them; such is the power of speeches aptly deliuered and duly respecting time, place, and all other circumstances concurring with the inclination of the people to whom they are pronounced. But in this meane while *Prosper* was not idle to repaire and relieue the bastillions and rampiers of the trenches, with intention to stay at *Millan*, which he hoped to be able to defend for certaine moneths, though the fixe thousand *Swissers* came not at all. And looking also to the defence of the other townes, he dispatched to *Nouaro*, *Philip Torniello*, and to *Alexandria* *Monsieur Viscount*, the one with two thousand, and the other with fifteene hundred *Italian* footemen, who liued vpon the people for that they were not payd: he sent also to *Paula* *Ant. de Lena* with two thousand Launceknights and a thousand *Italians*. And ouer and aboue all these proportions, he kept within *Millan* seuen hundred men at armes, seuen hundred light horsemen, and twelue thousand footemen: onely the present daunger that remained was, that the Frenchmen should not enter *Millan* by the Castell; therefore aswell to remedie that, as by the same meane to stop them for putting victuals or other prouisions into the Castell, *Prosper* with an intention highly esteemed, and in the iudgement of men supposed wonderfull, caused to cast without the Castell betweene the gates that leade to *Vercell* & to *Coma*, two trenches with a banke or rising to either of the same of that earth that was throwne vp. These two trenches were distant one from another twenty pases, and in longitude they contained almost a myle, euen as long as is the traueserfe of the gardens behind the Castell betweene the two wayes aforesayd: at either head of these two trenches, he erected a fort both high and well manned, the better to annoy the enemies with shot if they made their approches on that side. This was the vse of these two trenches, being well defended with footemen that were placed in the midst of the same: they both kept that no succours should enter into the Castell, and withall would not suffer any of the besieged to issue out: Fortune also expressed with a glad some token, that such an inuention should be no lesse happie, then it was full of wit and deuise: for she ministred to it this fauour, that it might be put in execution without any damage at all, for that *Prosper* seruing his turne of the benefite of a great snow that fell, caused to be cast before day two bankes or risings of snow (and to their resemblance or example he cast also trenches) which shadowed and couered from the shot of the Castell the labourers that wrought: & that which also helped to aduance the worke to perfection, was the impedimēt which the *Swissers* in passing the mountaines receiued by the snow, which was wonderfull deepe and thicke.

In this meane while *Monsieur de Lawtrech* readdressed and reassembled his companies, of whom he sent certaine bandes beyond *Pau*, and they entring *Florenzola*, strippd the guidon of horsemen of *Lewis Gonzaguo* whom they found sleeping in securitie and negligēce. The companies also of the *Venetians* were mustred about the confines of *Cremona*, vnder *Andrew Gritti* & *Theodor Triunlce*, and they ioyning at last with the *Swissers*, passed the riuer of *Adda* the first day of March. *M. de Lawtrech* was generall of the armie, whose authoritie was nothing diminished by the coming of the great Maister nor the Maister of the horse. And at the same time came to the armie *Iohn de Medicis*, who albeit he had solicited and almost resoluēd to enter into the pay of *Frauncis Sforce*, and was already vpon the way to go to *Millan*, where he was greatly desired for the good opinion that was of his valour and conduct: yet he was caried by the benefite of greater offers & more suretie of payment of the French king, taking this excuse, that there was not sent to him from *Millan* the summes of money that were promised him. In which respect, & in which disposition he went to the territories of *Parma*, where he had sacked the towne of *Busselte*, for that they had denied him lodging, and passed to the campe of the Frenchmen which lay within two myles of the Castell betweene the said wayes of *Vercell* & *Coma*. The third day after the Frenchmen were incamped, they marched in order making as though they would set vpon the

Iohn de Medicis
for the French
king.

The Frenchmen
before *Adillan*.

trench and rampier, which notwithstanding they did not execute, either for that such was the intention of *Monsieur de Lawtrech* from the beginning, or else waighing together with the number of souldiers that were within, the disposition of the people, and the readinesse that appeared in the defendants, the manifest difficultie of the enterprise drew him from it. The same day the stones that violently were driuen frō a house within by the furie of the artilleries, slue *Marcel Anthonie Colonna* a Captaine of very great expectation: *Camilla Trimalce* bastard sonne to *John Jacques* participated also in this lamentable destinie as they walked together along the breache that was striken, deuising to raise a mount to strike with the artilleries betweene the two benches of the enemies. But *Lawtrech* hauing no confidence to take *Millan* by assault, thought he should be able to carie it with the longnesse of time, for that with the multitude of his horsemen, & great bands of banisht men that followed his armie, with whom he ouerranne the whole countrey, he gaue great impediments to the entrie of victuals: he caused to be broken downe all the milles, and turned away the course of such waters as any way gaue reliefe or commoditie to them of *Millan*: he was not also out of hope, that the payes would faile to the souldiers within, being hitherto entertained but with the money of the *Millanois*, for that *Cesar* sent a very small quantitie from the kingdome of *Naples* or other places. But such was the hatred of the people of *Millan* against the French, and so vniuersall their desire to haue their new Duke, that their affections therein did not onely make their patience greater then all discommodities, but also much lesse that those aduersities made them chaunge will, seeing it was the thing that did more and more confirme them, yea the youth of their Citie ranne voluntarily to armes, of whom they created Captaines in euery Parish, in so much that the gardes that with a ready diligence ranne day and night to the places furthest off removed from the armie, ministred no litle succour and comfort to the souldiers: and wanting the vse of milles at that time, for that they were ruined by the enemie, they relieued forthwith that aduersitie with the seruice of handmilles.

Thus the hope of the speedy victory of the warre, being reduced into the labours and cares of a long siege, the Duke of *Millan* whose departure had bene many dayes foreflowed for want of money, and had yet lingred if the Cardinal *Medicis* had not succoured him with nine thousand duckats, departed at last from *Trenta* with fixe thousand Launceknights, and taking the rocke of *Croara* belonging to the *Venetians*, the better to open his passage, he marched without any impediment through the lands of *Verona* and *Mantua*. And passing the riuer of *Paw* to *Casalmajor*, he arriued at *Plasance*, where the Marquis of *Mantua* came to him with three hundred me at armes, and accompanied him from hence to *Pania*: There the Duke stayed to expect occasiō to passe to *Millan*, where he was wished with an vniuersall expectation, for that by the dayly diminution of meanes to leaue money to entertaine the souldiers, it was thought necessarie to ioyne assoone as might be with the Launceknights, and so to take the field and seeke to put end to the warre. But the difficultie to passe was great, for that assoone as *Lawtrech* vnderstood they were in *Plasance*, he went to lodge at *Casina* siue myles from *Millan*, vpon the way that leades to *Pania*: he had also bestowed the *Venetians* within *Binasquo* which is vpon the same way, both the one and the other being in lodgings well rampiered and fortified: where after they had remained certaine dayes, and in that space had taken *S. Ange* and *S. Colombano*, *Monsieur de Lawtrech*, vnderstanding that *Monsieur d'Escud* his brother whom he had sent into *Fraunce* to relate to the king the estate of the affaires, was returned, and both with money and bands of footmen which he had waged at *Genes*, was arriued in the estate of *Millan*: he sent to ioyne with him *Federike Bossolo* with foure hundred Launces & seuen thousand *Swissers* & *Italians*. Against whō albeit the Marquis of *Mantua* issued out of *Pania* & went to *Gambala* to make head against them, yet he retired estfoories to *Pania*, hauing an opinion that his abode within *Gambala* would be to litle purpose, either for that (this was his saying) they made as though they would retire towards *Tbesin*, or els (which was more credible) he stood in some feare of them, for that their numbers were greater then had bin reported to him. But they being come to *Gambala*, and being ioyned with *Monsieur d'Escud*, they went to *Nouaro*, which after they had battred with the artilleries of the Castell that held for thē, they entred it by force at the third assault, with the slaughter of the greatest part of the footmen that were within, and *Phillip Torniello* remaining prisoner. For this accident together with the redoubled letters of *Torniello* appealing to him for succours, the Marquis of *Mantua* issued once againe out of *Pania*, returning estfoones thither assoone as he had knowledge how things went,

went, retiring his companies from *Vigenena*, and leaving onely garrison within the Castell. The *Francis Sforce* joining of forces with *Monsieur d'Escud* and the taking of *Novaro*, was preiudiciall to the French *at Millan*. men in a matter of greatest importance, for that it was so much the more easie for *Francis Sforce* to go with his armie of Launceknights to *Millan*. It was agreed betweene *Prosper* and him to depart one night in secret from *Paia*, leaving for the gard of the same two thousand footemen and three hundred horsemen, vnder the charge of the Marquis of *Mantua*, who refused to passe any further, for that he would not be so far remoued from the estate of the Church. *Francis Sforce* taking a haunge and vncouth way, was receiued at *Sesto* by *Prosper*, who was gone to meete him with part of his companies, and so to guide him to *Millan*. Great was the ioy that the people of *Millan* made to receiue him, and euery one reducing to his memorie the felicitie wherein they had liued in that estate vnder his father and other Dukes of that name, made their desires so much the more infinite, by how much they doubted not that in a naturall and proper Prince could want no affection to his people to respect and esteeme them, and not to reiect or disfaue them for his immoderate greatnesse.

After the Duke was gone from *Paia*, *Lamirech* entred into hope to be able to take that Citie, and vpon foundation of that confidence, he went to encampe there as soone as he had reassembled his armie. And of the other side *Prosper*, not ignorant in what daunger it was, dispatched thither in great diligence a thousand footmen *Corsekays*, with certaine bands of *Spaniards*, who charging vpon a sudden the lodging of the French armie, passed through, partly marching and partly fighting. In which encounter making slaughter of many of the Frenchmen, they made way by their owne valour, and arriued in safetie in *Paia*, where were many incommodities, but specially great want of gunpowder. *Monsieur Lamirech* began to batter the walles in two parts, in the suburbes of *Saint Marie imperico* towards *Tessin*, and in the *Burget*. And after he had brought to the earth thirtie fadomes of the wall, he gaue the assault, but without any issue or good successe: in so much as seeing into the valour of the defendants, and their vniuersall resolution to sell their liues with the place, he began to dispaire of the enterprise. Besides, he was afflicted dayly with many other difficulties, both for the diminution of the treasure which his brother had brought out of *France*, and also by the generall necessitie of victuals through the armie, the same happening by the occasion of great raines: by the impediments whereof it was hard for the armie to be reuictualled by land, and lesse possibilitie of reliefe by the benefite of *Tessin*, for that the boates being driuen backe by the streame of the riuer which was great and violent, could not hold course against the furie of the streame.

About this time *Prosper* was issued out of *Millan* with his whole armie, to draw neare to *Paia*, but by reason of the raines and stormes that fell, he was constrained to stay at *Binasqua*, a place in the halfe way betweene *Millan* and *Paia*: and from thence aduancing as farre as the Charterhouse, which is within the Parke about fime miles from *Paia*, and haply the fairest monasterie in *Italy*, *Lamirech* dispaired to take *Paia*, and therefore retired his campe to *Landriano*, without receiuing any other impediment of the enemies, then certaine light skirmishes in the breaking vp. From *Landriano* he went to *Monce*, to receiue with more facilitie and readinesse the monies that were sent to him out of *France*, which were stayed at *Arona*, for that *Anchisa Visconti* sent for that purpose from *Millan* to *Busto* which is neare to *Arona*, stopped the that they could not passe further. This was the impediment that reduced the affaires of the French into the extreme or last disorder, for that the *Swissers* impatient by custome of all delayes, finding their payes deferred many dayes, sent their Captaines to *M. Lamirech* to make their complaints, that their nation hauing bin in all times liberal of their blood and seruice for the aduancement of the crowne of *France*, they were now restrained of their duties & payments, contrary to all equitie, order, and reason: That vnder this ingratitude and iniurie, it was manifest to all the world what slender estimation was made of their vertue and their faith: That after a vaine expectation of so many dayes, they were now determined to repose no more in promises, speeches, and termes, which so many times had bene falsified, though much to their hinderance and preiudice, yet not without dishonor and reproch to such as did assure them: and therefore they were now absolutely determined to *The Swissers would leaue the French armie for that they are not payed.* returne to their houses, after they had first made knowne to all the world, that the thing that induced them thereunto, was not any feare they had of their enemies who had now taken the field, and much lesse anie desire to eschue such daungers as men of warre are subiect vnto; a matter

which alwayes had bin contemned by the *Swissers*, as many experiences & examples can witnesse. They told him withall that they were ready to go to the battell the day following, with intention to depart the day after: That therefore he would leade them to the field, and vsing the occasion of their readinesse, to bestow them in the first front of the whole armie: That they hoped that as with farre lesser forces they had vanquished the French armie in their owne tentes about the borders of *Nonaro*, so their valour was no lesse able to make them carie the victorie ouer *Spaniards*, who albeit were farre aboue the Frenchmen in deceits, suttleties, and ambushes, yet they esteemed themselves nothing inferiour to them so long as they were to fight with valiancie & force of armes. But *Monsieur de Lawtrech* considering in what perill he should abide the enemies in their tents, laboured to moderate that fury of the *Swissers*, & by sufferance to seeke to stay those mindes whom he saw obstinate to be contained by reason: he told them that though the moneyes were long in comming, yet the danger of the wayes was more to be considered then the default of the King: he assured them that ere many dayes they should be possessed of the thing which their impacience made to doubt of, and that their hopes should be no more prolonged, but their desires satisfied. But he could not winne nor reclaime them, neither with authoritie, with petitions, with promises, nor with reasons, and therefore since they should be the first that should feele the daunger, he determined rather to aduenture the battell with a great disaduauntage, then to loose vtterly the warre, which manifestly was scene to be lost, for that if he consented not to fight, the *Swissers* were resolued to depart.

Monsieur de Lawtrech determined to set vpon his enemies.

The armie of the enemy lay at *Bucocque*, a towne within three myles of *Millan*, where is a camping place verie romthie and large; enuironed with great gardens, and they inclosed with verie deepe ditches, hauing their fieldes about full of fountaines and brookes deriued and conueyed according to the vsage of *Lombardie*, to water the medowes. *Monsieur de Lawtrech* issuing out of *Monce* drew towards that place with his armie, and supposing that the enemies lying in a place of aduauntage would not come out of it, he raunged and ordered his bandes in this sort: That the *Swissers* with the artilleries should charge the front of the place and the artilleries of the enemy, which quarter was garded by the Launceknights commaunded by *George Frondisberg*: That on the left had *Monsieur d'Escud* with three hundred Launces & a squadron of footmen French and *Italians* should be vpon the way that goeth to *Millan*, and should draw towards the bridge by the which might be made an entrie into the lodgings of the enemies: and for his part he would labour to enter vpon their place with an esquadron of horsemen: which enterprise he hoped to guide to good successe rather by art then by open force, for that to abuse them the more, he caused his people to put vpon their cassakins, the red. crosse, which is the marke of the armie Imperiall, and pulled off the white crosse, which is the signe of the French armie. On the other side *Prosper Colonne*, who for the situation and strength of the place held the victorie certaine, and therefore determined to abide the enemies vpon the ditch; caused all his companies to arme as soone as he heard of their comming, and hauing appointed to euerie one his place, he sent forthwith to *Frauncis Sforce* to come to the campe with that multitude of people that was armed: and hauing assembled at the ringing of the bell, foure hundred horsemen and sixe thousand footemen, he was appointed by *Prosper* to the gard of the bridge. But as soone as the *Swissers* were approached neare the tentes of the enemies, notwithstanding that for the height of the ditches more rising then they supposed, they could not assaile the artilleries according to their first hopes, yet those difficulties nothing diminishing their valour, they gaue a charge vpon the ditch, struiuing with a wonderfull courage to enter and carie it. And at the same time *Monsieur d'Escud* who was drawn towards the bridge, finding so great a gard contrarie to his opinion, was constrained to retire. *Prosper* also discouered immediatly the deuise of *Lawtrech*, and to meete with it commaunded his people to put vpon their heads bundels or handfuls of young corne and grasse, and so made vnprofitable the former suttelties: so that the whole swaigh or burden of the warre lay vpon the *Swissers*: who, as well for the great disaduauntage they had, as for the valour of the defendants, were much trauelled without any profit or effect: they receiued many harmes not onely by such as fought in the front, but also were galled by certaine harguebuziers *Spanish*: who lying hid and couered with the height of the corne almost full ripe, flanked them, and so played vpon them with assured aime, that in the end after they were well payed for their rashnesse by the slaughter of many of their companies,

The encounter of Bucocque.

the

the violence of the shot compelled them to retire : and ioyning in their retraite with the French, they returned all together in good order to *Monce*, both leading with them their artilleries, & receiuing no distresse in their retiring : the Marquis of *Pesquero* with other Captaines importuned *Prosper* to giue a signe to pursue the enemy, seeing they had alreadie giuen their backs : but he beleeuing that which was, that they retired in good order and not in flying, wherein he was confirmed by the relation of certaine discouersers mounted by his direction vpon certain high trees, made this answer, that it was not reasonable to referre to the arbitrement of fortune the victory which was assuredly gotten, and lesse counsell to deface by his proper rashnesse the memory and imputation of other mens temeritie : to morow saith he, will make manifest to you what hath bin donethis day, for that the enemies comming to a better feeling of their wounds, and by their harme receiued, being warned to auoyd worse hurts to come, will seeke to returne ouer the mounts, by which honourable euasion we shall obtaine with securitie that which this day wee should aduenture to get with perill. There were found dead about the ditch three thousand bodies of the *Swissers*, of such as being more valiant and forward were most resolute to vanquish the daunger : of them were two and twentie Captaines : on the other side the slaughter was litle, and not one person of marke or qualitie except *Iohn de Cardona* Count *Culifano* stricken with a small shot through his helmet. The day following *Monsieur de Lawtrech* being wholly deprived of the hope of the victorie, went to *Monce* to passe the riuer of *Adda* neare to *Tresse* : and from thence the *Swissers* taking their way through the territories of *Bergama*, returned into their mountaines, their numbers being no lesse diminished then their valour, for that it is certaine that the harmes they receiued at *Bicocqua* so much afflicted them, that in many yeares after they expressed not their accustomed valour. The great Master and Master of the horse departed at the same time together with many French Captaines : *Monsieur Lawtrech* with his companies of men at armes went to *Cremona* to giue order for the defence of that citie, wherein he left his brother : and not manie dayes after he passed the mounts, carying to the French king not reports of victories or triumphs, but a iustification of himselfe, with complaints against others for the losse of such an estate, hapning partly by his owne errors, partly by the negligence and indiscretion of some about the king, and partly by the malice of fortune, if such attribution may be lawfull. *Monsieur Lawtrech* tooke order also afore his departure from *Cremona*, that *Bonneuall* and *Federike Bossolo* with fixe companies of men at armes, and sufficient garrison of footmen, should enter the towne of *Loda*, which had bene holden for the king during the whole course of the warre : he did this for that the Imperiall Captaines were let to conuert thither forthwith their forces, by reason of a tumult hapned amongst those companies of Launceknights which *Frauncis Sforce* had brought from *Trent* : they required for a reward of the victorie to haue a moneths pay, a demaund which the Captaines sayd was no lesse vnreasonable then vnjust, for that both there was a great difference betweene the defending of themselves from such as did assault them, and to vanquish those that did charge them, and also for that it could not be sayd that the enemies were vanquished, who were retired not in flying, but in good order, carying with them their artilleries and traines. Neuerthelesse, the insolency of the Launceknights preuailing more then either necessarie reason or due authoritie of the Captaines, a consent was made more by compulsion and necessity of things then by iust cause arising, and so they were satisfied with a promise to be paid within a certaine time. After many dayes past in these affaires, it hapned that the same day that the French Launces entred the Citie of *Loda*, and the footbands following, on the other side came the armie Imperiall, and afore them all the Marquis of *Pesquero* with the Spanish footmen, who entred afore the French could deuide or distribute the quarters of the towne, or bestow their gards, but were occupied in confusion and tumult, as often hapneth when men of warre enter a towne to lodge in it. This occasion was obserued by the Marquis, and ioyning ready diligence to the present oportunitie, he assaulted one of the suburbs of the towne, which was enuironed with a wall, where he found no great resistance : he was no sooner entred, then all the Frenchmen within the towne, no lesse terrified with the sodainnesse of the accident, then desperate for that their footmen were not yet come, yeelded to their feares and drew into tumult, flying towards the bridge which they had built vpon *Adda* : the Spaniards entring at the same instant the citie, some by the walles and some by the rampiers, followed them euen to the riuer, and in the chase tooke many souldiers, and almost all the Captaines

The overthrow
of the Swissers

M. Lawtrech
returneth into
France.

Loda taken by
the Imperials.

except *Federike* and *Bonneuall*: and vpon their returne, they forbore not in that furie to sacke that vnfortunate citie, sparing no more the goods, then they had done the liues of men. From *Loda* the Marquis went to *Pisqueton* which he tooke by composition: and not many dayes after *Prosper* with the whole armie passed the riuer of *Adda*, to go and incampe afore *Cremona*, which he had no sooner approached, then *Monsieur d'Escud* began to hearken to accord: he had no other hope to sustaine the warre then vpon the coming of the Lord Admirall, whom the king (desiring to preserue that which yet held good for him in that estate) sent into *Italy* with foure hundred Lances and ten thousand footemen: and therefore he thought he did good seruice to the present affaires, if without danger he could temporize and entertaine things in tranquillitie, till he saw what would be the issue of his expectation of the Admirall. And on the other side *Prosper* desired to rid himselfe speedily of the affaires of *Cremona*; to haue the better opportunity to reestablish within *Genes* the brethren of the family of *Adorna*, and that afore *Italy* were posselt of the new succours of the enemies: insomuch as the capitulations bare that *Monsieur d'Escud* should depart out of *Cremona* within fortie dayes with all his souldiers, artilleries, and ensignes displayed, if within that time (which determined the xxvj. of Iune) there came not to him such a rescue as either might make him able by force to passe the riuer of *Paw*, or else to take one of those cities in the state of *Millan* which was possessed with garrison: that likewise he should procure that all those places and holds within the Duchy that were kept for the king, should be abandoned, except the Castles of *Millan*, *Cremona*, and *Nouaro*: that for the obseruation of these covenants, he should deliuer foure ostages: that there should be restitution of prisoners on both parts, and sufferance to the Frenchmen to passe in surety into *Fraunce* with their artilleries and traines.

Vpon the conclusion of this accord, and receiuing of the ostages, the armie of *Cesar* marched forthwith to *Genes*, which they approached in two places: the Marquis of *Pesquiere* with his regiments of Spanish footmen and *Italians*, were incamped on that side of *Codisa*, and *Prosper* with the men at armes and Launceknights vpon the opposite of *Bisagnia*: at that time the Citie of *Genes* was gouerned by Duke *Ottavian Fregosa*, a Prince of excellent vertue, and no lesse for his iustice then for his other good parts, as greatly beloued in that Citie, as any Prince may be in townes full of factions, retaining yet a memorie of their ancient liberty: he had waged two thousand *Italian* footmen, in whose confidence he laid vp all his hope of defence, for that the peoples of the towne being deuided by factions, and hauing about him so mightie an armie compounded vpon so great diuersity of languages and nations, forbore to take armes, but stood to behold things in the same maner, and with the same eyes wherewith in other times he was wont to behold his other trauels: wherein without the daunger or damage of such as tooke no armes, the publike authoritie being transported from one familie to another, there was scene no other mutation, then that in the pallace of the Duke were bestowed other inhabitants, other Captaines, and other bands of souldiers for the guard of the place. Assoone as the armie was approached the towne, the Duke began to sollicite composition by the meane of *Bennet Vivaldi* a *Genoway*, whom he sent to the Captaines: but this solicitation began to grow cold by the coming of *Peter of Nauarre*, who being sent by the French king with two light Gallies for the surety of *Genes*, entred the haven at the same instant: neuerthelesse the Marquis beginning to execute his artilleries and batter the walles, they began more then before to recontinue the parley for accord: wherein all difficulties being debated and resolved, and the matter vpon termes of conclusion, sodainly the Spaniards, who all that day had battred a tower neare to the gate, won the same, finding no guard nor order by the defendants, who were abused through their hope of composition: insomuch as following more their fortune then regarding their fidelity, they ioyned diligence to the occasion, and began to enter the city aswell by that tower, as by the wall that was reuerfed & ruined: by their exāple all that part of the armie ran to the action, and after the Marquis had set his bands in order, & signified to *Prosper* the state of the accidēt, they caused the trūpets to be sounded and entred the Citie by whole numbers: the calamitie of the defendants tooke away all resistance, the souldiers giuing themselves to flie, and the Citizens to seeke surety in shutting themselves in their houses: the Archbishop of *Salerne*, the Captaine of the guard, and many other Captaines and souldiers found safetie in certaine vessels, with the which they hoysed saile into the sea: the Duke for his disease not able to stirre, caused to shut the pallace, and sent to the Marquis of *Pesquiere*

Pesquero that he would yeeld to him, in whose house he died within few moneths after: *Peter Nauarre* was taken; all the goods of the Citie became a pray to the victors, manie rich families binding themselves some to one band of souldiers and some to another, to buy the safetie of their liues with great summes of money, which they assured either with pawnes and gages, or with bills of Merchants; and so with their money defended their bodies from bloud, and redeemed their houses from sacking: in the same maner was preserved the plot so famous which they call *Carnia*, and is kept with great reuerence in the Cathedrall Church. It is hard to recount what quantities of siluer vessell, jewels, mony, and most rich wares were made pillage, that Citie by the great assike of marchandize being replenished with infinite wealth: and yet so great a calamitie was so much the more easie and tollerable, by how much was aptly expressed a compassion by the brethren of the family of *Adorna*, who both of a naturall affection to the Citie, and for that the inhabitants had shewed no token of grudge or hatred, and for that also they were almost vpon the point of accord, procured such order to be set downe by the Captaines, that not one *Genoway* was made prisoner, nor the bodie of one woman put to violation. Immediately vpon the appeasing of the souldiers *Antho. Adorna* was elected Duke, who after the armie was gone encamped before the Castellet with such artilleries as the *Florentines* lent him: the third day he tooke the Cittadell and Saint *Frauncis* Church, and the day after the Castellet was rendered to him by the Captaine vnder articles of composition.

The mutation of *Genes* tooke from the French king all hope to be able to succour the affaires of *Lombardy*: for, both the armie that he sent, and by this time arriued vpon the territories of *Ast*, returned backe againe, and also *M. d'Escud* passed into *Fraunce* with his cōpanies, hauing stayed certaine dayes in *Cremona* about the tearme appointed for the resolving of certaine difficulties hapning about the castles of *Tressa*, *Lecqua* and *Domussolo*: in his departure he had not onely faith and promise kept with him, but also was honourably receiued wheresoever he passed.

But amid these broyles and alterations in *Lombardy*, *Bologna* stood not altogether in quiet, as well for the warre that was in *Lombardy*, as for the absence of the Pope: and much lesse did *Tuscane* reioyce in any great tranquillity; for touching *Bologna*, *Hanniball Bentiuole* ioyning with him *Hanniball Rangon*, leauied secretly an armie of foure thousand footemen, with whom and with three peeces of artilleries, one morning vpon the first appearing of the day, they made their approches on that side to the mountaines: and for that they in the towne made no brute, some of them passed the ditch, and fastened their ladders to the wall: but the inhabitants within, who had knowledge of their comming the day before, began to make a noyse and to stirre when they saw time, and to giue to fire the artilleries, & sending out also many troupes to begin the skirmish, the armie forthwith fell to flight, leauing their artilleries behind, and in the chase *Hanniball Rangon* was hurt in the backe. It was assuredly iudged, that this enterprize was attempted by the procurement and priuity of Cardinall *Medicis*, who fearing least the Pope at his comming into *Italy*, either of his owne counsell or by the incitation of others, would diminish his greatnesse, sought first to trouble him for so great a losse of the estate Ecclesiastike, and so by that meane not onely to conuert his thoughts to other matters then to persecute him, but also he should be constrained to haue recourse to his aide and counsell.

But farre more tedious and great were the trauels of *Tuscane*, for that scarcely was the estate of *Sienna* assured of the Duke of *Vrbis*, and the affaires of *Perousa* and *Montfelire* ceased, then the French king by the suggestion of Cardinall *Volterro*, gaue order of new that *Ranse de Cere* lying at *Rome* and not employed, should practise to change the estate of *Florence*, and to reestablish in that Citie, the brothers and nephewes of Cardinall *Volterro*, who was manifestly declared against the house of *Medicis*, with all his friends, and cōfederates of the king: but because the king at that time was in great necessittie, the Cardinall was to aduaunce for this enterprize all necessarie summes of mony, receiuing the kings promise to repay them within a certaine time. Whilest *Ranse* was making his preparations, these matters came to the knowledge of the Cardinall *Medicis*, the consideration whereof, fearing also least the Duke of *Vrbis* should stirre, compelled him to make this accord, that without prejudice to the rights which the *Florentines* and the Duke pretended to the townes in *Montfelire*, the Duke should be Captaine generall of the common weale for one yeare cōplete, & for another yeare at pleasure, and the time of his pay to begin the first day of the next moneth of September. For the same cause he retained in the pay of the *Florentines* *Horace*

Messieur d'Escud
and returneth
into *Fraunce*.

Emotions in
Tuscane.

Baillon, but with this condition, that the time of his pay should not begin vntill Iune, for that he was entertained and bound to the *Venetians* for so long. And albeit this contract was likewise made in the name of his brother *Maletesta*, yet he would not ratifie it, hauing afore receiued money to be ioyned with *Ranſe de Cere* with a charge of two thousand footemen and an hundred light horſemen. On the one ſide he would not openly blemiſh his proper honour, and on the other ſide he was loath to prouoke the Cardinall and the *Florentines* by new occaſions: therefore to wade in a meane betweene both, he fained himſelf to be ſicke, and ſent to *Ranſe* being ſent to the borough of *Pienza* two thousand footemen, an hundred light horſemen, and foure falconets, making excuſe by the rage of his ſickeſſe that he was not able to go in perſon: and to the Cardinall he gaue hope that he would take no more new payes of the enemy, and that as ſoone as the terme were finiſhed for the which he was payed, he would ratifie the contract made in his name & in the meane time would proceede with as great moderation as he could in ſuch actions as he could not reſuſe for the payes he had receiued. After this *Ranſe* entred into the territory of *Sienna* with ſiue hundred horſe and ſeuē thouſand footemen, with intention to praſtiſe the mutation of that gouernement with the trayne of the ſelfe ſame exiles which had followed the Duke of *Vrbino*: wherein if the enterpriſe had drawne to good iſſue, it was not to be doubted that hauing power by that meane to enter on that ſide into the bowels of the *Florentine* dominion, that the like ſucceſſe had not followed him touching the particular of *Florence*. But the *Florentines* no leſſe foreſeeing that danger, then deſiring that the enemies ſhould not approach to *Sienna*, had ſent to that ſtate all their regiments of men of war, vnder the conduct of *Guido Rangon* elected for that emotion generall of the armie: he had this ſpeciall intention, both to temporize with the enemies, to makethem loſe time, for that he was not ignorant that without expedition they would fall into want of money: & alſo vnder one time to vſe all the impediments he could to cut off & ſtop their victuals: ſo that gouerning himſelfe according to the proceedings of the enemies, he laboured to put ſeueral gariſons into thoſe townes that were neareſt the eſtate of the *Siennois* and the *Florentines*. In which remouing of ſouldiers from one place to another, it hapned that the guidon of horſemen of *Vitelli* going from *Torrito* to *Aſinalongo*, encountred on the way with three hundred horſemen of the enemies and were ouerthrowne, *Ieronimo de Peppoli* Lieutenant to *Vitelli* being taken priſoner with fifty men at armes & two enſignes: *Ranſe* addreſſed himſelf firſt to the Citie of *Chinſa*, a Citie more noble for the memorie of her antiquitie and the renowned actes of *Porſene* her king, then for her fortunes and conditions preſent: his hope was deceived to carie it, bringing with him no other ſortes of artilleries then foure falconets, a force farre too weake to take townes that are defended with ſouldiers. He marched further betweene *Torrito* and *Aſinalongo*, to draw neare to *Sienna*, but hauing no commoditie of victuals amid ſo many townes of the enemies, and ſeeing to get ſome by force, he aſſailed the borough of *Torrito*, where was in gariſon an hundred men at armes of *Guido Rangon* and ſiue hundred footemen: but he leaued his campe from thence without doing any thing to aduaunce his purpoſe, & keeping his way, he went to *Moteliſſe*, & from thence to *Bagno de Rapolano* within twelue myles of *Sienna*, in which citie the *Florentines* in the beginning had beſtowed the Count *Petillano*: but the Count *Guido*, by whole diligence and celeritie all theſe deuifes were preuented, entred the ſame day into *Sienna* with two hundred light horſemen, leauing his armie behind to follow after: ſo that what for the ſuccours that approached, and the reputation of *Ranſe* which was greatly diminished in this expedition aſwell with his owne companies as amongeſt the enemies, together with the knowledge they that he was reduced to a great neceſſitie of victuals, brought no litle diſcourage to them of *Sienna*, to whom could haue bene acceptable a chaunge or alteration: neuertheſſe he preſented himſelfe with halfe a myle of the wals, and ſeeing no inſurrection made in his fauour, he retired hauing remained there xxiiij houres. The ſame day he retired (but after he was gone) the bandes of the *Florentines* entred with in *Sienna*, who albeit were put in readineſſe to purſue him, yet they made no great labour when they ſaw he was too farre gone: they ſuffred certaine light horſemen to purſue the chaſe, and certaine bandes of footemen which were before at *Sienna*, of whom he receiued no great damage: onely his retraite being haſtie, and haply no leſſe for famine then for feare, he left his artilleries by the way, which to his great diſhonour fell into the power of the enemies: he ſtayed at *Aguepenie* to redreſſe his companies which were much diminished; a place ſo much the more aſſured to him, by how much he knew that the *Florentine* bandes would be

curious

curious to enter vpon the lands of the Church: but falling into wants of money and other prouisions, and the Cardinals of *Volterra*, of *Monte*, and of *Coma*, with whom by the French kings direction he communicated touching his affaires, beginning now to reiect him, he conuerted those few bands of souldiers that his fortune had left him, to pill and rob the shores or watersides of *Sienna*, and in vaine gaue assault to *Orbatella*: for which cause the *Florentines* hauing made their armes to march towards the bridge of *Centino*, which is the confine and limite betweene the estate of *Sienna* and the dominion of the Church, threatned to make inuasion of the lands of the Church, for that they saw *Ranse* did not wholly dissolue his companies. In which respect the Colledge of Cardinals, who stood iealous to suffer such an action vpon the estate of the Church, interposed to accord them; a matter indifferently agreeable to them both: It was acceptable to the *Florentines*, for that by it they were drawne out of a burthen of expences which they made without any fruite: and to *Ranse* it was no lesse welcome, for that both he was ill furnished for the present, and also had no hope to increase his forces, specially the French affaires suffering ill tearmes in *Lombardy*. The accord contained no other matter then a bare promise not to offend one another: which promise ran betweene the *Florentines* and *Siennois* on the one part, and *Ranse de Cere* on the other part, putting in pledge in *Rome* of fiftie thousand duckets for the suretie of obseruation: and touching the things that had bene made pillage and spoyle, they referred them to the arbitration of the Pope when he should come into *Italie*.

This winter there hapned in the towne of *Lucqua* this dangerous accident: one *Vincent Pogio* of a noble descending and family, and *Lawrence Totti*, vnder colour of particular discords, but more likely pushed on by ambition and pouertie, tooke armes, and in the publike pallace slue the chiefe Magistrate of that citie: and as one furie draweth on another, and in an vprore is seldome scene any moderation, so they ran with their armed weapons throughout the towne, and made slaughter of diuerse other citizens their aduersaries, with such an vniuersall terrour & feare, that not one durst oppose against them: neuerthelesse as soone as the first violence was somewhat ceased, the same feare that had amazed others began to terrifietheselues by the remorse and greatnesse of the offences they had done: in which oportunitie certaine wise citizens thrusting in to solcite and appease, the murtherers issued out of the citie vnder certaine conditions, and afterwards were sharply persecuted by the inhabitants of *Lucqua*.

Thus were the matters of *Lombardy* and *Tuscane* brought to some appeasment, but the Colledge of Cardinals taking no care of the estates of the Church, partly for the Popes absence, but more for the ambition and disagreements that were betweene them: *Sigismond* the sonne of *Pandolfe Malatesta* an ancient Lord of *Rimini*, tooke almost wholly into his hands the gouernment of that Citie, hauing therein but a verie small intelligence: and albeit Cardinall *Medici* at the instance of the Colledge, went to *Bologna* as Legate of that Citie, both to recouer *Rimini*, and to reorder the other affaires of *Romagnia*, which were much troubled and altered, to whom

the Colledge had promised to send to his succours the Marquis of *Mantua*. Captaine generall of the Church: yet nothing sorted to effect, no lesse by the wants and impediments of money, then through the iealousie and emulation of the Cardinals his aduersaries, who objected themselves

against all counsels and actions that anie way might aduance his reputation or greatnesse.

The end of the fourteenth Booke.



THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

Pope Adrian comes to Rome. The Venetians make league with the Emperour. The Frenching besiege Milan, and are constrained afterwards to returne from it. Cardinall Medicis is created Pope. King Frauncis descendeth into Italy, he taketh Milan, and besiegeth Pavia. The Emperour Charles sendeth out an armie to the succours of Pavia, where a battell is fought, and the French king taken prisoner.



Albeit the late victorie against the Frenchmen had somewhat reduced the matters of *Lombardy* into an estate peaceable and settled, yet it had nothing diminished the vniuersall suspition that the king would esstoones recontinue the warre, and in short time bring new inuasions vpon the Duchy of *Milan*: for both his owne kingdom stood quiet and acquitted from ciuill troubles, his Captaines and bands of men of warre whom he had sent into *Italy*, were returned in safety, the *Swissers* well disposed and prepared to take his pay, as before; and lastly, the Senate of *Venice* stood firme with him in the ancient league and confederation: which arguments ioyned to the remembrance and passion of his harmes receiued, and no lesse concurring the violent inclination of his youth naturally caried with moods of reuenge, were sufficient to arme his mind with bloody desires, and to make him by his valour to seeke to recompence the displeasures which the malice & enuie of his fortune had lately heaped vpon him. By the consideration of which danger, the Captaines of the Imperials were driuen to entertaine and pay the armie; a compulsion verie hard and grievous, for that they receiued no supplies of money neither from *Cesar*, nor from the kingdom of *Naples*: and touching the estate of *Milan*, it was so narrowly raked and gleaned, that of their proper treasure and ability, they were not able to sustaine so great a proportion of expences, as were distributed to the feeding of so many souldiers: and therefore for the relieuing of so great burthens, they sent the greatest part of their companies to be bestowed vpon the estates of the Church, notwithstanding the popular voyces and Colledge of Cardinals objected many impediments and vaine exclamations: also other prouinces of *Italy* were taxed for the conseruation of the Duchy of *Milan*, and that by the labour & solicitation chiefly of *Don Charles de Lamo*, lately made *Viceroy of Naples* by the death of *Don Raimond de Cardona*, and *Don Iohn Manuell*: the rate of the imposition was, that monethly for three moneths next following, the estate of *Milan* should contribute a thousand duckets, the *Florentines* fiftene thousand, the *Genowayes* eight thousand, *Sienna* siue thousand, and *Lucca* foure thousand. And albeit many murmured against this taxation, yet the feare of so great an armie made it to be both executed & suffered: So mightie is necessitie, that in cases of extremity it makes tollerable those things, which in all other conditions are full of inconueniencie and difficulty. Only they of *Milan* iustified the taxation to be necessarie, for that the defence of all *Italie* depended vpon the continuation of that armie: neither did it cease after the end of three moneths, for that the same necessitie continuing, the imposition was esstoones renewed, though in a farre lesse rate and taxation.

The prouinces of Italy are taxed for the conseruation of the Duchy of Milan.

In this estate of affaires, *Italy* stood oppressed with continuall aduersities, and no lesse terrified with the feare of greater euils that threatned the vniuersall regions thereof: for the remedy whereof much was attributed to the comming of the Pope, as an apt and conuenient instrument by reason of his supreme authority, to appeale and reorder all disorders. And albeit *Cesar* passing at the same time by sea into *Spaine*, and in his way did communicate with the king of *England*, had
besought

besought him to tarie for him at *Barcelona*, whither he would come in person to honour him as Pope: yet he forbore to abide the Emperours comming, either fearing least for the great distance of the Emperour, who as yet was in the extreame confines of *Spaine*, he should let slip the commoditie of his good time, which after his nauigation began to be rough and dangerous, or else he suspected least the Emperour would solícite him to deferre his voyage; or lastly (which was more credible) he feared to aggrauate the opinion conceiued of him from the beginning, that the Emperour did so much gouerne him, as to be able to let him to treat of the vniuersall peace betweene Christians: an action wherein he was determined to employ all his studies and labours: so that ouer-ruling by his wisdom all these suspitions, he passed at last by sea to *Rome*, where he made his entrie the xxix. of August, with a great concourse of the commons and the whole Court: of who albeit his comming was desired with an vniuersall gladnesse, for that without the presence of the Popes, *Rome* beareth more a resemblance of a sauage desert then of a citie, yet that spectacle wrought sundrie impressions and diuersitie of thoughts in the minds of all men, when they considered that they had a Pope for nation and language a straunger, and for the affaires of *Italy* & the Court altogether vnexperienced, and also for that he was not of those regions and countries, who by long conuersation were already made familiar with the customes of *Italy*: the enuy that stirred vp in men this consideration was redoubled by the accident of the plague, which beginning in *Rome* at his arriual, afflicted the citie during the whole season of Autumne, to the great calamitie and losse of the people; a matter which in the fancies of men was construed to an euill prognostication of his Pontificacie.

Pope Adrian the vi. cometh to Rome.

The first counsell that this Pope tooke, was to aduance the recovering of *Rimini*, and to put end to the controuersies which the Duke of *Ferrara* had continued with two of his latest predecessours: and for the better succeeding of that expedition, he sent into *Romagnia* that regiment of fiftene hundred Spanish footmen which he had brought with him for the more surety of his passage by sea.

Whilest the Pope was in these actions and preparations in *Italy*, the Emperour cast in his mind how much it would import to the successe and suretie of his affaires in *Italy*, to separate the *Venetians* from the French king: to which deuise was much helping an opinion that he had, that the hopes of the French matters being diminished, the Senate would not be without manifest inclination to peace, and that they would not for the interests of others, lay themselves downe to the daungers which such a warre might bring vpon their estates. In this practise he communicated with the king of *England*, who afore had lent him money secretly against the French king, and began openly to take part against him: they sent thither their Embassadors to require the Senate to confederate with the Emperour for the defence of *Italy*, *Ierome Adorna* being for the Emperour, and *Richard Pafe* for the king of *England*. There was also expectation of an Embassadour from *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, *Casars* brother, who entertaining many quarrels with the *Venetians*, it was iudged necessarie that he should interpose and communicate in all accords. Besides, the king of *England* sent a Herald to pronounce warre against the French king, in case he would not come to a generall truce with the Emperour for three yeares in all parts of the world: & therein should be comprehended the Church, the Duke of *Millan*, & the *Florentines*: he complained also in this defiance, that the French king had forborn to pay him the annuity of fifty thousand crownes which he was bound to answer yearely. But the French king whose youth made him more apt to trust in fortune, then to looke into things by counsell, refused to make truce, and touching the demand of the fifty thousand crownes, he protested openly that it was not conuenient for him to pay mony to him that ayded his enemies with money: an answer which so aggrauated the disdain and hart-burnings betweene them, that the Embassadors on both sides were reuoked.

The king of England for the Emperours & sendeth Embassadors to the Venetians to draw them from the alliance of the French.

This yeare departed out of *Italy* *Don Iohn Mannell*, who had bene *Casars* Embassadour at *Rome* with verie great authoritie: and at his departure he deliuered to the *Florentines* a scedule subsigned by his hand, declaring that *Cesar* by a scedule published in September 1520 promised to Pope *Leo* to reconfirm & estloones to reaccord to the *Florentines* the priuiledges of estate, of authority, & of the townes which they held within fixe moneths after the first dyot vpon his coronation at *Aix*: this was a reiteration of a former promise made by him to accomplish the same within foure moneths after his election, within which time he said he could not dispatch it for many iust causes: so that vnder protestation of that reasonable excuse, *Don Iohn* promised it

estfoones in the name of *Cesar*, who ratified the scedule in March 1523, and deliuered the expedition of it in writing in a most ample forme.

What the Em-
perour did in
Spaine.

As hath bene set downe before, *Cesar* passed this yeare into *Spaine*, where he proceeded seuerely against many that were noted the authors of the sedition, and to others he remitted all punishments, and pardoned their goods: in which action, to ioyne with iustice and clemency, examples of recompence and remuneration, he called to the Court in great honour, *Ferdinand Duke of Calabria*, who refusing to be Captaine of the Commons that rebelled, he rewarded his fidelitie with the mariage of *Madame Germania* sometimes wife to the king of *Spaine*: she was rich, but barren, to the end that house should determine in him who was the last of the descendants of old *Alfonso* king of *Aragon*, two of his younger brothers being dead before, the one in *Fraunce* and the other in *Italy*.

Rhodes taken.

But the end of this yeare was made no lesse wretched and vnhappy, then slaúnderous to all Christian Princes for the losse of the Ile of *Rhodes*, which *Solyman Ottoman* tooke by violence, notwithstanding it was defended by the knights of *Rhodes*, called in other times more ancient, the knights of *Saint Iohn of Ierusalem*: and abiding in that place since they were chased out of *Ierusalem*, notwithstanding they lay betweene two so mighty Princes as the *Turke* and the *Soldan*, yet their valour had preserued it of long time, and to the right worthy glorie of their order, they had remayned as an assured rampier of Christian religion in those seas: and yet they were not without their imputations and notes of infamie, for that hauing a continuall custome for the better defending of those shores, to spoyle the vessels of the infidels, they were thought sometimes to make pillage of Christian ships. The *Turke* sent into the Iland a wonderfull great army, which remaining there many moneths, with no lesse horroure to good men for their cruelties, then terrour to all men for their huge numbers, at last he came thither in person, and drawing to his desire of conquest and glorie, the respect of profite and riches which the victorie would yeeld, he lost not one minute of time to vex them, wherein his industrie was nothing inferiour to his valour, for sometimes he cast monstrous mines and trenches, sometimes he raised platformes of earth and wood, whose height ouertopped the walles of the towne, and sometimes he afflicted them with most furious and bloody assaults: insomuch that as these workes and engines were not performed without a wonderfull butcherie and slaughter of his souldiers, so also the defence of them was so daungerous to the liues of them within, that manie numbers were diminished, manie bodies maimed and made vnseruiceable, and the residue made terrified by the calamities of their companions and friends, to whom they could giue no other propertie of compassion then to inourne with them their common miserie: their aduersitie was so much the more intollerable, by how much their trauels were without fruite, their words without comfort, and their valour disfaoured of fortune, and lastly, their store of gun-powder was consumed, which is not the least necessitie for the defence of a place: they saw afore their eyes huge breaches made into their walles with the artilleries of the enemies, they discerned seuerall mines wrought into many parts of the towne, and they found by lamentable experience, that the more painfully they laboured, the lesse good they did, for that their fortune had reduced them to these termes of extremitie, that in abandoning one place to relieue another, they put both in daunger, not hauing numbers sufficient to furnish the seruice, and lesse expectation of rescue amid perils so raging and desperate: so that, what for that their necessities were greater then their hopes, and their defence lesse able by the continuall diminution of their numbers, and lastly, holding it no breach of honour to preserue by wisdom and composition, that they could no longer defend by their valour and prowesse, they gaue place to their destiny, and capitulated with the *Turke*: That the great Master of their order should leaue the towne to him: That aswell he as all his knights should depart in safetie, with libertie to carie with them as much of their goods as they could: And for assurance of this capitulation, the *Turke* should withdraw out of those seas his flete or naue, and retire his armie by land five miles from *Rhodes*. By vertue of which capitulation *Rhodes* remained to the *Turkes*, and the Christians passed into *Sicily*, and so into *Italy*, keeping their faith and profession vniuolated: they found in *Sicily* an army by sea compounded of a certaine number of vessels, with great reliefe of victuals and munitions, and ready to hoise saile at the next wind to reuietually *Rhodes*. The slownesse of this rescue was layd to the Popes fault: After they were departed, *Solyman* for a more contempt of Christian religion, made his entrie into the

Rhodes redred
up to the Turk.

Citie vpon the day of the birth of the sonne of God: which day being celebrated in the Churches of Christians with noyse of musicke and holie inuocations, he conuerted all the Churches of *Rhodes*, dedicated to the seruice of Iesus Christ, into *Mosques* (so they call their temples) which after all the Christian rites and ceremonies were abolished, they dedicated to *Mahomet*. This was the end of the yeare 1522, infamous for the name and title of Christendom, and this was the fruite drawne of the discords of our Princes, which yet might be somewhat tolerable, if at least the examples of harmes past might make them better tempered in time to come.

As the discords of Princes continued, so increased also the trauels and perplexities of the yeare 1523. In the beginning of which the familie of the *Malatestis* knowing how vnable they were to resist the Popes forces, were in the end contented by the mediation of the Duke of *Vrbino* to leaue *Rimini* and the Castle, albeit vnder this vncertaine hope, that there should be reserved for *Pandolfo* some reasonable estate and meane to liue, wherein nothing was done. Afterwards the Duke of *Vrbino* went to the Pope, with whome and with the most part of the Court, the glorious memorie of Pope *Iulio* working much for him, he obtained absolution from all paines and impositions, and was estsoones reinuested in the Duchie of *Vrbino*, but with this exception, not to preiudice the rights and application that had bene made of the country of *Montefeltre* to the *Florentines*, who sayd they had lent to Pope *Leo* three hundred and fifty thousand duckets for the defence of that Duchie, and had expended since his death in diuerse places for the preservation of the estate of the Church, more then threescore and ten thousand. The Pope receiued also into grace the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he did not onely inuest of new in the impery of *Ferrara*, and of all that he possessed appertaining to the Church afore the warre of Pope *Leo* against the Frenchmen, but also he left to him (not without a note of infamie both to himselfe and ministers that abused his ignorance) the iurisdiction of the boroughes of *Saint Felix* and *Firinale*: which townes as he got at such time as he began the warre against Pope *Leo*, and afterwards lost them before his death, so he had estsoones taken them of new by the occasion of the vacancie of the Sea. For recompence of this grace and inuestiture, the Duke was bound to ayd and succor the Church in times of need with certaine numbers of men, for so much as belonged to the defence of his imperie and estate: and in case hereafter he should fall againe, and transgresse or offend the Sea Apostolike, besides his submission to great fines and amerçiements, he consented to haue this inuestiture made nothing, and to the priuation of all his rights. Moreouer the Pope gaue him great hopes to restore to him *Modena* and *Reggia*, notwithstanding afterwards he estranged his mind from his promise, as well for the importance of such an indument which was afterwards told him, as also for the infamie of the examples of his predecessors, which could not but redound vpon him.

About this time the Castle of *Millan* suffering no lesse wants of all prouisions except bread, then being vniuersally afflicted with sicknesse and diseases, agreed to deliuer vp their charge vnder condition of life and goods saued, if they were not succoured by the fourteenth day of Aprill: at which day the composition being accomplished, the most part of the souldiers were found dead: *Cesar* was contented to deliuer it ouer into the possession of Duke *Frauncis Sforce*, wherein he wonne no litle reputation and praise amongst the *Italians*: and albeit there was no other peece in *Italy* that held for the Frenchmen, except the Castle of *Cremona*, which had as yet a plentifull prouision of all things, yet these successes did nothing qualifie the infelicities and aduersities of the peoples of that Duchie, who were wonderfully oppressed with the armie of *Cesar*, for that it was not payd: in which discontentment being gone to lodge within *Ast* and the confines about it, and falling into tumult for the same cause, their disorder led them to make pillage of the whole countrey, euen as farre as *Vigenena*: for regard of which vniuersall wailing, as also to auoyd the harmes and daungers of the countrey, the inhabitants of *Millan* were driuen to make promise of their payes amounting to an hundred thousand duckets: and yet the feeling of so many aduersities and rigours, could nothing abate the hatreds of that people against the French, wherein the things that sustained them were partly a feare through the memorie of old iniuries done against them by that nation, and partly a hope, least vpon ceasing of the daunger the French king would estsoones assaile that state, and also that they should be deliuered from those great burthens, for that it should be no more.

The Castle of
Millan redred
by the French.

necessarie for the Emperour to entertaine in that Duchie any regiments of souldiers.

The negociation of the peace betweene *Cesar* and the *Venetians* continued still, & as for many difficulties that hapned, and diuerse sorts of delayes interposed by the *Venetians*, the minds of men were holden in great suspence what successe or effect it would draw: so one chiefe matter that made that action dilatorie, & augmented the difficulties, was the death of *Ierome Adorna*, whose yeares albeit were not many, yet his experience was rare, and his wit raised to the comprehension of high things, which he well exprest in this treatie, wherein his authoritie was great and his capacitie singular. In his place was sent from *Millean* for *Cesar*, *Martin Caracciolo* Pronotarie to the Sea Apostolike, who manie yeares after was created Cardinall by Pope *Paule* the third. Many moneths were spent in this negociation at *Venice*, where the French king became no small impediment to the resolution by the importunate labour and diligence of his Embassadors, by whom he promised sometimes by letters, and sometimes by messengers especiall, that he would descend speedily into *Italy* with a right puissant armie. These offers and promises bred great diuersitie of opinions amongst the Senators, and continuall arguments and disputations: for many gaue counsell not to abandon the alliance of the French king, and reposed altogether vpon his promise to send presently an armie into *Italy*: which hope the French king labouring to feed with a wonderfull diligence, he had newly sent to *Venice*, *Ranſe de Cere*, not onely to entertaine and confirme his promise, but also to publish the manifest preparation of things: others remembring how in the hope of many things past the king had behaued himselfe negligently, could not now expect any confidence in his promise to passe into *Italy*: wherein that opinion was confirmed in them by certaine aduertisements from *Iohn Baduere* their Embassadour in *France*, who assured them, that for that yeare the French king would neither passe in person nor send any armie into *Italy*: an intelligence which he had from the Duke of *Burbon*, who was already very secretly conioyned with *Cesar*, and wished the *Venetians* to entertaine vnitie with him: another sort of the Senatours wauering in mind, stood terrified no lesse by the ill successe of the king, then by the good fortunes of *Cesar*, whereunto they ioyned this consideration, that in *Italy* the Duke of *Millean*, the *Genowayes*, the *Florentines*, together with all *Tuscane* followed the faction of *Cesar*, and doubted also least the Pope would likewise concur in that inclination: and out of *Italy* were for him his brother the Archduke; confining vpon the *Venetian* estates, and the king of *England* making continuall warre in *Picardie*: in which diuersitie of opinions running no lesse amongst the principals of the Senate, then the vniuersall multitude, the deliberation could not long suspend, as well for the forwardnesse of things, as for the importunities of *Cesars* Embassadors, by whose continuall solicitation the Councell of the *Pregati* was assembled to pronounce the resolution. In this Councell spake *Andrew Gritti* in this sort, a personage of verie high authoritie in that common weale, for the great offices he had administred, and of especiall reputation throughout all *Italy*, and with foraine Princes, for the merite of his wit and dealing.

The oration of
Andrew Gritti
touching the
alliance with
Cesar.

There is nothing more hurtfull in Counsellers then the passion of ieaousie and suspicion, which drawing with it diuersitie and separation of willes, is so much the more preiudiciall, by how much it stoppeth oftentimes the libertie and freedome of well counselling: and for my part, albeit I am not ignorant that in giuing counsell at this present not to depart from the confederation

“ of the French king, some will interpret me to partialitie, as though in me bare more respect
 “ and authoritie the long custome and conuersation I haue had with the French, then the care and
 “ affection which in nature and equitie I ought to expresse to the benefite of the common weale:
 “ yet I will rather lay my selfe downe to the imputations of men, then keepe suppressed that fidelitie of counselling, which in good office appertaineth to euerie good Citizen, in whom cannot
 “ be expected any good propertie, either of a Citizen or a Senator that for anie occasion forbeareth
 “ to perswade to others, that which in himselfe he discerneth to be good for the common weale:
 “ and yet I doubt not that amongst men of discretion and wisdom this interpretation will
 “ find no place, both for the consideration of my customes and actions in all times past; and
 “ also for that I neuer negotiated with the French king nor his counsell, but as your Agent,
 “ your Creature, your commissioner, and your Deputie limited and regulated: but touching the
 “ present matter, I doubt not to accompanie my opinion and counsell with such force of reasons
 “ and examples as shall be able to make me iustified euen with such as hold me suspected. We are
 assembled

assembled heere to dispute whether we ought to make a new confederation with the Emperour, both contrarie to the faith we haue giuen, and against the couenants of the League which we haue with the house of *France*: which in my iudgement is no other thing then to go about so to assure and confirme the power of the Emperour already vniuersally redoubted, that being without further remedy to moderate and cinbase it, it risē not continually encreasing to our right great and apparant preiudice. We haue no cause wherein may be taken any reason to iustifie that deliberation, if we looke into the fidelity and equity of the French king: for that as he hath for the most part fulfilled the alliance that he hath made with vs, and carefully restrained himselfe to the reasonable obseruation of amitie and League, so though the effects haue not followed so readily to renew the warre in *Italy*, yet in regard of his proper interests therein concurring, that hath not proceeded of other matter then of the impediments growing vpon him in the kingdome of *France*: which albeit may for a time prolong or deferre his counsels, yet let vs not looke that they will vtterly dissolue his enterprize, for that he liues possessed with so great a desire to recouer the Duchy of *Millan*, and hath his forces so mighty and ready, that hauing once sustained the first brunts of his enenies, there will nothing let him to renew his armie & recontinue the war in *Italy*. Wherein I may aptly vse for example the experience and memory of king *Louu*, who hauing his countrey inuaded with armies farre more mighty then those that now vex him, for that almost all the nations and regions round about him rose into conspiracy against him, yet did he so easily defend his estates by the greatnesse of his forces, by the munition and defence of his frontiers and places confining, and with the fidelity and readinesse of his peoples, that when in all reasonable consideration it was thought that necessity would driue him to retire himselfe for a time, and restrain his mind to rest and tranquility, he rayfed his thoughts to the warres of *Italy*, and in that vniuersall coniecture of his weaknesse, sent thither suddenly right huge and mighty armies. The king rainging did the like in the first yeare of his raigne, & euen then entred into the renouation of the warre, when, both by his new ascending to the Crowne, and also finding his treasures consumed by the infinite expences of his predecessor, euery man looked that he would put off the war till another yeare. Let vs not interpret sinisterly of his delays and deferring, and much lesse let vs lay them for an excuse our variations, seeing that confederate that is slow not of will but by impediments, giues to his companion no iust cause to complaine, nor any honest colour to depart from his confederation. We ought in this cause to iudge of the French king, as in matters of amity good men vse to measure friendship, that he that maketh a promise, albeit he performe late, yet he breakes not the law of promise, for that although he disappointeth, yet he sayleth not. It is a great vnthankfulnesse when we forget what we haue receiued of our friends: and when they are slow to performe but small things, we are ready to rayse great complaints against them. But touching this deliberation, if we looke well into the estate of our affaires, we shall find that if common honesty ioyned with the dignity of our Senat, call vs to it, no lesse are we iustly prouoked by the regard of our profite and proper safety: it is easie to be discerned from how many daungers, from how many suspitions, and from how many afflictions we shall be deliuered, if the French king recouer the estate of *Millan*: and wisemen with the same facility may find out, into what tranquility, into what assurance, and into what freedome of estate, our affaires will fall for many yeares, if he preuaile in that action, wherein he hath concurring with his forces reason, conscience, and equity. Of this we are warned by the examples of the yeares before, for at such time as the king that now is, went about to recouer it, it came to passe that we, who afore with many dangers and very great expences, were scarce able to defend *Padoa* and *Trenisa*, were made able by his occasion to reconquer *Bressia* and *Verona*: yea so long as he enioyed that Duchie in quietnesse; we possessed in peace and surety all our dominions and iurisdiccions, and what else was of our imperry or our obedience: which are examples that much more ought to moue vs then the ancient memory of the League of *Cambray*, for that the kings of *France* haue learned by experience that which they could neuer comprehend by reason, how preiudiciall it hath bene to them to depart our of our alliance; a matter which without all comparison they may best discern in the time present, wherein this king hath for his aduersary and competitor, an Emperour, a Prince whose amplitude of kingdomes, and whose redoubted power will keepe him in necessity to esteeme dearely our alliance. But on the contrary, who seeth not into what dangerous termes our affaires will be reduced, when the French king shall find himselfe mecrely excluded out of

the enterprises of *Italy*: for who can let the Emperour to appropriate to himselfe or to his brother the Duchie of *Millan*, the which he would neuer to this day transerre the inuestiture to *Frauncis Sforce*? And if he haue power to do so, what is he that can assure his will? who can stay the streame driuen by so violent a wind? Yea, since the Duchie of *Millan* is so apt a ladder to lift him to the Empire of all *Italy*, who will take vpon him to promise, that in the Emperour iustice and conscience will beare more sway, then ambition and couetousnesse, inclination's naturall to all great Princes? If any man take any surety by the moderation and temperance of his officers which he hath in *Italy*, let him be answered, that the most of them are *Syniards*, a nation vnfaithfull, rauishing, and aboue all others most insatiable: so that if the Emperour or his brother *Ferdinand*, make *Millan* their owne and possesse it, in what degree shall remaine our estate being enuironed by them both, on the confines of *Italy* and *Germanie*? what surety, what succours, what expectation of remedie amid so many daungers? The kingdome of *Naples* is in his possession, the Pope with all the other Potentates of *Italy* are at his deuotion, and all our friends being made naked of money and forces, there remaines to vs no hope of ayde or comfort, and lesse possibility to find fauour where fortune and so great diuision of minds contend against vs. But if the French king were Lord of the Duchie of *Millan*, then should things stand so euently ballanced betweene two so great Princes, that who so euer stood in feare of the power of the one of them, should find peace and surety by the might of the other, for that both pollicy and their proper ambition would make them ialous one of anothers greatnesse: yea the onely feare of his comming assureth all his neighbours, for that by it the Imperials are restrained from entring into armes, or to intangle themselues with any enterprife. By which reason is made more ridiculous then terrible the vanity of their threatnings to turne the army against vs, if we confederate with the Emperour, as though it were an easie enterprife to moue warre against the state of *Venice*, and as though there were present surety of the victory, and lastly as though that were the onely meane and remedy to keepe the French king from passing, and not rather the cause of the contrarie: for who doubteth that being prouoked by them, we would propound to the king by necessitie such conditions, that though he bare no inclination to them, yet they would induce him to passe? The same hapned in the time of king *Louis*, when the iniuries and treasons that were done vnto vs by that nation, enforced vs so to incense and stirre vp that king (when of his prisoner I became your Embassadour) that euen when he stood in the greatest feare to be mightily inuaded in his kingdome of *Fraunce*, euen then did he dispatch a strong armie into *Italy*, though with very ill successe. Let vs not beleue that if the Imperials thought the way to draw vs to their amitie, or to assure themselues of the French king, were to set vpon vs, that they had till this day deferred the execution: perhappes their Captaines haue no desire to enrich themselues with the profites and spoyle of warre, perhappes they haue had no necessitie, in disburdening those countries that were friends to them to draw money from them, to nourish the army in the countrey of another: no rather they haue well found out, that by reason of our power, it is too hard a matter to force vs: and much lesse stands it with them hauing a continuall feare of the descending of the French, to entangle themselues with another warre, nor to giue occasion to a state so mightie in men, money, and opinion, to allure with the greatnesse of offers the French king to march. So long as they are holden in these suspitions and in these doubts, they will not intrude for themselues vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, neither will they seeke to offend vs but with vaine threatnings: where if we assure them of that feare, they will haue in their power to do both the one and other: and if they do it as it is likely they will, where is our remedie, where are become our hopes, our counsels, and our expectations, yea of whom may we complaine more then of our selues? our owne feares will breede our common daungers, our fraile suspitions will draw on our proper calamities, and as a destinie we shall be driuen into warre by our immoderate desires to peace: which then is most holy and most to be embraced, when it puts men out of suspition, when it increaseth no danger, and when it brings a meane to sit downe in tranquility, and to cut off great expences. But when it appeareth in another habite and forme, & begetteth effects contrary, it abusethe then the name, the property, & the nature of peace, & vnder a corrupt resemblance of peace it taketh iustly the title of a dangerous war, & vnder the shew of a wholesome medicine, it expresseth the operation of a mortal poyson: so that, as in confederating with the Emperour, we turne the

French

French king from his enterprise of *Italy*, & leade the Emperour as it were by a line, to occupy at his will the Duchy of *Milan*, and so to embase vs and our iurisdiction: so it followeth that by that action (with a right great infamie of our name, and hazard of the faith of this common-weale) we buy the greatnesse of a Prince who hath giuen no lesse tokens of his ambition then prooffe of his power, and who (iuyning) with him his brother) hath set downe this pretence, that all that we possesse in the firme land, appertaineth vnto them. And on the other side, we reiect & exclude out of *Italy*, a king who vnder his equity and greatnesse assureth the liberty of vs all, and is induced by a great necessity & constraint to remaine traitly allied and conioyned with vs. These reasons so euident and sensible auoid all matter of imputation, that I am not pushed on more by affection then by truth, nor more caried by any interest particular, then with the loue I beare to the common-weale, the safety and preservation of which we neede not doubt, if God giue so great grace and felicity to your counsels, as he hath plentifully imparted amongst you the spirit of wisdom and forecast.

But against this speech, did oppose one *George Cornaro* a Gentleman of equall authority, and of no lesse reputation for grauitie and stayed condition.

Right ieaious were the office of Magistrates, if in matters of counsel it were lesse lawfull to con-
 fute, then to obiekt, and no lesse doth it offend the estate and credit of their place, where it is not
 thought as great a fidelity to answer as to propone: since such hath bin alwayes the law & liberty
 of counsell giuing, to assure the truth against all sinister insinuations: and albeit I am not ignorant
 that in nothing is more suspicion then to giue counsell in matters of state, yet for mine owne part,
 considering the equity of this Senate afore whom I speake, I doubt not but the reasons I shall giue
 will suffice to assure mine innocency against all imputations. Assuredly the matter we haue in
 hand, is great and full of difficulties, both for the consideration of the time and nature of many ac-
 cidents concurring: and yet when I looke into the infidelity and ambition of the Princes of this
 time, and how much they differ from the nature of common-weales, whose gouernement being
 not subiect to the appetite of one alone, but disposed by the consents of many, vse to proceede
 with more moderation and regard, and obserue with great ceremony (contrary to the examples
 of Princes) not to departe from any thing that beareth apparence of iustice, honesty or reason: I
 can not but conclude, that it is most hurtfull for vs and our affaires, to haue the Duchy of *Milan*
 possessed by a Prince more mighty then our selues, seeing that necessarily such a neighbourhood
 will so hold vs suspected and afflicted, that though we enioy peace, yet we shall alwayes liue in
 continuall thoughts of warre, notwithstanding all Leagues of alliance or confederation what
 so euer. Of this ancient stories giue vs many examples, which for good respects I passe ouer for
 the present, leauing you onely to the lamentable experience of king *Louis* the twelfth, of whose
 doing I doubt not remaineth imprinted in the hearts of vs all a bitter remembrance. This Se-
 nate brought him into the Duchy of *Milan*, and to that unhappie resolution many of vs heere
 gaue assistance: we kept with him iustly our faith in all Capitulations, notwithstanding (vn-
 der great offers and goodly occasions) we were aduised by the *Spaniards* and Launceknights to
 leaue his alliance, as also his infidelity gaue no small cause to draw vs thereunto, for that he so-
 licited many practises against vs: but neither the memorie of so many benefites receiued,
 nor the merite of our fidelitie so iustly obserued, nor the consideration of many perpetuall
 offices exhibited, could moderate in him his great desire to vex vs: in so much as in that am-
 bition, and for that cause, he made a willing reconciliation with his auncient and greatest ene-
 mies, and lastly contracted against vs that most perillous confederacy of *Cambray*. If it be daun-
 gerous for the rich and poore to dwell neare together, for that in the wealth of the rich are sowne
 the seedes of enuie to the poore, and by the wants of the poore are bred humors of couetousnesse
 in the rich man to consume him; farre greater harmes mult grow by the neighbourhood of great
 kings and Princes, whose ambition caried on the wings of authority, runneth without limite,
 and is no more repulled by the resistance of men, then a swift running streame blowne by a vio-
 lent wind to overflow his channell: and therefore to escape those daungers that would al-
 wayes hang ouer vs by so ill assured neighbourhood of great Princes, the necessitie of our affaires
 driues vs to adresse all our counsels to this ende, that neither the French king nor the Emperour
 haue any footing in the Duchie of *Milan*, but that it remaine to *Franuisc Sforce*, or such an-
 other of his equalitie, who were not borne vp with kingdomes or large dominions. Vpon such a

The oration of
George Cor-
naro.

"choise dependes our surety for the present, and hereafter (if the condition of times do change) may
 "depend a great encreasing and exaltation of our state. We consult now, whether we should con-
 "tinue amity with the French king, or confederate our selues with the Emperour: By the one of
 "these two deliberations *Frauncis Sforce* is excluded absolutely from the Duchy of *Millan*, and
 "an entrie left open to the French king, who is a Prince farre mightie aboue vs: the other tendeth
 "to assure and confirme in the same Duchie, *Frauncis Sforce*, whom the Emperour offereth to
 "comprehend as principall in our confederation, and hath made promise to the king of *England* to
 "protect him. So that though he would seeke to depriue him of that estate, he should not offend vs
 "only and the other potentates of *Italy* (to whom he should giue cause to turne eftsoones to the
 "French) but also in that action he is both to displease the king of *England*, whom it behoueth him
 "greatly to respect, and also to prouoke against him all the inhabitants of the Duchy of *Millan*, who
 "beare an vniuersall inclination to *Frauncis Sforce*: and so laying himselfe downe to many diffi-
 "culties and dangers, and to no lesse infamie, he should also go against his faith, which till this day
 "we haue not found by any token that he hath defiled; a matter which we can not protest on the
 "behalf of the French: yea he can not be touched with any demonstration or signe contrarie to
 "his fidelity, hauing since the death of Pope *Leo* repossessed *Frauncis Sforce* of that estate, and
 "redelivered vp the strong holds in sort as they were conquered, and lastly reestablished him in
 "the Castell of *Millan* contrarie to the beleeuing of many: why therefore should we not rather
 "embrace that counsell, wherein is discerned an apparant hope to come to the end of our inten-
 "tions, then to follow that which manifestly tendeth to an ende contrarie to our affaires? Per-
 "haps there are that will obiekt against this, that this common-weale would suffer greater danger,
 "if the Duchy of *Millan* were in the power of the Emperour, then if it should diuolue into the
 "hands of the French, for that necessitie would draw that king, both for the greatnesse of *Cesar*,
 "and for the emulation and ielousie he hath of him, to perseuere in our alliance: but in the Em-
 "perour all the contrary, as well for his power and might, as for the claimes and rights which he
 "& his brother pretend against our estate. Sure I beleue that who hath that opinion of the Empe-
 "rour, is not beguiled, considering the nature and custome of Princes which are mighty and great:
 "but God grant that he be not deceiued that holdeth not the same opinion of the French king. Ma-
 "ny of the same reasons made for his predecessor, yet ambition and couetousnesse bare more do-
 "minion in him, then either common honesty, or his proper profit. And besides, the causes that
 "might keepe him contained in League with vs, are not perpetuall, but subiect to change from one
 "time to another, according to the nature of humane things: for, both the Emperour hath his mor-
 "tality as other men haue, and withall, stands subiect to infinite accidents of fortune, according to
 "the example of many Princes as mighty in greatnesse as he: it is not long since, that all *Spaine* con-
 "spiring against him, he seemed more needefull of pity then of spite. And at the leastwise there is
 "not so great difference betweene the one daughter and the other, as there is oddes betweene a
 "counsell that wholly excludes vs from our purpose, and a resolution which in similitude of truth
 "and reason leades vs to the full accomplishment of the same. Besides those reasons consider only
 "the time to come and farre off: but if we looke into the present estate of things, we shall discern
 "that to reiect the alliance of the Emperour, doth put vs for the present into greater perplexities and
 "dangers: for, if we separate our selues from the French king, it is credible that he will deferre the
 "warre vntill better times and fitter occasions, but if we continue conioyned with him, it may be
 "that the Emperour will presently make warre against vs; a matter which necessarily will heape vp-
 "on vs many troubles and expences. And in whether of these elections shall the issue of the war
 "be more dangerous to vs? If we ioyne with the Emperour, it is not almost to be doubted but the
 "victory will fall on that side, which we can not so assuredly promise to our selues, if we stand
 "conioyned with the French king: And in confederating vs with the Emperour, the victory of the
 "French can not be so dangerous to vs, as it wold be in the contrary, for that in that case, all the for-
 "ces of the victor wold be turned against vs, and the Emperour wold not only haue a lesse bridle
 "and weaker impediments, but also he wold stand almost in an absolute necessity to occupie the
 "Duchy of *Millan*. Touching the obiection made against the bond of confederation, it is easily an-
 "swered by the same reason that is vsed to satisfie questions of equity, since our promise to the
 "French king stretcheth only to ayd him to defend his estates that he possessed in *Italy*, but not to
 "recoouer them if he should lose them. The articles of the capitulations beare not that, and the same
 reasons

reasons make for vs that are brought in against vs: we accomplished the bond of all duetie and office, when, after the losse of *Millan* hapning through the default of their prouisions, our souldiers and men of seruice receiued more harmes then the Frenchmen. We were acquitted of our promise, when *Adonheur Landrech* returning to the warre with the *Swissers*, we sent him our bands of souldiers for his succours: yes we haue done more then reasonably might be required of vs, when, in expecting so many moneths the coming of his army, we receiued nothing from him but vaine hopes and dissembled promises: if he were stayed by his owne will, why seeke wee to support the imputation of his faults? if he were holden by necessity, is not the same a sufficient reason to iustifie vs, though we stood bound? I know not why we should be kept bound any longer to the French king, seeing he hath first abandoned vs: it can be no iniustice to retire from the League, since we take our liberty by his example: how can we stand guiltie in bond and office towards him, when he hath first broken the law of fidelity and contract with vs? In matters of League and confederation betweene parties, the breach of the one giues liberty to the other, and the bond that is once broken by the one, forbearth afterwards to compell the other. I will not assure that the Emperours Captaines intend to moue warre at this time against vs, no more will I warrant the contrary, considering with what necessity they are pressed to entertaine their army in the estates of others, and the hope they may conceiue to draw vs by that meane to their alliance, specially if the French do not march: of which who doubteth, doubteth not without reason, both for their naturall inclinations, for their necessity and want of mony, and for the impediments of the wars which they haue on the other side the Mounts with two so mighty Princes; & of these impediments our Embassador hath already made credible relation. Lastly, my reply containeth one selfe matter, that we ought to foresee with all study, that the Duchy of *Millan* be transferred to *Frauncis Sforce*, and consequently I maintaine, that the counsell that guides vs to that effect is more profitable, then that which makes reasons and arguments to exclude vs from it.

The authority of two such personages, together with the force of their reasons, did rather make doubtfull, then assure the minds of the Senators, whose perplexities kept them so farre off from resolving, that the Senat deferred to determine absolutely, inducing them thereunto their custome and nature, the greatnesse of the cause, and their desire to see further aduanced the preparations of the French king: the many difficulties also that by necessity hapned in the accord with the Archduke, were some causes helping to their deferring: but the matter that most increased the suspense of their minds, was, that the French king, who with great industry prepared himselfe to the warre, had sent the Bishop of *Bayeux* to desire them to deferre to resolute any thing till the next moneth, by whom he assured them that before that terme he would march with a greater army then had bene seene in *Italy* in the age of man. And as they stood in this doubt and perplexity of mind, *Anthony Griman* Duke of the same City died, & *Andrew Gritti* was chosen into his place, an election rather preiudiciall to the French affaires then otherwayes: for, as soone as he was ray-
Andrew Gritti Duke of Venice.
 sed to that dignity, he referred wholly to the Senate the deliberation and counsell of that matter, and would neuer afterwards either in word or deede, shew himselfe inclined to either part. But at last, because the king continued to send fresh curriers to the Senate, and was importunate in offers and promises, and for that there was speciall aduertisement, that, to assure the expectation of the warre, *Anne Monimorency* afterwards Constable of *Fraunce*, and *Federike Boffolo*, were vpon their way to *Venice*, the Embassadors of the Emperour and the king of *England* (to whom this deferring was much suspected) began to protest to the Senate, that they would depart within three dayes, and leaue all things in their imperfection. By reason of which protestation, imploying a manner of threatening, and also that the fidelity that was gathered in the French promises, began to diminish finding nothing but vaine hopes, but chiefly by the aduertisement of their Embassador resident in *Fraunce*, they were constrained to determine to embrace the amity of the Emperour, with whom they entred into contract vnder these conditions: That betweene the Emperour, *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, and *Francis Sforce* Duke of *Millan* on the one party, and the Senate of *Venice* on the other party, should be a perpetuall peace and confederation: That the Senate, in times of need, should send for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, fixe hundred men at armes, fixe hundred light horsemen, and fixe thousand footemen: That they should administer the like proportion for the defence of the kingdom of *Naples*, but in case it should be inuaded by the *Christians*: for, the *Venetians* refused to be bound generally, because they would not stir vp the Turke.

Andrew Gritti Duke of Venice.

Confederation betweene Cesar and the Venetians.

against them: That the Emperour should be bound to defend against all men, all that the *Venetians* possessed in *Italy*, and that with the like number and proportion of men: That the *Venetians* should pay in eight yeares to the Archduke for appeasement of their ancient controuersies and for the accord made at *Wormes*, two hundred thousand ducats. Vpon the end of this agreement, the Senate hauing dismissed *Theodor Trinnulce*, chose *Francis Maria* Duke of *Verba* for gouernor generall of their men of warre with the same conditions.

It was a common iudgement of most of the wisemen in *Italy*, that the French king finding those aides to be turned against him, which afore had bene on his side, would put off the enterprise of *Millan* for that yeare: neuerthelesse, when they heard that the preparations did not onely continue, but that the army began to march, such as stood in feare of his victory, fell (the better to resist him) to make a new confederation, wherein they perswaded the Pope to be chiefe and principall.

Here is to be remembred, that where the Pope, at his first descending into *Italy* stood desirous to haue an vniuersall peace, and looking with great compassion into the harmes which grew vpon Christendome by the victories of the Turkes, he sent to the Emperour, to the French king, and the king of *England*, to depose for the time, their armes so hurtfull for the common-weale of Christendome, and euery of them seuerally to send Embassadors to *Rome*, with fulnesse of power to consult of the necessary remedies, and releueing of the lamentable afflictions of the Christians. This was performed by them all in apparance, but beginning to treat more particularly of things, it was presently discerned that those labours were vaine, for the infinite difficulties that fell out when they came to the point of peace-making: So many impediments do follow the deliberation of great causes, and so hard it is to reconcile controuersies of estate, which ordinarily draw with them their infinite suspitions and differences: for, a truce for a short time, was nothing agreeable to the Emperour; neither did it in any sort serue the expectation of his purposes: and the French king refused to make it for a longer time (so hurtfull was it for him to protract or temporise) that had all his prouisions for the warre aduanced. In which separation of mind betweene these two great Princes, the Pope either for the ancient affection which eftsouones began to reuiue in him towards the Emperour, or for that he discerned the thoughts of the French king to be estranged from peace and concord, discovered his inclination, and began more then he was wont, to hearken to those that encouraged him, not to suffer the French to possesse againe the Duchie of *Millan*. This oportunitie was obserued by the Cardinall *Medicis*, who, hauing remained at *Florence* for feare of the persecutions of his enenies, but chiefly of the Cardinall of *Volterra*; who stood very great & gracious with the Pope, tooké to him a new courage, and came to *Rome*, where he was receiued of most of the Court with great honor and respect: there, ioyning himselfe with the Duke of *Sesso* the Emperors Embassador, and with the Embassadors of the king of *England*, he fauored that cause, and furthered it all that he could with the Pope. It is seene often in the course and practise of worldly things, that the falling of one man is the rising of another by which property of reuolution is apparantly proued, that mortall men are subiect to the law of nature and fortune: for, in this aduantage of variation and change, the ill hap of Cardinall *Volterra*, which almost alwayes troubled his wit, his pollicie, and all his drifts, heaped vpon him a great damage and danger: and in that oportunitie was giuen to the Cardinall *Medicis*, a notable meane to enter into greater grace and authority with the Pope, who afore bare a constant inclination to the Cardinall *Volterra*, for that both by his industrie & apt insinuation of words, he had brought him to beleue that he desired nothing more then an vniuersall peace throughout all Christendome. This was the accident: one *Francis Imperiale*, being banished from *Sicile*, went into *Fraunce*, and being staied at *Castelnoua* neare *Rome* by the deuise of the Duke of *Sesso*, there was found about him a packet of letters written by the Cardinall *Volterra*, to his Nephew the Bishop of *Xaintes*. By these letters he gaue counsell to the French king, to inuade the Ile of *Sicile* with an army by sea, by which inuasion the Emperors forces should necessarily be turned to the defence of it, and so the enterprise of *Millan* would become more easie to the French. The detection of this man troubled not a litle the Pope, who was so much the more aggriued against him, by how much his dissembled demonstrations had beguiled him: and in that iust discontentment, he was vehemently furthered by the incitation of the Duke of *Sesso* and Cardinall *Medicis*, by whose industries he was committed to the Castell *S. Ange*, and afterwards examined by Iudges delegate as

Cardinall Volterra prisoner.

guilty

guilty in the crime of violation of the Popes maiesty, for that he had incensed the French king to inuade with hostility the Island of *Sicile*, a free hold of the sea Apostolike. Wherein albeit they proceeded with lenity and fauor, and after the acts of interrogatories, he had liberty of counsell to pelad for him; yet they proceeded not with the same moderation against his goods, since the same day he was apprehended, the Pope sent to make seasure of all the moueables & riches that were in his house. And as one conspiracy reuealeth another, so by the imprisonment of the sayd *Imperiale* there was discovered another detection for the French king in *Sicile*, for the which were executed by iustice the Count *Cameraco*, the master of the ports, and the Treasurer. The verity and consideration of these matters, insinuated the Pope a great displeasure against the French king, in which ill disposed inclination, he began to consult more and more with Cardinall *Medici*; and lastly the rumor of the descending of the French armies redoubling daily, the Pope published manifestly his intention to oppose against them: for which cause he summoned the assembly of the Cardinals, to whom after his accustomed protestations of the present feares and daungers of the great *Turke*, he declared that as onely the French king was the cause why so great perils were not remoued from Christendome, for that he refused with great obstinacy to consent to the peace that was negociated: so, seeing it appertained to him as the Vicar of Iesus Christ and successor to *Peter*, to be carefull ouer the preservation of Christian peace, he was compelled by that zeale which he oweth to their vniuersall safety, to confederate himselfe with such Princes as did what they could to defend *Italy* from troubles, for that of the quiet or trouble of that region, depended the tranquility or vexation of the whole Christian part of the world. According to this declaration, concurring with the industry of the *Viceroy* of *Naples* being cometo *Rome* for that purpose, a league was concluded for the defence of *Italy* the third day of August, betweene the Pope, the Emperor, the king of *England*, the Archduke of *Austria*, the Duke of *Millan*, the *Genowaies*, and the Cardinall *Medici* and the estate of *Florence* ioyntly. The publication bare also, that it should continue all the time of the confederates liues, and a yeare after the death of euery of them: There was reseruatiō of place and time for any other to come in, so that the Pope, the Emperour, and the king of *England* thought good, with this prouision, that in matters of quarrell and controuersy, they should vie iustice, and not armes: That they should erect an army to be opposed against whō so euer wold inuade any of the confederats, to which army the Pope should send 200 men at armes, the Emperour eight hundred, the *Florentins* two hundred, the Duke of *Millan* two hundred, and two hundred light horsemen: That the Pope, the Emperour, and the Duke of *Millan* should make all the prouisions of artilleries and munitions, together with all expences and charges appertaining: That to leauy the bands of footemen necessary for the army, and to furnish all other expences requisite for the warre, the Pope should pay euery moneth twentie thousand duckats, the Duke of *Millan* as much, & the *Florentins* the like summe: That the Emperour should pay thirtie thousand, the *Genowaies*, *Lucquois*, and *Siennois* together, ten thousand, and the *Genowaies* notwithstanding to remaine bound to the army by sea and other defraiments necessary for their defence: To this contribution they should be all bound for three monethes, and so much time ouer the three monethes as should be set downe by the Pope, the Emperour, and the king of *England*: That it should be in the power of the Pope and the Emperour to name the Captaine generall of the whole warre, who it was sayd should fall vpon the person of the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, for whom the Cardinall *Medici*, whose authority was great with the Imperials, laboured what he could, chiefly for the hatred he bare to *Prosper Colonne*. The Marquis of *Mantua* was ioynd to this confederation by an indirect meane, for that the Pope and the *Florentins* entertained him for their Captaine generall at their common pay.

But neither the league made by the *Venetians* with the Emperour, nor the vnion of so many great Princes, contracted with so ample contributions and great prouisions; could alter the resolution of the French king, who being come to *Lions*, prepared to passe in person with a strong army into *Italy*: where the brute of his comming was no sooner spread, then new tumults began to appeare: for *Lionell* the brother of *Albert Pio*, recovered by surprise the towne of *Carpy*, being negligently regarded by *Iohn Coscia*, whom *Prosper* had created Gouvernor there, which he might do of good authority, for that the Emperour had giuen that towne to him after he had deposed *Albert* for his offence of rebellion to the Empire. But in the Duchy of *Millan* there was like to haue chanced a greater accident, both more terrible for the property, & for the person of greater preiudice:

This is the discourse of it: *Franncis Sforce* riding from *Monce* to *Millan* vpon a litle Mulet, and causing the horsemen that were for his gard to ride farre from him to auoyde the trouble of the dust that in sommer time the train of horses makes to rise in great abundance through all the plaines of *Lombardy*, *Boniface Viscount* a young Gentleman, better knowne by the noblenesse of his house, then for his wealth, estates, or other conditions, offered himselfe oonly to accompany the Duke, being well mounted vpon a Turkish horse: and as they came riding together vpon a partition of a way, *Boniface* being somewhat slipt behind, obseruing the oportunity of the place and the distance of the Dukes traine, spurred his horse, and ranne in a maine race with his dagger drawne to strike the Duke on the head: but what with the feare of the Mulet shrinking with the noyse of his horse, and the fiercenesse of his horse whom he could not stoppe, together with the difference of the height of his horse from the Dukes Mulet, the blow that he made at the Dukes head swarued and fell vpon his shoulders, and afterwards drawing his sword to accomplish the execution, the same impediments made it vaine; or at least the hurt was light, being but a blow slentwise. By this time many of the horsemen making in to the Dukes rescue, he fell to flying, hoping to shake off by his fortune, the daunger that by his valour he was fallen into. Many of the horsemen of the Dukes gard had him in chase, amongst whom was a generall emulation of hazard and perill to kill him that in so manifest treason sought the life of their master, but he found more safety in the swiftnesse of his horse, then his followers found remedy in their reuengefull desires. And if fortune had answered the valour and industry of the man, it might haue bene called one of the rarest and most singular aduentures that euer was, that one man without armour, at noone day, in a plaine way, durst set vpon a great Prince, in the middell of his estate, and enuironed with so great a strength of souldiers and men armed, and yet to fly away in safety. The cause of this desperate resolution of this Gentleman, was a malice that he had conceiued for the murder of *Monseig. Visconte*, who a few monethes afore, had bene slaine in *Millan* by one *Ierome Moron*, not without the Dukes will and priuitie as many supposed. The Duke vpon his hurt withdrew himselfe to *Monce*, and for that he was iealous that there were of the conspiracy within *Millan*, the Bishop of *Alexandria* brother to *Monseig.* that was slaine, was apprehended by *Aloron* and *Prosper*. At the first rumour of the fact, either to prevent the suspicion that might go on him, or to make his fauour the greater, he put himselfe willingly into the hands of *Prosper* vpon his faith, and after he was sounded by examination, they sent him prisoner to the Castell of *Cremona*, some holding him guilty, and some speaking much of his innocency, as the iudgements of men were diuerse. It hapned almost in the same seasons, that *Galeas Bragano* accompanied with the exiles of *Millan*, and with the ayde of certaine French souldiers which were already in the countrey of *Picmont*, was receiued into the towne, of *Valence* by the Captaine of the Castell who was a *Sauoie* man: but *Antho. de Lena* lying within *Ass* with one part of the light horsemen and Spanish footmen, being aduertised of the accident, went immediately to incampe before it, and taking the vantage of the weaknesse of the towne which the enemies had no time to reduce to fortification, he planted his artilleries, and tooke it the second day, and with the same successe battered the Castell. There died about foure hundred bodies, as well in the action of the towne, as in the execution of the Castell, besides many made prisoners, amongst whom was *Galeas* principall leader of the enterprise.

The French
army marcheth.

According to the great preparations made in *Fraunce* for the warre, the army marched at last, and bands of souldiers passed continually ouer the mounts: after whom the person of the king prepared to passe, which he had effectually accomplished, had not the conspiracy of the Duke of *Burbon* which now beganne to come to light, giuen impediment to his going: he was of the bloud Royall, and therefore his reputation more great and generall: for the dignity of his office being great Constable, his authority was absolute and ample: by his large estates and riches; his credite was currant in *Fraunce*, and by his naturall valour, he was mighty and strong in the opinions of men: but he had not bene of long time in the grace and fauour of the king, and in that abiection, was not admitted to the secret affaires of the Realme, nor respected according to the merite of his place and greatnesse: he was discontented with the oppression of the kings mother, wherevniuing certaine auncient rights, made open claime to the greatest parte of his lands and dominions in the open Parliament at *Paris*: and for that he found in the king no disposition to do remedy to that grieve, he suffered indignation to enter into his hart, and in that discontentment

admitted

admitted confederation with the Emperour and with the king of *England*, solicited by *Monsieur de Beaumont*, of great confidence with the Emperour, and his chiefe Chamberlaine: betweene whom, ^{Confederacy betweene the Emperour, the king of England and the Duke of Burbon.} it was agreed, that the Emperour should giue him in mariage his sister *Elenor* the late widow of *Emannell* king of the *Portugals*. The execution of these counsels was grounded vpon the French kings determination to go in person to the war: in which resolution to nourish him the more, the king of *England* had giuen him cunning hopes, that he would not molest the Realme of *Fraunce* for that yeare: That the Duke of *Burbon*, alsoone as the king should be ouer the Mounts, should enter *Burgundy* with an army of twelue thousand footemen that were secretly leuied with the moneyes of the Emperour and the king of *England*: wherein he doubted not well to acquite himselfe in that seruice, both for the absence of the king, and for the vniuersall grace & opinion which he had through all the realme of *Fraunce*. And touching those things that should be conquered, the Earledome of *Prouence* should remaine to him, and in place of Earle, he should put on the name and title of king of *Prouence*, challenging that state to appertaine to him by the rights of the house of *Aniow*: and all the residue gotten by this warre to disceind to the king of *England*: the Duke of *Burbon* then abiding at *Moulins* a principall towne of the Duchy of *Burbon*, sayned himselfe to be sicke, to haue the better excuse not to folow the king into *Italy*. The king in his iourney to *Lyons*, made *Moulins* in his way, where being already possessed of certaine light tokens of the Dukes conspiracy, he gaue him an inkling, that albeit many went about to bring him in distrust and suspition with him, yet for his part, he beleueed lesse in the rumors and informations which might be full of incertainty and error, then in his faith and valour, whereof he had so good experience. But the dissimulation of the Duke exceeded the roundnesse & plainnesse of the king: for, keeping his intentions smothered, he gaue thanks to God that had appointed him to liue vnder such a king, afore whose equity and grauity could not stand the false accusations and imputations of malicious men: and in that compassion he promised the king to follow him wheresoeuer he would go so soone as he was deliuered of his malady, which he sayd could not continue long, for that it drew with it no dangerous accidents. But the king was no sooner come to *Lyons*, then he had aduertisement that many bands of Launceknights were mustred vpon the frontiers of *Burgundy*, which confirming the tokens of suspition that he had before, together with certaine letters surprisid, detecting more plainly the conspiracy, he committed to prison forthwith *Monsieur de S. Valier*, *Monsieur de Bussie* brother to *Monsieur la Palisse*, the postmaister, and the Bishop of *Autun*, all parteners of the practise: and thinking to make the action perfect by apprehending the head, he dispatched in great diligence to *Moulins*, the great maister with fise hundred horse and foure thousand footemen, to take the Duke of *Burbon*: but his suspition was swifter then their celerity, for, doubting no lesse the detection of things, then fearing least the passages would be stopped, by his forecast he preuented the perill that the kings indignation prepared for him, and escaped secretly into *Franche count* in disguised attire: so subtle in man is the suspition of perill, and so swift are the wings that carie him from the mischiefe which he feareth.

By reason of this euasion, and the importance of the conspiracy that depended of it, the king ^{The French army in Italy.} thought it best not to pursue in person the warres of *Italy*: and yet would he not wholly giue ouer the expedition, but retaining with himselfe one part of the souldiers prepared for this new war, he committed to *Monsieur Boniuet* then Admirall of *Fraunce*, the conduction of his army, which contained a thousand eight hundred launces, six thousand *Swissers*, two thousand *Gascouns*, two thousand *Valeisens*, sixe thousand Launceknights, twelue thousand Frenchmen, and three thousand *Italians*: with which army alsoone as the Admirall was past the Mounts, and drawing neare the confines of the state of *Millan*, he made shew that he would deale first with *Novaro*: and by that demonstration, the City being not tenable, both for the want of souldiers, and insufficiency of the rampiers, it yeilded by the consent of the Duke of *Millan*, who retained the *Castell*, *Vigenena* did the like suffering the same wants and impediments, and by their examples all that part of the countrey which is beyond the riuer of *Thezin* fell into the power of the Frenchmen. *Prosper Colonne* lying sicke of a long malady, would neuer beleue that the French king would stand firme in his resolution to inuade the Duchy of *Millan* for that yeare, both for the confederation that the *Venetians* had made against him, and for the detection of the conspiracy of the Duke of *Burbon*. and therefore he had not with that diligence and speed that was necessary,

assembled the souldiers and men of war that lay disperfed in diuerfe places, & much leffe had made competent prouifions for fo great a refiftance. But now that the enemies were vpon the way and approaching, he sent to mufter his companies in all haft, the oportunity of the time being againft the fpeede he made, & his diligence as little auailable as the feafon was contrary. He thought aboue all things to ftop their paffage at *Thefin*, not remembring what had happened to him at the riuer of *Adda* againft *Monsieur Lawtrech*, and of that he made himfelfe fo affured promife, that he tooke no care to reedify the battillions & rampiers of the fuburbs of *Millan*, of which the greateft part lay already on the ground, fo fmall was the care that was had of them: he assembled his army vpon the riuer betweene *Biagrasso*, *Bufaloro*, & *Turbiquo*, a place very apt for that purpofe, & no leffe conuenient for *Pania* and *Millan*. But the Frenchmen who were now come to *Vigeuena*, finding the water of the riuer lower then *Proffer* beleued, began foure miles from the Imperiall campe to paffe ouer, part by the foord, and fome in botes & barkes, building a bridge for their artilleries in a place where they found neither gard nor other impediment. By the neceffity of this v unexpected accident, *Proffer* was driuen to change all the counfels of the warre, and therefore difpatched forthwith *Ambo de Leua*, with an hundred men at armes and three thousand footemen, to the gard of *Pania*, himfelfe with the refidue of the armie drew to *Millan*, where after he had called the Captaines to counfell, they were all of this minde, that if the French made their approaches forthwith, there was no poffibility to defend *Millan*, for the ruine of the rampiers of the fuburbs, whereof there had bene made no reckening fince the laft warres. The confidence that *Proffer* had to defend the paffage of *Thefin*, was the caufe that they were not repaired, neither could they be made defendable in the fpace of three dayes: and that they had to make a refolution afwell for the one as the other of thefe two accidents, both to labour with vniuerfall diligence at the rampiers, and alfo to ftand vpon a prepared readineffe to depart, if the Frenchmen came either the firft, the fecond, or the third day, and to retire to *Coma* if they tooke the way of *Pania*, or elfe to go to *Pania* if they marched by *Coma*. But the finifter deftiny of the French, both blinding their eyes that they could not fee, and binding their hands that they could not execute, would not fuffer them to vfe fo great and happie an occafion: for, either through their negligence, which is a chiefe enemy to enterprifes, or to expect the whole army, whereof a great part was behind, they wandered three dayes along the riuer of *Thefin*, and being all assembled into one ftrength betweene *Millan*, *Pania* and *Binaquo*, they marched afterwards to *Saint Christopher* within a mile of *Millan* betweene the gate of *Thefin* and *Rome* gate: there, after they had made the way euen to paffe their artilleries into the vauntgard, they made as though they would affault the towne: but without doing any other enterprife, they incamped in that place, and leuying their fiege from thence within few dayes after, they went to lodge in the Abbey of *Cleruant*, from whence they found meanes to deface the milles and cut the water from *Millan*; and fo they thought rather to befiege then affault *Millan*, for that there was within the walles eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horfemen, foure thousand Spanifh footmen, fixe thousand five hundred Launceknights, and three thousand *Italians* (befides the popular forte, which were well furnifhed with weapon, and refolute in their auncient difpofition againft the French.)

The death of
Pope Adrian.

In this eftate of affaires, paffed into the other life the foureteenth of September, Pope *Adrian*: his death was not without great difcommodity and damage to the confederates, for that there did not onely faile in them, the authority Pontificall, but alfo the contribution of money, whereunto he was bound by the capitulations of the League: he died, leauing behind him a very fmall opinion and eftimation, either for the little time he raigned, or for his want of experience in affaires: but his death was not a little plaufible to the whole Court, for the defire they had to liue vnder a Pope naturall of *Italy*, or at leaft fuch one as had his training there. By the death of the Pope, many troubles began to kindle in the townes of the Churches iurifdiction, and in them as appeared before his fickeneffe, many fmall sparkes of a fire to come, fo in the time of his life, they had eafily burft out to a flame, if they had not bene quenched, partly by chance, and partly by the diligence of others: for, where before the Popes paffing into *Italie*, the Colledge of Cardinals had giuen to *Albert Pio* the keeping of *Reggia* and *Rubiero*, the fayd *Albert* held ftill for himfelfe the Caflets, making fmall accompt of the inftance that was made to him to render them, wherein he had no leffe ready his colours and excufes, then he was apt to take

to take occasion by the slender experience of Pope *Adrian*. Besides, he had solicited that as soone as the beginning of the warre appeared, *Ranse de Cere* with certaine horsemen and footemen should enter within *Rubiero*, to gouerne vnder the oportunity of that place, the way of *Rome* that passeth betwene *Modena* and *Reggia*: his intention was both to giue impediments to the money and other dispatches that should be sent from *Rome*, *Naples*, and *Florence* to *Mil-lan*, and to proceede to other enterprises as occasion serued: but *Franncis Guicciardin* Gouver- Francis Guicciardin.
nour of the same Cities, discouering in good time this plot, and communicating with the Pope to what end tended the sweete words and requestes of *Albert*, together with the daungers that would fall on the estate Ecclesiastike on that side, induced the Pope to make demonstration by threatnings, that he would vse force, and so constrained *Albert*, to restore to him the Castels: neither durst he oppose himselfe against the Popes will, for that the French were not as yet verie strong in *Italy*. Since the faction of *Pio* had recouered the towne of *Carpi*, *Prosper* in whom was no small desire to haue it againe, procured to be retained in the name of the confederates, *Guido Rangon* with an hundred men at armes, an hundred lighthorsemen, and a thousand footemen, ordayning withall, that a thousand Spanish footemen whom the Duke of *Sesso* had leuyed at *Rome* to ioyne with the residue at *Mil-lan*, should remaine for the same cause at *Modena*. And whilest these things were in preparing, *Ranse de Cere* (to whom resorted dayly both horsemen and footemen, caryed no lesse by hope of pillage then for the authority of his name) began to commaund the wayes, and trouble the whole countrey. Besides, loosing no time to the liberty he had, he began one night to assault vpon the sudden the towne of *Rubiero*, with two thousand footmen, but his vndiscrete attempt being resisted both by the valour of the defendants, and the difficulties of the place, he was repulled, leauing as prisoner behind him, *Tristram Corso* one of the Captaines of his footemen.

These forces assembled in these places for diuerse causes, were the occasion of greater things: for after the death of the Pope, the Duke of *Ferrara* being made wearie with the hopes that were giuen him touching the restitution of *Reggia* and *Modena*, began to consider that in respect of the absolution which he had obtrayned of *Adrian*, it would be lesse hard to get pardon for things taken away, then restitution of things lost: and therefore being of the vniuersall perswasion with all men, that it would be long afore they would choose a new Pope, both for the ordinary tract of time vsed in that election, and also for the discords of Cardinals, which were by many degrees increased euer since the death of Pope *Leo*: he determined to desir by what meanes he might recouer *Modena* and *Reggia*: and in that inclination he was pushed on (amongst other oportunities) with the commodity and offer to knit with him *Ranse de Cere*, who had already leuyed a strength of two hundred horsemen and more then two thousand footmen: So that after the Duke had waged three thousand footemen, and sent to *Ranse* three thousand duckats, he marched towards *Modena*, in which Citie was no other strength of men of warre, then the regiment of the Count *Guido Rangon* who had bene retained by the League. And albeit the people bare no affection to the iurisdiction of the house of *Ferrara*, yet both by the weaknesse of the walles which were not flanked after the auncient manner, and the filling vp of the ditches suffering of long time no reparation, it seemed there was neede of a greater garrison: and therefore the Gouvernour and the Count dispensing with their priuate quarrels that had bene betwene them, began to proceede with a ioynt diligence to aduance the former resolution, to let into *Modena* the Spanish footemen, who being arriued already in *Tuscane*, marched slowly, and made diuerse and doubtfull answers when they were asked whether they would remaine at *Modena* or passe further: neuerthelesse after many intreatings, they were at last content to enter. When this matter was related to the Duke of *Ferrara*, being then come to *Finale* with two hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horsemen, and three thousand footemen, it stayed him almost for passing further: and yet because the matter was not absolute, and hoping at least, that knitting with *Ranse de Cere*, he might haply take *Reggia*: and nothing dispayring that by the difficultie of payments, some disorder might fall amongst the footemen of the enemies, he confirmed his first intention, and determined to passe on. Those hopes were not lightly conceiued by the Duke, for that the Colledge of Cardinals, to whom the gouernour had signified with great diligence the perils that were toward, were so carelesse to make prouision, yea not vouchsafing to giue answer to the letters and messages that were

sent, that there was no meane to pay the souldiers, of the publike purse: and where haply the day was come wherein the Spanish souldiers should receiue the pay of the second moneth, yet if they had bene all payed, there was no hope to wage a greater number: and bestowing part of them within *Modena* and the residue in *Reggia*, that separation would take away the suretie from both the Cities, besides that there were no souldiers within *Reggia*; and the disposition of the people farre other then they of *Modena*. Amid which difficulties, the gouernour and the Count *Guido* determining especially to preserue *Modena*, as a towne of greatest importance, both for the neighbourhood of *Bologna*, and nearest affinitie with the estate of the Church, bearing also the aptest oportunitie to cary to it succours and other prouisions; they sent to *Reggia* five hundred footemen vnder the leading of *Vincent Maiato* of *Bologna* and one of the Count *Guido*'s souldiers, charging him, that if he were not able to defend the towne, to retire into the Citadell: which for that they hoped would hold out at least for certaine dayes, they sent money to *Iohn Baptista Smeraldo* of *Parma*, who was Captaine there, to leaue three hundred footmen, and made request (though in vaine) to them of *Reggia* to contribute some proportion of mony for waging of the like number, seeing there was no lesse question of their surety, then of the safety of the Church estate. Touching the danger of *Modena*, the Gouernour hauing no meane to defend it for want of money, called afore him many of the Citizens, declaring to them that things were drawne into that strait, that if the Spanish bands were not payed, and a rate of money raysted to furnish other expences, there would be compulsion to let the towne fall into the hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*. He sayd he could yet defend it if there were prouision of money, which could not otherwise be leauied but by taxing and rating themselves for the present, assuring them that either the new Pope, or the Colledge of Cardinals, would make prouision for that that might happen afterwards: That there was not one amongst them who had not proued the yoke of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the gouernement of the Church, and therefore it were too superfluous to debate by arguments, which of the two were most heauy or light, and no lesse vaine to perswade by discourse of reason the thing that their owne experience and memory were against. Lastly he desired them not to stand much vpon that trifling summe of mony that was demanded by way of loane, for that both touching publike interest or profit priuate, it was a matter of small consideration in regard to haue a Lord to their more liking and contentment. These words sliding easily into the minds of them that had the same inclination, did the rather induce them to fall to taxing and rating themselves, and so leauied the money that was demanded: so easie were they to beare a light burden amongst them all, to the end to auoyde a heauier yoke which lay ready to belayd vpon them. With this money were payed the souldiers, and other prouisions accomplished for the better bearing out of the warre; a comfort both for the qualitie and oportunitie of it, which tooke from them all feare of the armes of the Duke of *Ferrara*: who presuming no further of his forces then was conuenient, forsooke the enterprise of *Modena*, and left it on the left hand, and ioyning with him *Ranſe de Cere* by the way, he drew neare to the towne of *Reggia*, which did not only receiue him, but the day following the Captaine put into his hands the Citadell, suffering but a small summons of the Cannon. Touching which action the Captaine alleaged for his iustification, that both *Vincent Maiato* being called by him, refused to enter, and the money sent to him by the Gouernour, was taken away neare *Parma*, whither he had sent to leauy bands of footemen. This iustification was accepted, though not for the equity of it, yet for the necessity of the time not seruing to further examination. As soone as the Duke had taken *Reggia*, *Ranſe de Cere* being sent for by the Admirall of *Fraunce*, went to him: and the Duke being followed but with a slender strength of footmen, wandred certaine dayes along the riuer of *Secchia*, and from thence went to incampe before the towne of *Rubiero*, to the keeping whereof the Count *Guido* had vsed in confidence the old man *Coniano* with two hundred footemen. And albeit the Duke had no great hope to take the town, both for the hard situation of place and good fortification of large and deepe ditches, together with great rampiers all along the wals: yet beginning the day following to execute the wall ioyning with the gate, the Captaine of the footemen, either by secret intelligence, or for feare of the townsmen who began to rise, leapt ouer the wals and presented himselfe before the Duke, offering to his discretion both himselfe and the towne; an offer so much the more precious and welcome, by how much it came vnexpected, holding more of fortune then of valour. But this being a line to leade the

Duke

The taking of
Reggia by the
Duke of Fer-
rara.

Duke into the towne, and taking further courage vpon that felicity, he planted his artilleries before the Castle, which so terrified the Captaine named *Tius Taillefer of Parma*, that notwithstanding the Castle was strong and fully furnished of men, munition, and all other prouisions necessarie, yet being made fearefull by the fortune of the towne, he yeelded it vp before night, not abiding one halfe of the artilleries: wherein when the Duke was possessed & established, he abode there with his armie, hoping that for the long vacation of the Sea Apostolike, the regiment of footmen within *Modena* would either dissolue or disorder: he fed himselfe also at the same time with hope of other things, which in their place shall be declared.

About this time *Monſieur Bonniuet*, who lay incamped a *S. Christopher* betweene the gates of *Theſſin* and *Rome*, a place enuironed with waters and ditches, began to despaire to take *Millan* by force: and therefore after the taking of *Monce* he sent Captaine *Bayard* and *Federike Bossolo* with three hundred Launces and eight thousand footmen to take *Loda*, whither was come the Marquis of *Mantua* with five hundred horse and five hundred footmen, which was the regiment with the which the Church and the *Florentines* had entertained him into their pay: but hauing feare of his person, he retired to *Pontuike*, by which occasion the Citie being abandoned, receiued the Frenchmen. After the taking of *Loda*, *Federike* builded a bridge vpon the riuer of *Adda*, and passed with his companies vpon the lands of *Cremona* to succour the Castle of *Cremona*, which the defendants the same day that the Admirall approched *Millan*, had compounded to render, if they were not rescued by the xxvj. of September: to which composition they were compelled both by the extremitie of hunger, and not knowing that the French army was passed into *Italy*. *Federike* drew neare to the Castle without any resistance or difficultie, and after he had refreshed it with victuals & other relieves, he determined to assault the towne vpon this confidence, that *Prosper Colomo* had left a verie slender garrison; notwithstanding to helpe that feare, the Marquis of *Mantua* had sent thither an hundred men at armes, an hundred light horsemen, and foure hundred footmen: but he finding the difficulties too great to enter the Citie on that side towards the castle, for the fortifications which the defendants had made, the same deuiding the citie from the castle, he turned on the right hand, & determined to batter the wall in places where he found it most weake: & after he had playd a while with the artilleries, he prepared his souldiers to the assault, but without effect, which was the cause that he began againe the battery, to beat wider the breach, though with no better successe then the first, the same driuing him to retire to *S. Martin*, there to tarie for *Ranſe de Cere*, who was to come frō *Reggia* with two hundred horsemen & two thousand footmē: & when he was come, they encāped estloones afore *Cremona*, doing great execution vpon the walles for many houres to great effect, neuerthelesse what by the impedimēts of the great raines that fell, and discerning by the present difficulties how hardly they should preuaile, they forbore to do any further execution: for that the same day, *Mercurio* with the light horsemen of the *Venetians* (whose bands were mustered at *Pontuike*) passed ouer the riuer of *Oglio*, and made incursions euen to their tents. After the vaine triall of this exploit, *Federike* and *Ranſe* brake vp their siege from before *Cremona*, as well for lacke of victuals, as for the breaking away of the footmen which *Ranſe* brought thither, picking this quarrell, that they had receiued no other money then that which the Duke of *Ferrara* had giuen. From *Cremona* they marched to incampe afore *Sonzin*, where they found no better successe in their affaires: afterwards they fell to sacking the towne of *Carauage*, where they abode certaine dayes, of which lingring was bred this excuse or impediment to the Senate of *Venice*, for not sending to *Millan* those proportions of men which they were bound vnto: for that, taking their excuse in temporizing so long vpon the common opinion that the Imperiall Captaines had, that in respect of their separation with the French king, the French armie would not march that yeare, they assured to send them as soone as the companies that lay vpon the territories of *Cremona* should be repassed the riuer of *Adda*.

In this condition of affaires; both the parties distrusting not to be able to put a speedy end to the warre, either party dwelt in his securitie, and would offer nothing to hazard. The Admirall who neuer looked to take *Millan* by force, expected either that the enemies would dissolue for want of mony, or at least that necessity of victuals would cōpell them to abandon *Millan*: where notwithstanding there was come in great plenty, yet the multitude of mouthes to cate it was more innumerable; besides that, he had cut from them their water, and the vse of their milles: for this cause the Admirall called home those bands that lay along the riuer of *Adda*, and bestowed

them betweene *Monce* and *Millan*, to the end that the people of *Milam* from whom was stopped the traffike of victuals by the wayes of *Loda* and *Pania*, should also remaine depriued of all such reliefe as was wont to passe from the hill of *Brianzo*: but these experiences were not sufficient, to accomplish the effect that the Admirall desired. On the other part, albeit *Prosper Colunno* (as touching his body) was vehemently oppressed with a great sicknesse, and no lesse trauelled with emulation in mind, as not brooking the coming of the *Viceroy of Naples*, he yet desired to be the principall man: yet, by his counsell was done what could be done, to stop the passage of victuals that came to the enemies from the parts beyond the riuer of *Tessin*, the rather for that the fortification of the place where they were incamped, gaue no hope to driue them away by force: therefore *Prosper*'s care was, that the Marquis of *Mantua* should enter into *Pania*, whose coming putting the French into feare least he would win their bridge, they builded another at *Torglien* within fise and twentie miles of *Pania*. Besides, he solicited *Vitelli* to passe the riuer, who with the companies of men of warre which the *Florentines* had giuen him (and by them was sent to *Genes* in the beginning of the warre) together with three thousand footmen payd by the *Genowayes*, had commaunded all the countrey beyond *Paw*, except *Alexandria*: that was to giue impediment to the victuals which came to the Frenchmen from the countrey of *Lomellina*: but the Duke of *Genes*, would not consent to it for the feare he had of the Archbishop of *Fregosa*, who lay in *Alexandria* neare to *Genes*. And because the *Veneissians*, whose bands were passed *Oglia*, refused so long as that part of the Frenchmen which was gone fro *Carauage* remained neare *Monce*, to passe *Adda* for the perill of *Bergama*: *Prosper* wonne them to send foure hundred horsmen, and fise hundred footmen to *Tressa*, to stop the course of victuals wherewith they liued.

Whilest both parts were in the action of these matters, there was performed no exploit of war other then light skirmishes, incursions and pillages, wherein alwayes the Frenchmen had the worse, and so returned eftssoones with great losse and damage. It hapned one day amongst others, that as *Iohn de Medicis* issued out with two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsmen, and a thousand footmen, he met with fourescore French Launces, being most part of the companies of *Barnaby Visconte*, and offering to chase them, he sodainly fell to retire, and by that stratageme cunningly drew them vpo an ambush of fise hundred harquebuziers which he had laid, and there made slaughter of the most of them, and tooke the residue prisoners. In like sort in another encounter, *Socchor Burquignon* brake a troupe of threescore men at armes of the companie of the master of the horse. Besides, the bands of Spanish footmen had many conflicts with the French footmen that warded at those trenches which were made to go in couert euen to the rampiers, where they slue manie of them that garded the trenches. And at the same time *Paul Lusaquo*, who remained at *Pisqueton* with an hundred and fiftie light horsmen, ouer-ran the countrey all about, and distressed not a litle those that were in *Cremona*. Neither did the ambushes succeed more happily to the Admirall, then his other exploits; for hauing conspired secretly with one *Morgant* of *Parma*, a commander vnder *Iohn de Medicis*, that when it should fall to his turne to ward at a Bastillion of a gate which was cast out of the rampiers, he should receiue in his souldiers: when the night appointed came, *Morgant* thinking it necessarie to communicate the matter with some other of his companions for the better execution, brake it with one especiall souldier of his band, who making as though he consented to the treason, gaue him counsell to go and commaund the Sentinels in the name of *Prosper* not to stirre, what brute or noyse soeuer they heard, as not to let him whom he would send to call the souldiers of the campe to come to the Bastillion, for that the Admirall had that night drawne neare to that side fise thousand footmen to be readie at the signe giuen, and had set in order the whole armie: But such is the infirmity of treason, that it hath no further assurance then the party hath confidence. For whilest *Morgant* went to execute the deuise, the other who could not be faithfull in conspiracie, reucaleth the whole practise to *Iohn de Medicis*, who making speed to the Bastillion, taketh the offenders, and after iudiciall examination had, he maketh them to passe the pikes according to the iustice of warre.

It seemed now that the affaires of the French began to decline on all sides, both for the fertilitie of the country about *Milam*, which ministred some reliefe to the wants of the towne: & for the deuise of the townes men inuenting hand-milles to supply the vse of grinding, by which engine was taken away the Admirals hope that the inhabitants would fall into want of meale. It was beleued

beleueed also that the French had lost in those encounters more then fiftene hundred horse as well of seruice as of common sort, which brought them into that astonishment, that they forbore to issue out of their tents, but in times of need to guard the victuallers and forragers, and that alwaies in strong troups. The infamie whereof the Admirall conuerting to his speciall honour, he wold often say, that touching the managing of the warre, he would rather obserue the moderation and temperance of the *Italians*, then be gouerned by the furious importunities of the French Captaines: and yet whensoever any encounter was giuen either by their footmen or horsemen, they shewed more readinesse to flie then to fight: so that the Captaines of the Emperour being now assured of the feare of hunger, and the forces of the enemy, yea hoping to giue impediments to the victuals of the enemy, there was nothing remaining to trouble them but want of money, without the which if it were a hard matter to containe the souldiers within *Millean*, it could not almost but be impossible to leade them out of the towne howsoever the affaires and occurances of the warre required: So hard is it to leade souldiers to seruice wherein is no assurance of money, and more daunger to minister discipline where no pay is performed. But to remedy these difficulties, manie meanes were sought out, and amongst others, *Prosper Colonne*, by the priuity of the *Viceroy* of *Naples* and Duke of *Sessa*, had immediatly vpon the Popes death begun to treat with the Duke of *Ferrara*; who after he had refused many offers made to him by the Admirall since the action of *Reggia*, to go afore *Cremona*, couenanted at last with *Prosper*, that if he reconquered *Modena* by his meanes, he would pay him immediatly thirty thousand duckets, and twentie thousand more within two moneths. That conquest seemed a matter of easie execution: since *Prosper* commanding to depart from *Modena* *Guido Rangon* souldier of the league, and also the regiment of Spanish footmen, what other remedie remained to that Citie so abandoned, then to compound with the Duke, and lay themselues downe to his order? The benefite of the armie was one consideration that drew *Prosper* to this practise, but the thing that more violently ouer-ruled him to it, was his priuate affection, the ancient amitie he had with the Duke of *Ferrara*, a desire common also to all the other Barons of *Rome*, to embase the greatnesse of the Popes, and a hope that *Modena* and *Reggia* remaining no more to the Church, *Parma* and *Plaisance* would with more facility diuolue to the Duke of *Millean*. This matter albeit was laboured with great secrecie, yet being disclosed by the Count *Guido* to *Guicciardin*, he saw there was no other meane to stop it, but to perswade the Spanish Captaines who were well vsed and largely paid, and had good will to continue in that Citie, that where they were not subiect to the authority of *Prosper Colonne*, they should of themselues refuse to go from *Modena*, but by the commaundement of the Duke of *Sessa*, by whose appointment they came thither: and albeit *Guicciardin* was not ignorant that the whole deuise was wrought by the consent of the said Duke of *Sessa*, yet he considered that the Duke being the Emperors Embassador at *Rome*, & the Colledge making instance to him of the contrarie, would not onely not giue out such a commission, but also would refuse at the request of the Cardinals to giue open order to the contrarie. This deuise drew a successe according to the plot that was layd: for when *Prosper* sent to commaund Count *Guido* & the Spaniards to go to *Millean* for the necessity of the warres, the Count excused him with many reasons, and alleaged that he was subiect to the Church and to them of *Modena*: as also the Spanish Captaines being perswaded by him and the Gouvernour, made answer, that in that case they were to obey none but the Duke of *Sessa*: which matters being signified by the Gouvernour to the Colledge of Cardinals, they summoned forthwith into the Conclauie the Duke of *Sessa*, who to auoid suspicion as well in himselfe as in the Emperour, could not refuse their demaund to write to the Captaines that they should not stir. And moreover, as it often hapneth that in worldly dealings things oftentimes succeed farre otherwise then men thinke, so in this was discerned this accident, that certaine letters of *Prosper* intercepted by the Gouvernour, were read in the Colledge, by the which as was disclosed how all things went: so the Cardinals that were for the French king, by the impediment of whom the prouisions of money were lingred, which by the Cardinal *Medici* working was begun to be sent to *Modena*, knowing how dangerous it would be for the king that that matter should come to effect, began with open hand to help forward the sending of the mony to *Modena*: wherein the Cardinal *Colonne* ioyned with the, to declare to the residue, that he preferred the vtility of the Sea Apostolike afore all other things: but notwithstanding this shewed diligence was sufficient to defer the execution of the couenants made with the Duke of *Ferrara*,

yet the foundation of those thoughts being remoued, they retained this in deuotion, that the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, who (though with slow remouings) was come to *Millan* with foure hundred launces and two thousand footmen, should leade away with him the regiment of Spanish footemen as he passed by *Modena*.

In this time at *Millan* did increase the plentie and abundance of victuals, for that the Admirall fearing least the souldiers within *Pania* would occupie the bridge which he had made vpon *Thefin*, by the which were conueyed necessarie prouisions to the army, he drew from *Monce* the armie that was there being the lesser part: and of them he sent three thousand to the guard of the bridge, called some of them to himselfe, and distributed the residue, part within *Marignan*, and part within *Biagrasso*, places verie neare neighbours to the bridge: by which meane the Imperials that recouered *Monce* had a farre greater commodity of victuals. The French campe stretched from the Abbey of *Clerenau* vntill the way of *Pania*, and was towards that way within gunshot of *Millan*: and at that time there was in the French armie eight hundred light horsemen, sixe thousand *Swissers*, two thousand *Italian* footmen and ten thousand as wel French as *Gascons*: they had at the bridge of *Thefin* a thousand Launceknights, & a thousand *Italians*: the like numbers at *Biagrasso*, where was *Ranſe de Cere*, two hundred Launces within *Nonaro*, & two thousand footmen as well in *Alexandria* as in *Loda*: and within *Millan* were eight hundred Launces, eight hundred light horsemen, sixe thousand Spanish footmen, sixe thousand Launceknights, and foure thousand *Italians*, besides the multitude of the people, who were very violent against the French both in heart & action: the Marquis of *Mantua* was within *Pania* with five hundred Launces, sixe hundred light horsemen, two thousand footmen *Spaniards*, & three thousand *Italians*: lastly, there were in new castle in *Tortoneſe*, three thousand footmen with *Vitelli*, who, as certaine French bands were passed into *Alexandria*, retired notwithstanding a litle after to *Serranella*, fearing least the way of *Genes* would be shut vp from him: the *Venetians* also had 600 men at armes, 500 light horsemen, & five thousand footmen, of whō they sent a thousand to *Millā* at the request of *Prosper*, who desired to serue his turne with the fame and reputation of their succours: and soone after they dispatched another part of their forces to *Cremona*, by reason of a suspition of some intelligence.

The Frenchme
broke vp from
before *Millan*.

At last the Admirall, what by the difficultie of victuals which grew extreame, the compulsion of the time, which was cold, the vehemencie of snowes, which were violent, and the important instance of the *Swissers*, whose impatiencie could not suffer so manie incommodities, determined to breake vp and go further from *Millan*: notwithstanding before he published his resolution, he procured *Galeas Viscount* to obtaine leaue to go see, and to do reuerence to *Madame Clara*, of great name for her singular beautie, but of greater fame for the loue that *Prosper Colonne* bare to her: and being within *Millan*, he preferred the parley of truce, whereupon did assemble the day following vpon the rampiers Captaine *Alarcon*, *Paule Vettorie* the *Florentine* Commissioner, and *Ierome Moron*: and for the Admirall, *Galeas Viscount* and the Generall of *Normandie*: they communed of a surceassing of armes vntill the end of May, and both parties to be bound to distribute their armies in the townes, and in the end they had consented to reduce all their forces beyond *Thefin*, had it not bene for the impediments of the Emperours Captaines, who obiecting matter of reproofe, that with the truce they went about to take from the hope they had of the victorie, made answer that they had no power to deliberate any thing without the will of the *Viceroy*: so that the Admirall within two dayes after caused his artilleries to march before day towards *Thefin*, himself following with the whole armie at the full appearing of the day: he marched in so good order, as though he would not (vpon occasion) refuse the battell: & on the other side, the inhabitants of the towne seeing his discamping, together with the souldiers made sute with vniuersall voyce that they might be led to the field to charge them: in this demand were also concurrant the Captaines and personages of greatest authoritie, who redoubling the instance to *Prosper Colonne*, laid before him the facilitie of the victorie, both by the aduantage of their disorder, which cast vpon them an vnappeaseable feare, the comparison of their forces nothing inferior to theirs, and their courage and resolution farre aboue them, and also the opportunity of their retract, wherein lurked some secret terrour to the most part of the armie, the same being confirmed at that instant by the relation of certaine *Italians* that stragled from the armie: they put him in remembrance of the infinite glorie and perpetuall memory of his name, if he would with his last reputation confirme the renouine and triumph of so many victories gotten by him: lastly, they

they perswaded him that a noble leader of warre caried as great fame by his readinesse to embrace good occasions, as by his resolution to execute when necessitie called him. But *Prosper* in whom was fixed a settled mind to forbear as much as he could to comitt the credite of his valour to the arbitration of fortune, told them how far it was from the office of a discrete Captaine to be caried with popular voyces, and how vnworthie the name of a General, to leade men to the fight, where was no other hope then in the force of their armes: That though many other worldly matters might be put to aduenture and hazard, yet the life and honour of men required counsel, forecast, and deepest prouidence: That they had wonne glorie enough in compelling the enemy to go his way without blood: That the desire of men ought not to be infinite, and lesse expectatiō in the surety of fortune, whose mutability worketh most in matters of warre: That that armie is ill guided, where in the event and issue of the field the losses are greater then the benefites: That he knew by experience, that the infamy that fell vpon the Generall by his rashnesse, did make a greater wound in his name and credite, then the glorie of the victorie made him rich or renowned, for that as no man would haue interest in the infamie but the leader, so almost euerie particular would communicate in the commendation: That such were the humors of men, that they would lay the losse of a field vpon the Generall only: That as he had hitherto with temperance guided all his enterprises to an honorable end, so now that he was vpon the latest yeare of his age, he would not enter into new course and new counsels, and deliuer vp to fortune so many valiant bodies as reposed their liues on him, nor exchange those rules which from the beginning had led him to that estate of glorie, reputation, and greatnesse, wherein he now standeth. The Frenchmen deuided themselves into two parts, the Admirall with the greatest entred *Diagrasso* within foure-teeene miles of the towne of *Millan*, and sent the residue to *Rosa* which is within seuen miles.

Almost as soone as the Admirall was gone from before *Millan*, the Cardinals created a new Pope, hauing already consumed in the Conclauē more then fiftie dayes: at the beginning there was in the Cōclauē but a presence of xxxvj. Cardinals, and being afterwards increated with three more, they spent much time in fundrie contentions: for they stood deuided amongst themselves not only for the different wils of the Emperour and French king, but also for the greatnesse of the Cardinall *de Medicis*: who being pushed on by all such as followed the kings authoritie, and some others that depended of the Emperour, had at his deuotion the full voyces of sixteene Cardinals: they were determined either to chuse him, or at least to name no other without his consent: besides, he was secretly assured of fīue other Cardinals and their voices, together with the fauour of the Emperours Embassadour, with all the residue that followed his authoritie: of all which furtherances and foundatiōs albeit he was assured almost at the death of Pope *Leo*, yet he entred now into the Conclauē with a more constant resolution not to abandon his hopes, neither for the tract or length of time, nor for any accident whatsoever, making this his chiefest pillar & ground, that in the election of the Pope, it was necessarie that of that presence of Cardinals that was there assistant, a third part of voyces should be concurrant. But so obstinate were the controuersies of the Cardinals, that they could not dissolue their diuisions, neither for the common daunger of *Italy*, nor for the particular estate of the Church, but according as the affaires of the warre proceeded, both the parts sought to prolong and deferre the election, for the supportation they hoped in the victorie of their fauorers: and it had bene yet longer deferred, both if there had bene amongst the old Cardinals of the Colledge (aduersaries to the Cardinall *Medicis*) one agreement to chuse another, and also, shaking off their couetousnesse particular, they had stood vpon this point, not to suffer the Cardinall *Medicis* to rise to the soueraigne seat: but it is a hard matter for men by cōcord to aspire to the end they seeke for, whē their cōcord is entangled with discord or ambition: the Cardinall *Colōno*, an ancient enemy of the Cardinall *Medicis*, & of a nature proud & haughtie, fell into some indignation against the other Cardinals that were ioyned with him, because they refused to elect for Pope Cardinall *Iacobaccio*, a *Romane*, a man of the same faction, and wholly at his deuotion: in which despite of mind, he made a willing offer to the Cardinall *Medicis* to ioyne with him in the electiō, & for recōpēce he receiued of him a very secret promise of the office of Vicechancellor which he held, and of his pallace being very sumptuous, builded by Cardinall *George*, and giuen to him by Pope *Leo*; a matter which aptly agreeing with the couetousnesse of Cardinall *Colōno*, so pushed him on, that he drew to him Cardinall *Cornare* and two others, betweene whom was made a resolute consent to chuse Cardinall *Medicis* for Pope: and as it often

Cardinal *Medicis* is created Pope, & taketh the name of *Clement* the seventh.

hapneth that in election example doth much, so as soone as their inclination was knowne, many others, either for want of stomacke, or by too much ambition began to presse on with the foremost, to speake in his fauour: insonmuch as the same night, he was honoured as Pope by the vniuersall agreement of the all, and the next morning being the nineteenth of Nouembre, the election was made perfect by solemne sort according to the custome: this dignitie hapned to him the same day two yeares that he entred victorious into *Millan*. It was thought that amongst other things, his great reuenues of benefices, and Ecclesiastlike offices did much to make him Pope: for that the Cardinals, when they entred the Conclauē, set downe this constitution, that the reuenues of him that should be elected Pope, should be shared by equall distribution amongst the others; a foule custome of couetousnesse in a Cleargie, whose hands should be no lesse innocent to take, then their hearts naked of fraud and guile; and in whose preferment should be most respected their sinceritie of life and doctrine. He would haue continued still his name of *Iulio*, but being caried with this superstitious obseruation of some of the Cardinals, that such as after their election refusing to changetheir name, died within the yeare, he tooke vpon him the name of *Clement* the seuenth, either for the nearenesse of that idolatrous festiuall, or else by allusion, that immediately after his election he had pardoned and receiued into grace the Cardinall *Volterro*, and reconciled all his faction: and albeit Pope *Adrian* in his latter dayes had declared this Cardinall to be vnablen to assist or enter the Conclauē, yet he had his place there by the permission of the Colledge, and was euen to the last houre, altogether against the election of *Iulio*. Great was the opinion of this new Pope throughout all the world, and as it hath not bene seene of long time that the Conclauē hath so long temporized and stood vpon the naming of one, so yet they thought the trade and expectation well recompensed in that they had raised to that supream seate, a person of so great authoritie and valour, both for that he had confounded and conioyned by his arbitrement the power of the estate of *Florence* with the iurisdiction of the Church, & had in the time of Pope *Leo* gouerned many yeares the whole Pontificacie; and was iudged a man graue and constant in his deliberations, and also for that manie things being by sinister imputation imposed vpon him that proceeded from *Leo*, manie affirmed that *Leo* was full of ambition, full of pride, full of trouble, and full of desire of innouation and new things: to which good parts that were found in him, adioyning his modestie and abstinence from pleasures, and full of care and study to attend affaires, there were few who did not expect of him verie great and extraordinarie matters: his election euen in the beginning put the estate of the Church in great surety; for the Duke of *Ferrara*, not a litle astonished that such a Pope was mounted into the holy seat, and hoping no longer to get *Modena* for the comming of the *Visceroys* of *Naples*, and lesse expectation in the French, who afore by the solicitation of *Theodor Trinnico*, newly come to his campe, made him great offers, so that he would ioyne with them, returned to *Ferrara* after he had left sufficient garrison within *Reggio* and *Rubiero*. In like sort all controuersies were reappeared in *Romagnia*, where *John de Saffarella* who had bene expelled by the power of the *Gebelins* during the raigne of *Adrian*, was elssoones reentred with a traine of *Guelfes* vnder colour to oppresse the contrarie faction, but in truth at the incensing of the French.

But since the French armie was distributed to *Biagrasso* and *Rosa*, the Admiral, with whom were remaining but foure thousand *Swissers*, dismissed (as vnprofitable for seruice) all the footmen of *Dauphine* and *Languedocke*: he sent also his great artilleries beyond *Thefin*, with intention to tarie there for the supplies which the king prepared for his succours, not fearing that the enemy would make any inuasion vpon him in a place so strong, and containing such plentie of victuals: and yet because he would not entertaine the time idly, he sent *Ranse de Cere* with seven thousand *Italian* footmen to take *Arona*, a towne of great strength, and hath his situation in the confines of the Lake *Maioir*. This towne was possessed by *Anchises Viscount*, and to the rescue of it *Prosper Colonne* sent from *Millan* a regiment of twelue hundred footmen: but because the Castle of *Arona* doth so much commaund the towne, that who holdeth not the Castle doth vnprofitably possesse the towne, *Ranse* laid his plot to winne the Castle, but his fortune being inferiour to the difficulties he found, after he had giuen many assaults wherein he lost many men, consuming almost a moneth in that enterprise, at last he leauied his siege and went away, confirming the vniuersall opinion that had bene conceiued of him for manie yeares, that his actions held no comparison with the reputation he had got in the defence of *Crema*.

About this time *Prosper Colomo* hauing lyen sicke eight monethes, began to draw to his latestt houre, not without suspition of poyson, or else some amorous potion; he was carefull by his latestt end, to confirme the credit he had gotten in the race of so many yeares past, and therefore where as he could not well brooke the comming of the *Viceroy*, he now solicited it with great affection, as knowing that he was no more able to manage the affaires of the warre: So agreeable was the modestie and temperance of his last dayes, with the valour and courage of his younger time: no lesse honorable was the behauiour of the *Viceroy*, who as soone as he came neare to *Millan*, stayed without and would not enter for certaine dayes, to shew what reuerence he bare to the vertue and reputation of such a Captaine: and yet when he vnderstood he was reduced to the last action of life and had lost all sense and knowledge, he entred the towne for a desire he had to see him, notwithstanding some hold that he would not enter till he was dead, which was the last day sauing one of that yeare: he was a Captaine of great name and merite during the whole time of his life, and in his latestt yeares had wonne singular reputation and authoritie: he was a father of souldiers, a director of their counsels, a framer of their dispositions, an example of vertue, and a guide to true glory and fame: he was not apt to embrace lightly all occasions that the disorders of the enemies might offer, for, this propertie was ioyned to his wit, rather to doubt too much, then beleue too hastily: and so zealous was he ouer the safetie and suretie of his people, that he would not easily giue any aduantage to the enemy to oppresse him: He would alwayes say, that in a Generall, the glorie was greater to feare a mischiefe and foresee it, then to runne with occasions which can not be without their hazardes: he was by nature easie and slow in his actions, & seeking alwayes to administer warres more with counsels then with the sword, he left to others this propertie of example, to defend estates by temporising, and not without great necessitie to commit the euent of battels to fortune: for, in our time, the managing and gouernement of warres hath farre differed, since that afore *Charles* the eight past into *Italie*, the brunt of the warre being more borne out with horsemen armed at all parts, then with footemen, and no lesse inconuenient & troublesome the engines wherewith they were wont to take townes, notwithstanding the armies came oftentimes to the shooke of battell, yet the slaughter was litle, and very rare the blood that was spilt: and townes also that were besieged defended themselves with such facilitie, not for that they had more knowledge in defence, but through ignorance to take them: that there was not so litle or weake a towne, which was not able for many dayes to resist great armies of enemies: at that time Princes did not intrude vpon the estates of others without very great difficulties. But when king *Charles* made his first descending into *Italie*, the regions of that nation were so replenished with terror and astonishment, what through the feare of new nations, and the valour of the footemen whose fight was in another maner, but most of all through the fury of the artilleries, by whose vnacquainted roaring noyse the ignorant people feared no lesse then if the frame of the world had fallē, that there was no hope for any prince to be able to defend himself, that were not strong enough to keepe the field. For, men that had no knowledge to defend townes yeilded at the first approach of the enemies, and if haply any towne stood to her defence, it was taken within few dayes, such was the furie of the artilleries, and such the ignorance of men that had yet no custome nor familiaritie with them. By that meane the realme of *Naples* and the Duchie of *Millan* were no sooner inuaded then they were conquered: in that sort the *Venesians* being vanquished in one battell onely, left abandoned immediatly all their iurisdiction in the firme land: and in that sort the *Frēchmen* hauing scarcely seene the enemies, left the Duchie of *Millan*. But since the wit of man comprehending better the furie of batteries, began to oppose engine and industry for their defence, and fortified townes with mounts, trenches, flanks, rampiers, & bastillions, which they made apt to bestow artilleries vpon: and being planted in a place which men seeke to defend, do farre more hurt, then that that is braked without: so that at this day it is very hard to take a towne where is any resistance made: and haply those inuentions began in *Italie* in the dayes of our fathers, when the towne of *Ostranto* was reconquered vpon the *Turkes*, wherein when *Alfonso* Duke of *Calabria* entred afterwarde, he found that the *Turkes* had made many rampiers & fortifications, such as were vnknownen to the *Italians*, but yet those sortes of fortifications remained rather as images in the minds of men, then that they were followed. *Prosper* either was the onely mā, or the first man of all other that with greatest reputation, hath twise by those meanes defended the Duchy of *Millan*: and as wel in offending as in defending.

and cutting off the enemies from victuals, as also in prolonging the warre with such cunning, that pouertie, disorders, and other extremities consumed them, he hath borne out the warre and vanquished without once aduenturing the battell, without breaking of a Launce, yea almost without drawing a sword: so that he standing in example to others that haue come after many warres (continued for many monethes,) haue bene ouercome more with industrie, with stratageme, and with temporising, then with the force or fortune of armes.

*The Duke of
Borbon not a-
ble to do any
thing in Bur-
gōdy, commeth
to Millan.*

These things were done in *Italie* in the yeare 1523. And the yeare following were made beyond the Mounts preparations of right great expectation, and yet brought forth no effectes worthy of so mightie Princes: for where the Emperour and the King of *England* had contracted and promised the Duke of *Borbon* to enter with a strong armie, the one into *Picardie*, and the other into *Guyen*: the mouing of the King of *England* was to small purpose, & the enterprise of the Duke of *Borbon* to inuade *Burgondie* was turned into a mountaine of smoke: for that wanting money to pay his Launceknights, besides the diminution of their numbers by the practise of certaine Captaines that stole away to the French King, he dispaired to do any thing in *France*, & in that mind went to *Millan*: there the Emperour hauing no mind that he should passe into *Spaine*, perhaps because he would not haue the mariage of his sister go forward which the Duke of *Borbon* desired, sent to him *Monsieur de Beaurain* to perswade him to stay there, and gaue him the authoritie and title of his Lieutenant Generall in *Italie*, to induce him with better will to abide there. Neither did things happen more happily to the Emperour on the coast of *Spaine*, for that albeit in a burning desire to the warres he was come to *Pampeluna* to passe in person into *Fraunce*, & had already sent his armie beyond the Mounts *Pireney*, where he had taken *Sauuetera*, which is not farre from *S. Iohn de pied de Porc*, yet drawing with him many other imperfections, he found at last that his readinesse was farre greater then his power, for that as for the want of money, he was not able to entertaine so great forces as were necessarie for so great an enterprise, so for that want also he was not able to assemble his armie vntill the latter end of the yeare, when the nature of the season doubled vpon him his difficulties, and tooke from him the liberty of the wayes. These impediments cōpelled him to dissolue his armie, erected almost against the counsell of all his Captaines, which made the Duke of *Albe* a Prince of great authoritie say in the heate of the warre, that the Emperour who in many things resembled king *Ferdinand* his grandfather by the mother side, did in this deliberation beare most similitude and likenesse with his grandfather by the father side.

1524.

Now came on the yeare a thousand five hundred twentie and foure, when the difficulties of the Frenchmen stirring vp the Emperours Captaines to looke to put end to the warre, they called to *Millan* the Duke of *Urbino* and *Peter Pesero* treasurer of *Venice*, to consult of the manner of proceeding in the war: in which counsell they were all of opinion, that assoone as the sixe thousand Launceknights which the *Viceroy* had sent to leaue, were arrived at *Millan*, the Emperours army ioyning with it the *Venetian* forces, should affront the enemies, to the end to chase the out of the Duchie of *Millan*, either by force or by famine: and albeit they thought themselves strong inough to performe it, yet there was one thing that hindred the execution of the counsell, which was want of money, of which for that there were great summes due to the men of war for their payes past, they thought they should not be able to get them to issue out of *Millan* or any other towne vnlesse their payes were first satisfied. And for that the armie was to continue in the field, it was no lesse necessarie to set downe order hereafter for the payes of the souldiers to be performed in their due time, and safelie to be conueyed to the campe to answer the dayes of payment: But the inhabitants of *Millan* desirous to be discharged of the burden of the war, offered to remoue these difficulties, in lending to the Duke fourescore and ten thousand duckats; an action whereunto they were the more easily induced by example of the last good dealing, whē the money which they had lent at such time as *Monsieur de Lamtrech* lay afore *Millan*, was readily repayed vpon the Dukes reuenues. In like sort the Pope, who, by the remembrance of things past, held much suspected the victorie of the French, put to his hand, notwithstanding with a wonderfull cunning he made demonstration of the contrarie to such as the king had sent to him: he caused to be deliuered with great secrecie to the Emperours Embassadour twentie thousand duckats, & solicited also the *Florentines* (on whom the *Viceroy* required a new contributiō by vertue of the league made in the time of Pope *Adria*) to pay as their last rest, thirty thousand duckats: and yet the Pope had no meaning hereafter to shew more propertie of fauour

to the one the to the other: but where immediately vpon his election the one of the had sent to him Monsieur *Beaurain*, and the other Monsieur *Saint Maixan*, to draw him particularly to them, yet his intention was, as soone as the present daungers should cease, to beare betweene them that moderation and temperance which orderly appertaineth to the office of Popes when Christian Princes be in discord, and laying aside all partialitie and suspected inclination, to be a worker for peace & vnitie betweene them; a resolution which was so much the more agreeable to the French King, who feared least the Pope was of the same disposition towards him that he was when he was Cardinall, by how much it was contrary & disagreeable to the Emperour, who held it not reasonable that he should separate himselfe from him, both for the last alliance that was past, and also for that by his aide he mounted to the Popedom. In which regard it brought no litle griefe to him to be certified from the Pope, that notwithstanding he willed him as much good as he did before, yet for that he was now no more a person priuate, but rather a father indifferēt to all, he was bound by the respect and office of his place, to do nothing which were not for the cōmon profite of all. But whilst the Viceroy prepared himselfe to go finde the enemies, he sent *Iohn de Medicis* before *Marignan*, which towne yeilded to him together with the Castell: and where the Marquis of *Pesquero* disdainig to follow the warre vnder *Prosper Colōno*, would not come to the campe but when he was aduertised that he drew towards his latestt houre, and hearing now that Capitaine *Bayard* was within *Rebecca* with three hundred horse and many bandes of footemen, he ioyned himselfe with *Iohn de Medicis*, and marching with no lesse diligence then resolution of minde, he found them of *Rebecca* so ouersleeping in their security, & so litle doubting of his cōming, that he tooke the most part of the footemen, and gaue the chace to the residue, returning immediatly to *Millan*, as not to giue leasure to the enemies within *Biagrassa* to pursue them. In this enterprise he was much esteemed for his industrie and for his valour, but much more for his celerity and diligence, for that *Rebecca* which is not past two miles from *Biagrassa*, is from *Millan* from whence they went, more then seuentene miles. But as the affaires of the warre were reduced to this degree, that to the French were left no other hopes then that wants of money would fall vpon their enemies, and the Imperials were fed onely with this expectation, that the French would suffer great scarcitie of victuals, and yet neither of them were without their hopes of succours, the one of Launceknights, and the other of *Swissers*: so the Admirall loosing no oportunitie wherein occasion was offered, set fire vpon *Rosa*, and retired to *Biagrassa* those bandes that were within it, disposing his forces to distresse the enemies, & make incursions and burnings ouer all the countrey. But by this time were the Launceknights arrived at the Emperours campe, which contained in the whole whole sixe hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horsemen, seuen thousand footemen *Spanish*, twelue thousand Launceknights, and fifteene hundred *Italians*, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Millan*, the Duke of *Burbon*, the Viceroy of *Naples*, and the Marquis of *Pesquero*. They left within *Millan* for the gard of the place, foure thousand footmen, and marched with the residue to incampe at *Binasqua*, where not many dayes after the Duke of *Urbino* ioyned with them, with sixe hundred men at armes, sixe hundred light horsemen, and seuen thousand footemen of the *Venetians*. At what time the Castell of *Cremona* being no more able to beare out the rage of hunger, and *Federike Bossolo* that was within *Loda*, hauing in vaine aduentured to succour it, yeilded vpon to the Imperials. Afterwards the armie marched to *Casera*, a towne within fiue miles of *Biagrassa*; there the Admirall (hauing distributed within *Loda*, *Nonaro*, & *Alexandria*, two hundred Launces and fiue thousand footemen) kept himselfe incamped with eight hundred Launces, & eight thousand *Swissers*, to whom were ioyned within few dayes after, a regiment of three thousand others, together with foure thousand *Italians* and two thousand Launceknights: and notwithstanding all this multitude of companies, he felt no necessitie of victuals, hauing a full prouision for two monethes as well in the armie as in the places thereabouts. It was not possible to assaile them in a place so strong without their manifest daunger: by reason whereof the Imperials who many times had assayed to passe the riuer of *Thezin*, to stop victuals from the French on that side, and to get into those townes which they held beyond *Thezin*, and also to giue impediment to the succours that were to come out of *France*, determined at last to passe, iudging by the confidence they had in the people of *Millan*, that there was no necessity to keepe there a great garrison: so that the duke, accompanied with *Ioh. de Medicis*, returned to *Millan*, where was remaining a strength of sixe thousand footmen. Thus they passed the second day of May the riuer of *Thezin*.

*The Imperials
passe the river
of Thesin.*

upon three bridges beneath *Pavia*, the battell lodging at *Gambala*, and the residue of the armie in the villages thereabouts: but the Admirall, when he knew they were passed *Thesin*, dispatched speedily *Ranſe de Cere* to gard *Vigena*, and fearing to lose that towne, with other peeces in the country of *Lomellina*, which being taken from him, he should stand as it were besieged, he drew thither within five dayes with the whole armie, leauing within *Biagrasa*, an hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen: he bestowed his vauntgard about the parts of *Vigena*, and sent the battell to *Mortaro*, a towne within two myles of *Gambala* where the *Viceroy* was. That place was full of many commodities, since besides the strength & situation, it ministred victuals at commaundement, both for the suretie of the wayes of *Momferat*, of *Verceil*, and *Nouaro*, and also for the continuall oportunitie and assistance of other places, yeelding course and trafficke from one towne to another, as if it had bene a streame of water. The Admirall offered two dayes together, the battell to the enemies, who refused to accept it, not that they were lesse in numbers, or inferior in valour and resolution of souldiers, but because they would not put in daunger the hope of the victorie which they held almost certaine, for that by the surprising of certaine letters, they had intelligence that the enemy began to feeble want of money and pay.

After the Emperours armie was passed *Thesin*, the Duke of *Urbino* leading the *Venetian* regiments, went to incampe before *Garlasquo*, a towne strong by situation, and well enuironed with ditches & rampiers: there was within it, a strength of foure hundred footemen *Italians*, and standing betweene *Pavia* & *Trumella* beyond *Thesin*, where he had an intention to bestow himself, it did not onely cut the course of victuals from him, but also depriued the whole residue of the armie: he had in short space made a breach, and the same day followed on with the assault, and being almost repulsed, many of his souldiers, holding all perill lesse then their valour, tooke the water and swamme ouer the ditches; by whose example certaine bands of footemen of *Iohn de Medicis* did the like, with whom in one resolute aduenture they began to assaile it with such furie, that their vertue vanquishing all resistance, they entred it by force, making great slaughter of such as they found within. Afterwards the army approched *S. Georges*, and drew towards the Parish of *Cairo* to go to *Sartirano*, a towne of good strength, and hath his situation vpon the higher shore of *Paw* in a place very apt to hinder their victuals, and for the keeping whereof, were *Hugh de Popo* and *Iohn Biraguo* with certaine horsemen, & fixe hundred footemen. *Iohn of Urbino* who was sent thither with the artilleries, and a regiment of two thousand footmen *Spaniards*, tooke first the town, and then the rocke, making slaughter of the most part of the men that were within, & committing the Captaines prisoners. The Frenchmen remoued their campe to succour *Sartirano*, but being preuented by the diligence of their enemies, they stayed all their armie at *Monce*, after they were aduertised by the way what was hapned. Neither had the affaires of the Frenchmen better successe in other places of the Duchie of *Millan*: for, those regiments of souldiers that were left within *Millan*, compelled to render the towne of *S. George* which stands about *Monce*, whose inhabitants constrained by the extortion of the souldiers, had called home those bands of footemen that were in *Loda*, *Paule Lusafquo*, encountering with certaine light horsemen of the French, put them to flight: and *Federike Bossolo*, being departed from *Loda* to set vpon *Pisqueton*, in place of the victory, brought home wounds & hurts, besides the losse of many of his men: only there were certaine light horsemen of the French who running vp betweene *Plaisance* and *Tortoné*, surprised a treasure of foureteene thousand ducats, which was sent to the Emperours armie.

Amid these difficulties the Admirall had two hopes, the one to haue the warre diuerted, and the other to be succoured: for, the king had already caused to march foure hundred Launces by the Mount *Geneura*, to who were to be ioyned ten thousand *Swissers*. Besides, *Ranſe de Cere* led to the territorie of *Bergama* by the way of *Valdesafina*, five thousand *Grisons*, who were to passe from thence to *Loda* to ioyn with *Federike Bossolo*, with whom were already many bandes of *Italian* footme. And lastly the Admirall stood firme in this perswasion, that the Emperour would be constrained for the suretie of *Millan*, to repasse the riuer of *Thesin*. Against these companies, the Duke of *Millan* sent out *Iohn de Medicis* with fiftie men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, and three thousand footmen, & taking to him also a strength of three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, & foure thousand footmen of the *Venetians*, he drew neare the enemies, who were now come to the village of *Cranina* betweene the riuers of *Adda* & *Brivo* eight milles from *Bergama*: he ran with one part of his people euen vp to the places where the

Grisons

Grifons were incamped, who the third day after, complaining that they had not found at *Cranina* neither money for their payes, nor horsemen for their strength, nor other bandes of footemen promised by *Ranſe de Cere*, set themselves at libertie and returned to their countrey. The descending of the *Grifons* being thus turned into a mountaine of smoke, *Iohn de Medicis* vsing the occasion of their retiring, tooke *Caranage*, and afterwards passing *Adda*, he beat downe with his artilleries the bridge which the French had made at *Bufaloro* vpon *Tbesin*: and those townes that are betweene *Millan* and *Tbesin* there was but *Biagrassa* left in the power of the French: it was plentifully provided of victuals, and garded with a strong garrison of a thousand footemen vnder *Ieronimo Caracciollo*: but because it hath his situation vpon the great channell, and by that meane stoppeth the course of victuals which that channell is wont to bring in great plentie to *Millan*, *Frauncis Sforce* sent for *Iohn de Medicis* to come to him being followed with all the youth of *Millan* besides his ordinarie bandes of souldiers: They ioyned their forces together, and went to besiege it, and playing with their artilleries from Sunne rising vntill noone, he sent the souldiers to the assault, whose valour being no lesse to enter the artilleries were furious to make breaches, they tooke it the same day with a singular commendation of *Iohn de Medicis*: in whom that day was not onely discerned a vertue excelling all the other souldiers, but also a grauitie, readinesse, and gouernement worthy of a right noble Captaine: So needefull is the presence of a Generall in any action of importance, and so conducing his example to carie the mindes of his souldiers to contemne all perill, and leaue nothing vndone, that valour or resolution can finde out. Captaine *Caracciollo* was taken, and many of the footemen committed to the sword, besides certaine companies which *Iohn de Medicis* put to the gibbet, for that they had run from him a litle before. The conquest of the towne, tooke from the castell all hope of suretie, and yeelding to the fortune of the towne, it was rendred, reseruing the liues of them that were within. The people of *Millan* were vniuersally glad for this successe, but as there is no worldly blisse without his bale, and no prosperitie so absolute which is not intangled with alteration, so the aduersitie that hapned by it was far greater without comparison, then their ioy, for that by transporting to *Millan* the spoiles & booties of *Biagrassa*, where the plague was, they brought wrapt vp in the packes of their wealth and riches, the feedes of that pestilent contagion, which spread it selfe so vniuersally ouer all complexions, that within few moneths, there dyed only in *Millan*, more then fiftie thousand bodies. But the force & strength of the warre was on the other side *Tbesin*, where the Admirall after the losse of *Sartirano*, and discerning the enemies to approach him of new, abandoned *Mortaro*, and retired in two remoues, to *Nonaro*: his numbers were much diminished, for that not onely many of his footemen, but also certaine of his men at armes, were stolen from the campe and returned into *Fraunce*: by which weakenesse, the Admirall was driuen to temporise vntill the supplies of the *Swissers* were come, who were already neare to *Turea*, & almost eight thousand fighting bodies. On the other side, the Emperours Captaines studying to stop their coming, and to reduce the enemies into difficultie of victuals, made themselves Lordes of the townes neare to *Nonaro*, making slaughter of those vnhappy Frenchmen which they found in garrison: and after they had bestowed within *Verceill*, certaine bandes of souldiers, to defend the *Swissers* for entring there, they went to encampe at *Biandra* betweene *Verceill* & *Nonaro*, in a place enuironed on all parts with ditches, trees, and waters; matters of great importance to the fortification of a place.

At last the Admirall vnderstanding that the *Swissers* that had passed *Turea*, were stayed a long the riuer of *Stessa*, which they could not passe ouer for the great abundance of waters there, and desirous to ioine them to his armie, more to go away in suretie, then to fight with the enemy, he went from *Nonaro* to lodge at *Romagnia* vpon the shores of the same riuer: where, what by the want and necessitie of victuals, and the continuall diminution of his men, he was driuen to build a bridge betweene *Romagnia* and *Catimara*: and on the other side, the enemies, being come from *Biandra* to *Briona*, went to incampe within two myles of *Romagnia*. The Frenchmen discerning vpon what straiter termes they stood, brake vp and passed the riuer the day following, when it was beleueed, that if the enemies had bene carefull to watch their discamping, they had carried that day a most glorious & full victorie. But the Captaines being deuided in opinion & counsell, some bearing a forward desire to fight, & others to let them go without charging them, their emulations would not suffer them to vse the occasion that was offered. It seemed also that the army was not gouerned as appertained, for that as the Marquis of *Pesquero* only, proceeding in all

The Frenchme
go from before
Ad illan.

his actions with his accustomed valour, seemed worthy in whom should be reposed the whole direction of affaires, so there were others that bare enuie to his vertue, and they seeking to darken his glory by detracting his doings, were content to put to hazard the whole estate of the war, rather then to ioyne themselues to his counsels. But albeit the armie Imperiall was not in sufficient time aduertised of the discamping of the Frenchmen, yet after it was once knowne, many light horsemen and many bands of footemen passed the foord of the riuer without order, & without ensignes, and followed them with such diligence, that they ouertooke the rearegard and began to skirmish with it: and albeit the Frenchmen, sometimes fighting, and sometimes marching, receiued the charge & sustained it a long time, yet in the end being not able to flie with the same valour wherewith they were followed, they were constrained to leaue on the place seuen peeces of their artilleries, a great proportion of their munitions, with no small quantitie of victuals, & many of their horsemen and footemen put to the sword, besides the losing of many of their ensignes. The Frenchmen made as though they would incampe at *Cattinaro* which is within a myle of *Romagna*, and vnder that semblance, they caused secretly to passe on their artilleries and baggage. But as the enemies who beleeued they would incampe there, had begun to retire themselues, so they drew to *Rauislingua* towards *Turea* which is fixe miles further. The Imperials without any impediment, incamped the same night vpon the riuer, which they passed immediatly vpon the rising of the Moone: but they were not followed of the *Venetians*, for that being entred vpon the lāds of the Duke of *Sauoy*, they thought they had passed the bonds of confederatiō, by the which they were bound to no further matter then to the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*. The Frenchmen marched with slow pāse in battell array, and had bestowed in the arearegard, the bandes of *Swissers*, by whom were repulsed the first horsemen and footmen that came in disorder to charge them: and albeit the French by this time were gone from *Rauislingua* about two miles, yet the Marquis of *Pesquero*, arriuing with his light horsemen, they were estoones recharged, not that they forbore notwithstanding to march, although Captaine *Chabanes* was slaine, and Captaine *Bayard* made prisoner, hauing a wound with a shot whereof he dyed within few dayes after. But the Marquis looking into the good order the enemies kept, and no lesse carefull not to follow his fortune further thē good counsell called him, notwithstanding many bāds of souldiers were come to him, yet he thought not good to pursue the enemies further, both for that he was vnfurnished of artilleries, & had not with him but one part of the army. By which meane the French were deliuered of further troubles, & returned together with the *Swissers* to their houses, hauing left at *Vauzy* beyond *Turea*, fifteene peeces of artilleries in the gard of three hundred *Swissers* & one of the Lords of the countrey: but those artilleries were no better preserved thē the others, for that the Emperors Captaines hauing aduertisemēt of them, sent out to take them. After this the Victors deuided the selues into diuerse parts: the Duke of *Vrbino* was sent to *Loda*, and the Marquis of *Pesquero* to *Alexandria*, which two Cities only were holden for the king, for that *Nonaro* was rendred, being fearefull of the Duke of *Millan* and *Iohn de Medicis* drawing thither with their forces: the *Viceroy* was appointed to go against the Marquis of *Rothelin* who was come ouer the Mounts with foure hundred Launces, neuertheless as soone as he vnderstood of the fortune of the Admirall, & that he was retired, he returned also into *Fraunce*, holding it vaine for him to follow further the enterprise when the principall forces were dispersed: besides, *Monsieur de Bussie* and *Iulio S. Serrin* to whom was committed the gard of *Alexandria*, made no resistance. In like sort *Federike*, after he had demanded respite of a few dayes, to know if the Admirall were passed the Mountes, compounded to yeeld vp *Loda*, vpon the condition that was accorded to them of *Alexandria*, so leade into *Fraunce* the bandes of *Italian* footemen, who containing a regiment of fīue thousand men, did speciall seruice to the king afterwards. This was the end of the warre that was managed against the Duchie of *Millan* vnder the gouernement of the Admirall of *Fraunce*: by the which, neither the Kings power being much weakened, nor the rootes of harmes remoued, much lesse that so many calamities were cleane takē away, seeing they were but deferred to another season, and *Italie* in the meane while remaining discharged of troubles present, but not of suspicion of further aduersities to come: and yet the Emperour no lesse by the incitation of the Duke of *Burbon*, then by the hope that the authoritie & name of that man might serue him to speciall purpose, was of minde to transferre the warre into *France*, to the which also the King of *England* shewed a readinesse and disposition.

In the beginning of this yeare, the Emperour had sent his campe to *Fontarabie*, a towne of very small circuit, standing vpon the debatable lands that deuide *Fraunce* from *Spaine*: and albeit the towne was very well manned, and furnished with artilleries and victuals, and leasure sufficient to them with *to* make it fortified, yet the fortifications being ill made through the ignorance of the Frenchmen, the towne lay open to the furie of the enemies, who heaping vpon the defendants one necessitie after another, constrained them at last to giue it vp onely with the safetie of their liues. He was not satisfied with the recouerie of this place, but stretching his thoughts further, he made his ambition no lesse then his fortune, and in those conceites being raised to further enterprise, he kept no reckening of the comforts and authoritie of the Pope, who hauing sent in the beginning of the yeare, to the Emperour, the French King, and to the King of *England*, to sollicite a peace or a truce, he found their mindes very ill disposed to giue ouer the warre. For, the French King, consenting to a truce for two yeares, refused to make peace, for the small hope he had to obtaine thereby such conditions as he desired: and the Emperour reiecting the truce, by the which was giuen good time to the French King to reordaine his forces to follow a new war, desired to haue peace. And touching the King of *England*, any sort of composition that was offered to be made by the Popes meanes, was displeasing to him, as in whom was alwayes a desire that the treatie of the accord might be wholly referred to him. To this he was induced by the ambitious counsels of the Cardinall of *Torke*, who (seruing as a true example in our dayes of an immoderate pride) notwithstanding he was of very base condition, and no lesse abiect for his parents and descending, yet he was risen to such an estate of authoritie and grace with the King, that in most of the actions of the realme, the Kings will seemed nothing without the approbation of the Cardinall: as of the contrary, whatsoever the Cardinall did deliberate, was either absolute, or at least had very great force. But both the King and his Cardinall kept dissembled with the Emperour that thought, and by apparances shewed a very forward inclination to moue warre against the realme of *Fraunce*, which the King of *England* pretended lawfully to appertaine to him: he grounded his claime vpon these reasons: King *Edward* the third, after the death of the French King *Charles* the fourth called the faire, who died without issue male in the yeare of our saluatio 1328. & of whose sister the said King *Edward* the third was borne, made instance to be declared king of *France*, as next heire male to the French king deceased: neuerthelesse he was put by, by the generall Parliament of the realme, wherein it was set downe, that by vertue of the law *Salyke* an auncient law of that kingdome, not onely the persons of women were made vnable to the succession of the crowne, but also all such as descended and came of the womens line were excluded: but he not satisfied with this order brought in to take away his right, armed himselfe soone after, and taking vpon him the title of the King of *Fraunce*, he inuaded the realme with a mightie army: and as in that action he obtained many victories both against *Philip de Valois*, published by vniuersall consent lawfull successour to *Charles* the faire, and also against King *Iohn* his sonne; who being ouerthrowne in battell, was led prisoner into *England*: so after long warres he forbore further to vex the realme, and making peace with the sayd *Iohn*, he retained many Prouinces and estates of the kingdome, and renounced the title of King of *Fraunce*: but after this composition which was neither of long continuance, nor of great effect, the quarrell was eftsoones renewed, & sometimes followed with long warres, and sometimes discontinued with tedious truces: vntill at last King *Henrie* the fift entring confederacie with *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, who bare a minde estranged from the Crowne of *Fraunce*, for the murder done vpon Duke *Iohn* his father, preuailed so much against *Charles* the sixt somewhat simple of vnderstanding, that he commaunded almost the whole kingdome together with the towne of *Paris*: and finding in that Citie the French King accompanied with his wife and the Lady *Katherine* his daughter, he tooke to wife the sayd Lady, and brought the King to consent (hauing no great vse of wit) that after his death the kingdome should appertaine to him and to his heires, notwithstanding his sonne *Charles* did suruiue him. By vertue of which title, as soone as he was dead, his sonne King *Henrie* the sixt was solemnly crowned at *Paris*, and proclaimed King of *England* and *Fraunce*: and albeit, after the death of *Charles* the sixt, his sonne *Charles* the seuenth, by reason of great warres hapning in *England* betweene the Lordes of the bloud royall, had chased the English out of all that they held in *France*, except the towne and territories of *Callice*, yet the kings of *England* did not leaue for all that to continue and vse the title of King of *Fraunce*. These causes might haply moue King

The claime of
the Kings of
England to the
Crowne of
Fraunce.

Henrie the eight to the war, the rather also for that he stood more assured in his Realme then any of his predecessours had done: for that the Kings of the house of *Yorke* (that was the name of one factiō) hauing suppressed the kings of the house of *Lancaster* (which was the other factiō) & the partakers with the house of *Lancaster* seeing there was no more remaining of that iuse, railed to the kingdome *Henry* of *Richmond* for his proximitie and nearenesse with them. Who after he had subdued his aduersaries, to the end he might raigne with more suretie and with more authoritie, tooke to wife one of the daughters of *Edward* the last King but one of the house of *Yorke*: by which coniunction of houses, all the rights and claimes of both the one and the other houses, were absolutely and lawfully transferred into the person of king *Henrie* the eight borne of that marriage. These houses for the ensignes and cognizances that they bare, were called commonly the *Red rose* and the *White rose*.

But touching the mouing of the king of *England* to make warres in *Fraunce*, he was not so much caried by hope to winne the Realme of *Fraunce* by armes, for that he was not ignorant of the innumerable difficulties that would contend against him, as he was importunately pushed on by the ambitious desire of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who layed this plot, that the long and tedious trauels & infinite necessities of the warre, would in the end bring his king to be the only arbitratour and appointer of the peace: and knowing that the negociation of it should depend much of his authoritie, he thought in one time both to make his name great through all the world, and also to entertaine himselfe in the good grace and liking of the French king, to whom he shewed secretly to beare some good inclination: and therefore the king of *England* sought not to bind himselfe to those conditions, whereunto it was necessarie he should be bound if he had had a forward minde to so great a warre.

Thus the Emperour was stirred vp to the warre by that occasion, but much more by a hope, that through the fauour, authoritie, and popular opinion which the Duke of *Burbon* caried in that kingdome, the commons of the Realme would draw to commotion: and therefore notwithstanding he was aduised by many of his firme & assured friends, that both for his want of money, which brings no small impediments to enterprises, and for the doubt of his confederats, whose fidelitie was vncertaine, he would giue ouer to begin a warre so hard and intricate, and consent that the Pope might treat vpon the surceasing of armes: yet he capitulated with the king of *England* and Duke of *Burbon* in this sort: That the Duke should enter the Realme of *Fraunce* with that part of the armie that was in *Italie*: and as soone as he should be ouer the Mounts, the king of *England* to pay an hundred thousand duckats for the despayments of the first moneth of the warre: That it should be in the election of the sayd king either to continue this contribution from moneth to moneth, or else to passe into *Fraunce* with a strong army to make warre from the first day of *Iulie* vntill the end of *December*: and in that case the countreys of *Flanders* to furnish him of three thousand horse, a thousand footemen, and sufficient artilleries and munitions: That if the victorie fell to them, there should be rendred to the Duke of *Burbon*, all those lands which the French king had taken from him: That *Prouence* should be transferred to him, to the which he already pretended by the resignation that was made after the death of *Charles* the eight, by the Duke of *Lorraine*, to *Anne* Duchesse of *Burbon*: That he should hold it by the title of king of *Prouence*: That first he should make an oath to the king of *England* as to the king of *Fraunce*, and do him homage, which if he did not performe, then this capitulation to be voyde: That the Duke of *Burbon* should not treat nor practise nothing with the French king without the consent of them both: That the Emperour at the same time should make warre on that side towards *Spaine*: Lastly that the Embassadours of the Emperour & the King of *England* should procure the Potentates of *Italie* to be concurrant with their money in this enterprise, to the end to be for euer assured against the war of the French; a matter which neuer sorted to effect, for that the Pope did not onely refuse to contribute, but blamed expressly the enterprise, prophesying that not onely it would haue an ill successe in *Fraunce*, but also it would be the cause to returne the warre againe vpon *Italie*, and that with a greater puissance and perill then before. The Duke of *Burbon* refused constantly to acknowledge the king of *England* for king of *Fraunce*: and albeit after the confederation was made, he gaue counsell to march with the armie towards *Lyon*, to the end to draw neare his owne landes and countreys: yet it was resolutely determined, that he should passe into *Prouence*, both for that the Emperour should with more facilitie send him succours out of *Spaine*, and also

to be more apt to take the service and opportunity of the army by sea, which was in preparing at *Genes* by the commandment and with the money of the Emperour. The Marquis of *Pesquero* was declared Captain General for the Emperour in this warre, for that he could not be brought to obey the Duke of *Burbon*. The plot and proceedings of this expedition were, that the Duke of *Burbon* and with him the Marquis, should passe to *Nice*, and yet with forces farre lesse then such as were appointed, for that where, to the forces they had already with them which was five hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horsemen, four thousand footmen *Spaniards*, three thousand *Italians*, and five thousand Launceknights, there should have bene ioyned three hundred men at armes of the army in *Italie*, and five thousand other Launceknights: these last companies failed to come for want of money, and the *Freeroy* kept retained the men at armes for the guard of the countrey, having no meane to wage new companies of footmen according to the resolution set downe in the first counsels, to the end to make head against *Michael Angelo* Marquis of *Salusse*, who being departed from his estate, kept vpon the Mountaines with a thousand footmen. There was added to this, that the Emperours army at sea (one of their principall hopes) being guided by *Don Hugo de Moncado*, a man of much malice and wickednesse of life, & a creature of the Duke *Valentino*, appeared far inferiour to the naue of the French king, which being parted from *Marseilles*, was stayed in the port of *Villefranche*. Neuerthelesse the Emperours army entred into *Prouence*, where were *Monsieur de la Palisse*, Captain *Fayette*, *Ranse de Cere*, & *Federike Bossolo*, all Captaines of the French king, & were now withdrawn into towne, for that they were not strong enough to make head in the field. One part of the army drew along the sea side, and tooke the tower that commaundeth the port of *Toulon*, where were taken two Cannons that were drawn to the army. Besides, the towne of *Aix* (which for his authoritie and for that the Parliament is there resident, is one of the chiefe townes of *Prouence*) was rendred, whose example drew with it many other townes of the countrey. The Duke of *Burbon* in whom was no lesse emulation then valour, desired that from *Aix* the army might march further leauing the sea side, wherein he perswaded that seeking to passe the riuer of *Rhosne*, there might be lost no time to enter deeper into the bodie and intrals of *Fraunce*, whilest the kings provisions were yet but weak and not confirmed: for, by reason the king was consumed of treasure and money, the men at armes of *Fraunce* had suffered much, and were verie ill payed, and also not expecting that his enemies would passe out of *Lombardie* into *Fraunce*, his forces and companies of men of warre were fallen into that disorder that they could not be readressed with such speede. Besides, the King having no confidence in the valour of the footmen of his owne kingdom, was constrained before he could march into the field, to tatie for the committing of certaine footebandes of the *Swissers* and Launceknights: during which expectation, as the Duke of *Burbon* thought he should be able to do some matter of importance in passing ouer *Rhosne*, so the Marquis of *Pesquero* with the other *Spanish* Captaines were of an other aduise: they desired that both for the opportunity of the sea, and to satisfie the intencion of the Emperour, *Marseilles* might be conquered; a haue most conuenient to vex the Realme of *Fraunce* with sea armies, and also no lesse apt to passe in safetie out of *Spaine* into *Italie*. These Captaines what by the authoritie of their multitude, and the efficacy of their reasons, so preuailed against the will of the Duke of *Burbon*, that they pitched their campe before *Marseilles*, wherein was newly entred *Ranse de Cere* with those bandes of footmen which had bene led into *Fraunce* from *Alexandria* and *Loda*. They lay fortie dayes before *Marseilles* without doing any exploit of marke or memorie: and albeit they executed the wals in many places with their artilleries, and not preuailing with batteries laboured to worke their entrie by myning, yet they found objected many difficulties, and their great labours resisted both by the fortune and fortification of the towne: they had contending against their industrie, the strength of the wall bearing an auncient forme and building: the valour of the defendants most resolute in the quarrell of their libertie: the disposition of the people, bearing great deuotion to the name of the French King, and verie hatefull to the glorie of the *Spaniards*: And lastly the hope of succours aswell by sea as land, for that the French King was come to *Anignon*, (a Citie of the Popes; standing vpon the riuer of *Rhosne*) where he assembled with great diligence, a mightie army. Moreouer want of money began to fall vpon the Emperours Captaines, and their hopes no lesse diminished that the French King being

inuaded in other places, would be letted to conuert to one onely part all his forces & prouisions: for that the king of *England* notwithstanding he had sent to the Duke of *Burbon* Maister *Richard Pafe*, did both refuse to pay the hundred thousand duckats for the second moeth, and also made slender shewes to moue warre in *Picardie*: no, hauing receiued into *England* *John Ioa- chin de Spetto* whom the French King had sent to him, and also the Cardinall of *York* making straunge answers to the Emperours Embassadours, he gaue the Duke great occasion both to doubt and distrust him. And touching *Spaine* and the expectation there, the powers and forces did not aunswer the wils of men nor the promises that were made: The reason was, for that the Courtes of *Castille* (so are called the congregations of the Deputies assembled in the name of the whole kingdome) had refused to ayde the Emperour with foure hundred thousand duckats; a contribution which they are wont to make both in the great neede of their king, and vpon any action of importance: by which occasion there could no money be sent to the armie that was in *Prouence*, & much lesse any leaue of men made against the French king in the frontiers of *Spaine*, other then very weake, and not worthy to beare reckening: so that the Imperiall Captaines, both despairing to take *Marseilles*, & also fearing to runne into some greater danger when the King should approach, brake vp their campe the same day that the King set from *Auignon* with his whole armie, hauing also marching with him a regiment of sixe thousand *Swissers*.

The French king
determineth to
passe the mountes
and follow the
enemie.

The same reasons that moued the Imperiall Captaines to leaue their siege from before *Marseilles*, caried them also to turne their faces towardes *Italie*. And as in men there is nothing more violent then the passion of feare, whose motions are swifter then the wings of the wind, so in the Imperials was seene no lesse diligence to hasten into *Italie*, the to breake vp their siege, shewing one care to preuent the perill that might fall vpon them, if either all or part of the French Kings armie should encounter them in the countrey of the enemie. And on the other side, the King saw a faire occasion offered to recouer his Duchie of *Millan*, what by the puissance of the armie he had leauied, by the fidelitie of his Captaines, by the plentie of his prouisions, by the intelligence he had of the weakenesse of his enemies, and lastly by his hope, that taking the nearest way, he should bring his armie into *Italie* afore those that went from *Marseilles*. In which estate and aduantage of things, he determined to ioyne industrie to the present oportunitie, and to follow the benefite that fortune presented to him: he imparted this resolution with all the Captaines of the armie, to whom he declared, that as he had vowed in himselfe an irrevocable promise to passe in person into *Italie*, so whosoever would rise vp to counsell him the contrarie, much lesse that he would graunt him audience, seeing he would not forbear to hold him in ill opinion and affection: That therefore euerie one should go to his charge, and shew the same will to execute the enterprize, which they had done to consult and to conclude it. That God who was a louer of iustice, and the insolencie and rashnesse of the enemies, had at last layed open a meane to reconquer that that had bene violently rauished from him against law, equitie, and reason: That they had to doubt no more of the victorie then for his part, he distrusted their valours, for that God doth alwayes accompanie an innocent cause with a happy successe. To these wordes was correspondent, both his constancie in deliberation, and his celeritie in execution, for that he commaunded immediatlie his armie to march, wherein were two thousand Launces and twentie thousand footemen. He tooke a contrarie way because he would not meete with the Ladie Regent his mother, who was come from *Auignon* to debate with him not to passe the Mountes in person, but to performe the warre in *Italie* by his Captaines. He gaue order to *Ranſe de Cere* to furnish his Gallies with those bandes of footemen which he had at *Marseilles*: and to auoyd all practises and negociations of peace, or at least that he somewhat distrusted the Pope, he forbad to passe further the Archbishop of *Capua* that was dispatched to him and so to go to the Emperour: He sent him word to tarie for him at *Auignon* in the Court of his mother, and negotiate with him by letters, or else to returne againe to the Pope: so firmelie had he fixed his minde vpon the warre, that nothing was more hatefull to him then to heare speake of peace, against the which he had closed his eares and shut vp all inclination: and in that resolution he followed the enemies in the meane while with the greatest diligence he could: but they making small reckening of the harmes and domages which the paylants did to them, marched alwayes in good order along the sea side: at last they got to *Monaco*, and there they brake into peeces their attilleries, which

for

For more facilitie of cariage , they laded their Mulets withall: as soone as they came to *Finalo*, they vnderstood with what hast the King marched after, which made them double their pasc, to the end to be able in good leason to defend the Duchie of *Millan*, wherein were not remaining forces sufficient to make resistance.

Thus both the one and the other armie drawing towards *Italie* , the same day that the French King came to *Verceill* , the Marquis of *Pesquiero* arriued at *Albo* with the horsemen and bandes of *Spanish* footemen , being followed one dayes iourney behind by the Duke of *Burbon* and the Launceknights : the Marquis not taking leysure to pawse , or scarcelie to breath , went the day following from *Albo* to *Vogniero* being fortie miles distant , to the end he might the next day get into *Pauia* : and there he ioyned his forces with the *Viceroy* who was come thither from *Alexandria* , for the gard of which towne he had left a strength of two thousand footemen : this was in a time when the French armie began to draw fast vpon the shores of the riuer *Tesin* , their diligence in marching being farre swifter then was the opinion of the enemies . In this place they consulted with *Ieronimo Moron* of the estate of their common affaires, wherein their first deuise was , that leauing sufficient garrison within *Pauia* , they should dispose all their forces to the defence of *Millan*, according to the obseruation and custome of the other warres. In this counsell, it was set downe that *Moron* should go thither forthwith to make prouision for things necessarie, & the Duke of *Millan* to follow him who they had sent for: and they their with companies marched the right way to *Millan*, after they had left within *Pauia*, *Anthoine de Leua* with three hundred men at armes, fise thousand footemen being all *Spaniards*, except certaine Launceknights: but such was the desolation within *Millan*, that being still afflicted with the great plague that had runne through the towne all the summer, the Citie was sore shaken, and litle remaining of the former apparence and countenance: The sickenesse had consumed infinite numbers of the people and bodies of good seruice , and many had abandoned the Citie to auoyde that mortall perill of their liues : it contained such prouisions of victuals as it was wont to do : the meanes to taxe and leaue money began to grow hard and desperate : and touching the fortifications , the aduersitie of the sickenesse had taken away all care and remembrance of them , yea through the negligence of that time , all the bulwarkes and rampiers lay reuerfed to the ground : Such are the domages of an vniuersall negligence , which euen amid perils that be manifest and apparant , takes away the studie of things that most concerne safetie and defence . And yet albeit the townes-men and popular inhabitants , expressed no want of readinesse to lay themselves downe to all daunger, and suffer all trauell whosoever : yet *Moron* iudging by the present estate and desolation of the towne, that to enter with an armie , would be more to the ruine then to the defence of the Citie , tooke another counsell , which he published in the presence of a great assemblie of the townesmen in this maner of speeches . We may say now and with the same perturbation of minde , the like wordes which our Sauour Christ powred out in the middelt of his perplexities : Truly the spirit is ready , but the flesh is weake : I know that in you wanteth not the same affection which hath alwayes caried you to honour , obey , and defend your Lord *Frauncis Sforce* : and I am not ignorant , that in him do make right deepe impressions the calamities and daungers of his deare people , for whose safetie as I know he wanteth no inclination to offer vp his life and all his mortall estate , so in your faces I discerne an vniuersall readinesse to recompence him with the same compassion : But what auaieth it to be resolute, where fortune hath made greater the perils & dangers, then either reason or nature can make assured the hope, and how vainely is employed that fidelitie which is not accompanied with his due respectes to time , place , and propertie of things . I see your forces are nothing aunswerable to your good wils and inclinations , for that your towne is made naked of people , your treasures drayned of money , your store houses consumed of victuals, and your fortifications reduced to extreame ruine; matters that of themselves do offer the Frenchmen to enter, without that you shall neede to beate open your gates or posternes. It brings no litle grieve to the Duke to be constrained to leaue you abandoned , but it would be more grieuous to him the death, if in seeking to defend you he should lead you to your last ruine and desolation . In so great a face and multitude of euils , it is holden for good discretion to make election of the least , and not to doubt of better, seeing it is giuen to mortall men to hope for all things and to dispayre in nothing. In matters of perill it is no shame to flie, when the flying profi-

"teth him that giueth place to his aduersarie, for this reason the Duke aduiseeth you to obey necessitie, and giue place to the fortune of the French King, reseruing your remedies for a better time, which we can not but hope will happen for your speedie restoring. To giue place to necessitie and follow the law of time, is an office duly appertaining to wise men: For the present, the Duke will neither abandon himselfe, nor giue you ouer in time to come. Make your sorrowes no greater then is the qualitie of your losse, and frame your mindes apt to receiue this consolation, that time triumpheth ouer all the aduersities of the world. You see your cause is iust, the power of the Emperour mightie, his fortune incredible, and your enemies no other men then such against whom your valours haue so oftentimes preuailed. God will behold your pietie towards the Duke, and his compassion towards his countrey: with him are layd vp the issues of warres, and in his sight is farre more acceptable the innocencie of your cause, then the might of your aduersarie. Lastly I wish you all to remaine thus resolute, that suffering for a good end that which our present necessitie doth constraine vs vnto, that mightie God whose rule goeth through all, will take to himselfe the reuenge of our proud enemies, & by a glorious victorie, redeeme vs from those afflictions which we haue suffered so long in his sight. After these wordes, he dismissed the assemblie, and causing victuals to be put within the Castle, he issued out of the towne.

The Duke not knowing any thing of that which *Moron* had done at *Millan*, tooke his way to go thither: but immediatly after he was come out of *Pania*, he met with *Ferrant Castriot* hauing the conduct of the artillerie, who signifying to him that part of the enemies were passed *Thefin*, and that they had ouerthrowen Captaine *Succhar* & *Eurgonion* with his light horsemen vpon the shores of the riuer, he returned to *Pania*, fearing to finde ambushes and impediments in the way. And albeit the Duke & *Moron* had proceeded with sinceritie in these causes, yet the Emperours captaines who were with the armie at *Binasquo*, being iealous least they had secretly contracted with the French king, sent to *Millan* Captaine *Alarcon* with two hundred Launces, either to follow him or to lye still according to the aduertisements that should be giuen. He was no sooner arriued there, then the people who were already compounded with certaine exiles that negociated in the Kings name, began to take hart and to publish the name of the Emperour and *Frauncis Sforce*. But Captaine *Alarcon*, waighing with the litle hope that remained of defence, the nearenesse of the French vauward which was then at hand, issued out of the gate called *Rome* gate, and tooke the way to *Loda*, whither was also marched the whole armie. This was at the same time that the enemies began to enter by the gates of *Thefin* and *Verceill*, who, if they had not turned towards *Millan*, but put vpon them the chase and pursuing of the Emperours armie, both being wearie with marching, & hauing lost many of their men at armes & horses, it was beleeued for certaine, that they had put the armie to the shooke and defeated with facilitie the forces which afore they feared. And moreover, if after they were approched to *Millan*, they had with the same diligence drawne towards *Loda*, either the Emperours Captaines would not haue dared to stay there, or at least passing with diligence the riuer of *Adada*, they had with the same fortune and facilitie put to disorder the residue of the enemies. But the King who haply supposed it a matter of great importance to establish and assure at his deuotion *Millan*, a towne which had made the most principall resistance against him, or haply being caried with some other cause, he did not only draw to the Citie of *Millan*, wherein he would not enter nor suffer the armie to enter, but stayed to bestow in it sufficient garrison, and to giue direction for besieging the Castell, wherein were seuen hundred *Spanish* footmen. He forbad, to the great prayse of his modestie and clemencie, that no displeasures should be done to the inhabitants, seeking by that insinuation to reduce a people whom he saw vntractable by all other meanes: after he had published his directions at *Millan*, he turned his armie towards *Pania*, not holding it conuenient for the estate of his affaires, to leaue behind his backe a Citie wherein were so many souldiers. The King had in his armie (reckening those that remained at *Millan*) two thousand Launces, eight thousand Launceknights, sixe thousand *Swissers*, sixe thousand foreriders or aduenturers, and foure thousand *Italians*: the number of these last increased much afterwarde.

About this time, the Marquis of *Pesquero* was got within *Loda* with two thousand footmen: & the *Viceroy* hauing reuietualled the townes of *Alexandria*, *Coma*, & *Tressa*, was entred into *Sonzin*: with him entred *Frauncis Sforce* & *Charles Burbon*, who amid so many difficulties & distressed drew to them some courage by the going of the king to *Pania*: they thought to readdress their compa-

companies if the defence of that Citie would giue them libertie: & to that purpose they sent into *Germany* to leaue sixe thousand footmen, with the payes of whom & other expences necessarie, there was prouision made with the fiftie thousand ducets which the Emperour had sent to *Genes*, to employ them in the warres of *Prource*: but the thing that gaue chiefe impediment to their counsels, was the necessity and want of money which they suffered: for neither had they meane to draw any out of the Duchie of *Milau*, and lesse hope to obtaine of the Emperour for his disability any other matter then a commission to offer to be sold at *Naples* the most of the reuenues of the kingdome: and touching their ancient confederates, they expected none at all or verie litle reliefe neither of money nor men: for that as the Pope and *Florentines* ioyntly being sued vnto for some contribution of money, gaue them nothing but generall words and hopes more hurting the curing their calamities: so the Pope alone, who after the Admirall was gone out of *Italie* stood resolutely fixed not to intangle himselfe further in the warres betweene the Emperour and the French king, would neuer renew the confederation made with his predecessor, nor contract new leagues with any Prince: and which more is, notwithstanding he declared himselfe inclined to the Emperour and the king of *England*, yet he had made a secret promise afore to the French king, not to be any impediment to him in the recouerie of his Duchie of *Milau*. Moreouer, when the *Venetians* were required by the *Viceroy* to furnishe those bands of souldiers which they were bound vnto by the capitulations of the league; albeit they did not flatly refuse them, yet their answers were but cold and contained small hope: their intention was to accomodate their counsels according to the traine and proceeding of things, wherein they were caried by one of these reasons: either for that in many of them was renewed the memorie of their ancient alliance with the French king, or else they iudged that he could not but remaine victorious in regard of his valour, his fortune, but specially the mighty forces he brought into *Italy* against enemies of so slender preparation and worse prouision; or lastly, for that the Emperours ambition was more suspected to them then before, for that he had not inuested *Francois Sforce* in the Duchy of *Milau*; a matter which the states of *Italy* did no lesse maruell at then grievously complaine vpon: in this maner of doing also they were much caried by the authority of the Pope, to whose counsels and example they bare no small respect in those times.

The French king made his approach to *Pavia* on the lower side betweene the riuer of *Tbesin*, and the way that leadeth to *Milau*: and after he had incamped his vaungard within the suburbs of *S. Anthonie* beyond *Tbesin* vpon the way that goeth to *Genes*, he bestowed himselfe in the Abbey of *S. Lanfranke* which is within a mile of the walles: there he drew into consideration all the wayes that could be deuised for the exploit of the towne, either how much the situation did help, or what might be hoped for by the industrie of men, which parts were weakest for want of fortification, and how to leaue the difficulties where were shewes of resistance, yea he made a counsell with his Captaines of all things tending to such a seruice: & after resolution set downe, he aduanced his artilleries, with the which for two dayes together he battred the walles in two places, and afterwards raunging his armie into aray of battell, he began to giue the assault: but in the verie first charge he caused effoones to sound the retrait, both finding the rampiers within verie strong and furnished, and the assurance and valour of the defendants resolute and singular, and also discerning in his owne souldiers manifest signes of feare by the spectacle of their fellowes slaine in the charge: with this also he considered how hard it would be to take by assault a towne that had for her defence so many braue men of warre, so many naturall impediments, so many artificiall difficulties; and lastly, so plentifully prepared of all those things which either experience, industrie, or counsell could prouide, that there was nothing wanting which might be made for the helpe of their danger, nor nothing vsed to their helpe which was not hurtfull to the enemy: therefore he deuised to cast trenches and platformes, wherein he employed the labour of a great number of pyoners, by whose working he sought to cut off the flanks, to giue more libertie to his souldiers when they should approach: and as to his desire to besiege the towne; there was wanting no will to follow the exploit with charges and expences, so albeit the worke was long and hard, yet he caused to make mines in many places, hoping to preuaile by that engine, though in all other wayes should fall out imperfection or errour: the riuer there about two miles aboue *Pavia* separates it selfe into two armes or hornes, and carying his streame of one violence and swiftnesse somewhat below the towne, he meeteth in one againe afore he fall into *Pavia*.

The king deuised to take the oportunitie of this riuer, wherein vsing the counsell of diuerse enginists and water workemen skilfull in the course of the streame, he determined to turne that arm of the riuer that passeth on that side to *Pania*, and to make it fall into the lesser, which they call *Gravellone*: his hope was to preuaile with greater facilitie on that side, for that the wall by reason of his suretie, which the depth of the water did giue, was not any way rampired: the number of the defendants was so great aboue his expectation, and their minds so resolute in valour and fidelitie, that he had no confidence of the victorie by any other meane then this: which made him consume many dayes in that worke, no lesse great for the labour, employing multitudes of men, then grievous for the expences, drawing with it many extraordinarie charges: The townes-men could not but be fearefull to see such a worke raised to do them harme, and yet subduing through a settled confidence those motions that made them timorous; the vertue of their minds brought them to contemne the thing that their nature and flesh made them to distrust and doubt: but such was the violent working of the water being much increased by certaine great raines and land-floods that were fallen, that it begā to reuerse the trenches & sluices which were made in the channel where the riuer was deuised to force the course of the water to enter into the lesser arme: and albeit the kings hopes made him both to recontinue the worke, and to thinke to be able to surmount the violence of the streame with the force of men and money, yet in the end experience gaue him to know, that the force of a water carying a violent course, can do more then either the trauell of men, or industrie of enginists. The priuation of this hope, together with the difficulties that were discerned to carie the towne by force, draue the king to a new counsell, wherein he determined to continue the siege, with the long tract and continuance whereof, he was not without hope to reduce the defendants into necessitie of rendring.

During these preparations and actions, the Pope hearing of the taking of *Millan*, was not a little moued with the fortunes and happy beginnings of the French: and therefore amid such alteration of things; he studied to assure his proper affaires, dispatching for the same occasion to the French king, *Iohn Mathew Giberio* Bishop of *Verona*, who was of no lesse fidelitie and confidence with the Pope, then gracious and acceptable to the French king: he had in charge to go first to *Sonzin* to induce the *Viceroy* and the other Captaines to peace, communicating with them his legation to the king for the same cause: but finding them recomforted by the resistance of *Pania*, and no lesse assured in the hope of their proper valour, they made him a braue answer, that they had no deuotion to any composition which should giue to the king any one foot of land in the Duchie of *Millan*: he found in the king alike, or haply a more hard disposition, raising his heart into high hopes, both by the greatnesse of his armie, and also for the good meanes he had to continue it and increase it: a foundation wherupon he assured principally his passage into *Italy*, and not vnder a simple hope to preuent his enemies, notwithstanding he would say, that in effect it was already succeeded to him. The king nourished in himselfe an assured hope to carie *Pania*, which he battred with a continuall furie and execution of his artilleries: this hope was especially grounded vpon the works which he cast about the wals, such as he was assured could not be troubled by the enemies: for the want which they had of munitions: a matter easie to be discerned by the little number of shots which they made. He saw also into their penurie of victuals and bread, and was not without hope also to be able in time to turne the streame of *Tesin*; an action specially importing the aduancement of his victorie: and esteeming the conquest of *Millan* and *Genes*, a recompence farre vnworthy the expences he had made, and a reward too simple for so great a glorie, he raised his mind to higher thoughts, & in that ambitio deuised to inuade the kingdom of *Naples*, holding nothing the hardnesse of the enterprise in regard of his fortune & glorie, & more contemning the perill then well examining the parts and circumstances of it. But after all this, the principall cause of the Bishops legation was debated betweene the, and brought forth effect with verie little difficultie, both for that the Pope bound himselfe not to giue against the king any succours, either secret or manifest; in which couenant the *Florentines* did also communicate: and also the king receiued into his protection the Pope and the *Florentines*, comprehending especially the authority which the family of *Medici* had within *Florence*. It was agreed that this accord should not be published, but at such time as should seeme best to the Pope: neuer thelesse, albeit it came not for the present, to the knowledg of the Emperours Captaines, yet they entred dayly more & more into ialousie of the Pope: & therefore to be fully made assured of the certainty of his intention

intention, they dispatched to him *Martin* Abbot of *Nagero* Commissarie of the campe: his commission was to propound to the Pope at one time both hope and feare: for of the one part they made him aware of verie great things, & of the other they gaue him to vnderstand, that if the Emperour and the king came to the vttermoſt contention, the Emperour could not but hold for enemies and againſt him ſuch as ſtood in ſhew of neuters and indifferent: but the Pope answered, that nothing could be leſſe ſeeming to him, his eſtate and place, then to giue ouer neutrality in a time when warres ran betweene Chriſtian Princes, both for that the office of a Paſtour did ſo require it, and alſo ſtanding a neuter, he might with a greater authoritie interpoſe in the action of peace: of the parts and couenants whereof, he treated at the ſame time with the Emperour, at whoſe Court ſince the taking of *Millan* was arriued the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, to whom the *Ladie* Regent had giuen paſſport to go from *Lyon* into *Spaine*: where, after he had with the ſame reaſons excuſed the Pope in that he would not renue the league, a matter wherein the Emperour did inſtantly require him, when he vnderſtood the king drew towards *Italy*, he told him that in making peace or truce, he ought to lay aſide armes. But that which wrought in the Emperour an inclination to accord, was the difficulties wherein he ſaw his armie reduced, the ſlender means he had to make leauies of money to relieue the affaires of *Italy*, the full felicitie which followed the French king, and the ſuſpition that he had leaſt the king of *England* had ſecretly contracted with his enemy: he grounded that iealouſie vpon this reaſon, that not only he refuſed to ſend to the armie that was in *Lombardy* the fifty thouſand ducquets, for the which notwithstanding he had giuen order, and prouided at *Rome* for the warre of *Prouence*: but alſo he demaunded of the Emperour (ſuffering ſo great neceſſitie) both reſtitution of the money he had lent him, and alſo preſent payment of all ſuch ſummes as he was bound vnto: for, the Emperour ſince his paſſing into *Spaine* hauing a great deſire of coniunction with the king of *England*, and the better to remove all difficulties that might hold him in ſuſpence, bound himſelf to pay him that penſion which he had yearely of the French king, and to answer twenty thouſand ducquets for the penſions which the French king paid to the Cardinall of *Yorke* and others, together with thirty thouſand ducquets payable to Queene *Blanch* the widow of king *Lewis*: of all which ſummes he had made no payment till that day: neuertheſſe the Emperour amid ſo many aduerſities, made answer that it was not a matter agreeing with his dignitie, to make any conuention ſo long as the French king lay vexing with armes and hoſtility the Duchy of *Millan*. This was his answer, no leſſe reſolute then worthy ſuch a greatneſſe of mind, being notwithstanding no leſſe afflicted in thought and ſpirit, then very ill diſpoſed of his perſon and body, being fallen into a feuer quartaine, either for the diſpleaſure he had conceiued, when the difficulties to take *Marſeilles* began to appeare, or for that his mind ill diſpoſed to giue place to the enemy, was not naturally made tractable by any difficulties, or for that he had a firme confidence in the vertue of his armie, if once they came to the batell; or laſtly, for that he promiſed to himſelfe, that hereafter the fauours of fortune would follow him with as full a gale as they had done in times paſt.

The French king during theſe actions, had determined to inuade the realme of *Naples*, hoping that the importance of that kingdom would moue the *Viceroy* either to abandon *Millan*, or at leaſt ſurceaſe armes vpon ill conditions; a thing which the king begā to deſire for the difficulties he ſaw to obtaine *Pavia*, and for that expedition it was ſet downe, that *Iohn Steward* Duke of *Albany*, iſſued of the blood of the kings of *Scotland*, ſhould march to the realme of *Naples* with two hundred launces, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen: theſe to be drawne out of the armie, the one halfe to be *Italians*, foure hundred *Swiſſers*, and the reſidue Launcet knights: and for the more glorie of the expedition and ſuretie of the victorie, *Ranſe de Cere* was appointed to ioine with them, and to deſcend at *Lyuorna* with thoſe bands of footemen that were leauied for the armie at ſea, which for the difficultie of neceſſarie prouiſions, was yet within the Bay of *Villefranche*: he had alſo ſent directions to the ſame *Ranſe* and the *Urſins*, to wage foure thouſand footmen in the country of *Rome*. This deliberation the French king ſignified to the Pope by his Embaſſour *Alberto* Earle of *Carpy*, by who he required the Pope of ſufferance to leauy bands of footmen at *Rome*, and to conſent to paſſage for his armie through the Church dominion. This demaund brought no litle grieve to the Pope, to whom it could not but be intollerable, that together with the Duchie of *Millan*, the crowne of *Naples* ſhould diuolue to the French king: but looking into the eſtate of the time, & leſſe hardy to make open reſuſal to the kings demand, he aduiſed

The French king ſendeth the Duke of Albany into the realme of Naples.

him only by way of counsell, not to embrace as yet that enterprise, and not to driue him to that necessitie not to accord to him that which for many iust regards he could not consent vnto: wherein he occupièd with him this wise discourse to proue the action to be against his proper weale and profite: That if in times past the desire to reconquer the Duchie of *Millan* had stirred vp so many enemies, much more would it moue in those dayes, and in that estate of affaires, which the world discerned that he aspired manifestly to the kingdome of *Naples*: That there was great perill least such an ambition would draw the *Venetians* to take armes for the Emperour, and to passe the bonds of their confederation: That he had to consider, that if his affaires found any difficultie in *Lombardy*, the war would proceed with small reputation in the realme of *Naples*: That if his warres and armies suffered declination in either of these two places, it would be a materiall cause to bring forth diminution to both: That lastly, he should remember what offices he had commended in him in putting vpon him a mind requisite in a Pope, and that therefore it was not conuenient to compell him now to do the contrary. But this discourse was made in vaine, for that the Duke of *Albanie* not attending for other answer, and withall halfe assured of the Popes consent, passed the riuer of *Paw* at the passage of *Stellaro*, which is in the Duchie of *Millan*: and yet the fift day after he turned backe againe by direction from the king, who vnderstanding that the Launceknights began already to arriue, & that the Duke of *Burbon* was gone to wage warre, thought best to reserue with himselfe his whole armie, vntill his campe were possessed of the new supply of *Swissers* and *Grisons* which he had sent to leaue. In this meane while were made many shewes and demonstrations of armes, though no action of importance was performed by neither partie: The king continued the siege before *Pania*, working continually at the trenches, & watching to vexè them within with his artilleries: and the Imperials stood quiet, expecting the returne of the Duke of *Burbon*: onely the Marquis of *Pesquero*, vpon whose prouidence and valour depended for the most part the counsels and executions of the whole affaires, issued one night out of *Loda* with two hundred horsemen and two thousand footemen: with which strength he surprisèd the towne of *Molzo*, being negligently garded by *Ieronimo* and *Iohn Fermo Truulè*, with two hundred horsemen, and in the action tooke prisoners all the Captaines with the most part of all their souldiers, of whom *Ieronimo* died not many dayes after of a blow which he receiued in fight. By this were arriued in the kings campe the bands of *Swissers* and *Grisons*, by reason of whose comming the Duke of *Albanie* repassed againe the riuer of *Paw* at *Stadello* vpon the countrey of *Plaisance*: from which inclination the Pope was not able to turne the king, nor that he did what he could, but haply solicited it with verie cold instance, for feare to make him enter into suspicion: and therefore he thought it now time both to manifest to the Imperials, the couenants he had made with him before, and also to renew the mention of the accord, hoping that no lesse the difficultie to obtaine *Pania*, then the daunger of the kingdome of *Naples* would make either partie lesse obstinate & lesse hard to embrace the accord: to those ends he sent *Paule Vettorio* to the *Viceroy* to signifie to him, that notwithstanding the means and meditations he had vsed, yet he could neuer diuert the French king from his purpose to invade the realme of *Naples*: and that (as touching his owne particular, least he should pull vpon himselfe the warre which he could not resist) he had no reason to giue impediment to his passage: neuerthelesse, albeit he was constrained by vehement compulsion to seeke his surety with him by new contracts, yet he wold neuer accord to any condition which might be preiudiciall to the Emperour: for whom, like as amid so many difficulties, he saw nothing more profitable nor reasonable thē to embrace peace: so to the end the negociatiō of peace might be aduanced afore the disorders grew greater or more immoderate, he perswaded the *Viceroy* to cōsent to a surceasing of armes, & to put into the hands of a person not suspected al those peeces in the Duchie of *Millan*, which as yet were holden in the name of the Emperour and the Duke. Vpon which doings and their full accomplishments, he hoped there would be found out some conuenient meane for peace, wherein he proponed this deuise, that the Duchy of *Millan* being wholly separate frō the crowne of *Fraunce*, the kings second son should be inuested therein by the Emperour, to whō in recōpence shold be transferred some cōpetent sum of money: that there should be ordained some reasonable estate and assignation for the Dukes of *Millan* & *Burbon*: and lastly, that the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentins* should be bound to cōfederate with the Emperour against the French king, in case he wold not obserue things promised. The Emperours Captaines discerned well of the difficulties and dangers wherein they stood, hauing

The Pope cō-
selleth the
Frēch king and
the Emperour
to peace.

At one time to support so great a warre in *Lombardy* in such an yniuersall want and necessitie of money, and to provide for the safety of the kingdome of *Naples*, being no lesse desperate of ayde from the Pope and *Florentines*, then very certaine that the *Venetians* would abandon them: who albeit they waged new bands offootmen, and studied to entertaine the Imperials in hope to obserue the articles of the league, yet they deferred the execution with diuerse excuses: in so much as the *Viceroy* being for his particular nothing estranged from the accord, inclined to draw with the army to the kingdome of *Naples* for the surety of the same: but the Councell being assembled vpon the matter, the reasons and authoritie of the Marquis of *Pesquero* preuailed, who expressing an equall correspondencie of wisdom and courage, proued how necessarie it was to passe ouer the account of all other dangers, and to fixe only vpon the warre of *Lombardy*, vpon whose victorie all other things had their expectation and depending: he said it was not the kings intentiō to inuade the realme of *Naples* with those armies and forces which could not so speedily be led into the kingdome, where both were multitudes of strong townes and an absolute resolution and certaintie of resistance, by those bodies whom it concerned (for their proper safety) to defend it: by which occasion as it might be sustained for certaine moneths, so in that respite & time it was likely that the warre of *Millan* would be determined, of which if they obtained the victorie, there could not but follow the speedy deliuering or rendring of *Naples*, yea though the Emperour had no other holds or peeces there then one only tower. That holding good in *Lombardy*, it were easie to be victorious ouer *Millan* and *Naples*: where in marching to *Naples* were the only way to loose *Millan*, and yet the kingdome not the more deliuered from daunger, for that the whole body of the warre would be transported thither: and being once reduced to a state of men vanquished, with what hopes can we returne thither againe? where of the contrarie, the enemies would enter with such a reputation and inclination of the people, who naturally either for feare or hatred, run before the fortune of the victor: that in the kingdome of *Naples* would be found no more defence then in the Duchy of *Millan*: that no other thing moued the French king standing as yet in doubt of the successe of *Lombardy*, both to deuide his armie and begin a new warre (the first still hanging and continuing) then the hope he had, that for the ouermuch care and ieaousie of the kingdome of *Naples*, they would at last leaue vnto him as a pray the estate of *Millan*: according to whose counsels and appetites, if the armie should moue that so often had triumphed in victory, it were no other thing then with eternall infamie to subiect to the vanquished, by cōpulsion of their threatnings, that honour, that reputation, and that estate of glorie, which so manie times we haue won vpon thē by our armes, by our valour, & by our weapons. This aduise was embraced, and as a sentence set downe & followed by the *Viceroy*, who accordingly dispatched to *Naples* the Duke of *Tracetta*, with direction to make as great leauies of mony as was possible, & recomend ouer the care and defence of the kingdome to *Afcanio Colomno* & the other Barons of the realme: and albeit he had modestly giuen answer to the Embassage presented to him from the Pope, yet he wrote to *Rome* letters full of seuerity & bitternesse, such as gaue manifest significatiō, that he wold not heare speake of the accord. By reason of this, the Pope declaring how he was pushed on by necessity, for that the Duke of *Albanie* aduanced dayly, published (not as a thing done before) that he had contracted with the French king vnder a simple promise not to offend one another: this he signified by writing to the Emperors Agents, alleaging the causes that induced him, but specially his necessities and perils increasing: and when the said writing was presented by *Iohn Corsi* Embassadour of *Florence* with words conuenient in such a case, the Emperour, who afore could not be perswaded that the Pope would abandon him in so great a danger, fell into no litle emotion and trouble of mind: he set before his eyes the sundrie hopes he had giuen him, confirmed by manie good offices and oblations: he conferred together the seuerall demonstrations of amitie, accompanied with no lesse tokens of constancy and firmnesse: lastly, making a iudgement betweene the former promises of the Pope, and his present effects, he burst out into publike passion against him, accusing with exclamation his frailtie & light condition: & in that heat of nature he answered the Embassadour, that neither hatred, nor ambition, nor any interest particular had stirred him vp to begin warre with the French king, but only the perswasions, the suggestions, and the authority of Pope *Leo*, who (as he said) was drawne vnto it by the Pope reigning, being at that time Cardinall of *Medici*, & perswaded him with great vehemency of reasons, that it was a matter of great importance for the publike safety and vniuersal benefite, not to suffer the French king to possesse any

thing in *Italy*: That the same Cardinal was the author of the confederation made for that cause before the death of Pope *Adrian*. In which respects he pronounced with great griefe how much it troubled him, to see the Pope, who aboue all others was bound not to be separate from him in those dangers, wherein by his meanes he was entred, had made a change no lesse hurtfull to him, then without all necessity: that such reuolt & separation for the time, the place, & the whole manner and proprietie of it, could be attributed to no other thing, then to a certaine seruile feare and timorous impression, such as hath fallen vpon him since they within *Pania* haue holden out. In this humour he forgot not to debate the meanes and fauours he had vsed to increase his greatnesse alwayes since the death of Pope *Leo*, and specially his authority in two Conclaues together, with his perpetuall desire to transerre vpon him the soueraigne election, onely for this opinion, that by his meane might be reestablished the common liberty of *Italy*: and on the other side, he made collection how litle the Pope might assure himselfe of the French king, and how farre he was either to feare or to hope of his victorie: lastly, he stood vpon this conclusion, that neither for the Popes resolution which was against all good office and expectation, nor for any other accident or fortune of what condition soeuer, he would not forget nor abandon himselfe: wherein he protested, and therewithall wished, that no man should expect that for want of mony he would change or varie from his purpose, seeing he had vowed to set vp as a last rest all his crownes and kingdomes, and his life withall, desiring of God that his irreuocable deliberation in the matter might not be preiudiciall to the health of his soule. To these complaints the Embassadour of *Florence* replied: That the Pope, since he was raised to the soueraigne dignity, was bound to preceede no more as Cardinall of *Medici*, but to put on the person of Pope of *Rome*, whose office was to be carefull ouer the peace of Christendome: for which reason he had often debated with him the necessity of peace and quietnesse, and for better negociation of it, he had sent to him at two seuerall times the Archbishop of *Capua*, by whom he protested that by the oath and ceremonie of his office, he was bound not to be particular, but indifferent: that he had also admonished him thereof at such time as the Admirall *Bommet* departed out of *Italy*, hauing no better season and oportunitie to treat of peace for him and more for his honour, whereunto neuertheless he made him no other answer, then that he could conclude no peace without the consent of the king of *England*: he desired the Emperour to remember how often the Pope had dissuaded the passage and iourney into *Prouence*, both for that it troubled altogether the hope of the peace: and also (herein he seemed a diuine Prophet of things to come) the necessity wherein it would put the French king to enter into armes, might be the occasion to stirre vp in *Italy* a more dangerous combustion: That the Pope by the negotiation of the Bishop of *Verona*, had declared to the French king, then possessor of *Millan*, and also to the *Viceroy*, how far it concerned them to hearken to peace, but neither of them bare any inclination thereunto: That since that time he had with many reasons, and verie great efficacy, refused to giue passage through the estate Ecclesiastike, to the bands of men of warre that marched against the realme of *Naples*: and yet neuertheless the king did not only denie to heare his reasons, but also made his forces to march along the countrey of *Plaisance* without tarying for his answer: That for that cause he had (lastly) sent *Paule Vitorio* to induce the *Viceroy* to a surceasing of armes vnder conditions conformable to the time, and withall to certifie him by how many reasons of necessity he was to assure himselfe of the danger imminent, seeing withall that both the *Venetians* stood in suspence, and also the king of *England* would not be concurrant in the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, if at the same time both by the Emperour and by him, the warre were not moued beyond the Mounts: but seeing the *Viceroy* made no reckening of any offers or conditions he propounded, and that the kings men of warre and armed bands aduanced dayly, he was constrained to take faith and surety of the king without being bound to any other thing then not to offend him. The Emperour complained of the hardnesse of the condition offered to the *Viceroy*, for that it restrained and bound him to leaue that which he held, not expressing any mention that the French king should do the like: & lastly he said, that albeit the Marquis of *Pesquero* in counselling him to agreement, had signified to him that in the campe were many disorders, & no lesse danger to his affaires, yet he could not frame his mind to peace, such was his hope that through the valour of his men he should carie the victorie, if the armies came once to the triall of a battell.

All this while continued the siege of *Pania*: and yet for want of munitions they had some-
what

What ceased to molest it with their artilleries: but to remedy that difficulty, the king hauing newly receiued ^{his} protection the Duke of *Ferrara*, with obligation to pay him threescore & ten thousand ducats in ready mony, was content to accept twenty thousand of that summe in price and value of munitions, which he caused to be conueyed by *Parma* and *Plaisance*, vsing the seruice of the horses and cariages of the countrey men: wherein the king was readily holpen by the commission and direction of the Pope, not without the complayning of the *Viceroy*, as though in that action he had ministred manifestly to the ayde and succors of the king: who, to the end the munitions might arriue in surety, had sent afore *Iohn de Medicis* with two hundred horse and fiftene hundred footmen. This *Medicis* complaining in the beginning of the war, both of the seuerity of the *Viceroy* giuing him discountenance, and also of his penury of mony, not hauing sufficient to make the souldiers to march, was passed out of the Emperours pay, to the entertainment of the French king. It seemed that these forces were sufficiēt to assure the munitions, the rather because the Duke of *Albanie* was at hand, hauing passed at the same time the riuer of *Paw*. And albeit the *Viceroy* & the Marquis of *Pisquero* to stop their passage, cast a bridge neare to *Cremona*, & made their way ouer *Paw* with six hundred mē at armes & eight thousand footmē, lodging the first day at *Monticello*: yet they gaue ouer the enterprife, & returned againe ouer the riuer, being aduertised by credible espiall, that the king had giuen charge to the Lord *Thomas de Foix*, to go seekethem with one part of the army. As soone as they were retired, the Duke of *Albanie* passed the *Appenine* along the territories of *Reggia* & *Garfagnana*, only he marched slowly, the same confirming the opinion that was conceiued that the king embraced that enterprife, more to induce with such feare the Emperours Captaines either to accord, or at least to abandō the affaires of *Lombardy*, then through hope to make any great aduancement. *Ranse de Cere* ioyned with him neare to *Lucqua* with a regiment of three thousand footmen who were come with the army at sea. This army as they passed, tooke by composition *Sanona* and *Varagina*: and the Nauy being eftsoones returned to the west riuer of *Genes*, held in feare and bridle that City.

The Duke of
Ferrara aydes
the French
king during
the siege of
Pauia.

In the beginning of the yeare a thousand five hundred twenty and five, *Don Hugo de Moncada* departing from *Genes* with the Nauy, descended and tooke land with three thousand footmen at *Varagina*, where were left in garrison certaine bands of French footmen. But the French Nauy, that was then at sea, being commanded by the Marquis *Salusse*, making to the succors of that place, the other flecte retired being naked of footemen: when also the French regiments of footemen descended and left their ships, and so fiercely charged their enemies, that the whole army being broken, diuerse were miserably put to the sword, and the person of *Don Hugo* vnfortunately taken prisoner.

1525

In the beginning of the same yeare, the Duke of *Albanie* compelled the people of *Lucqua* to contribute to him 12000 ducats, & to lend him certaine peeces of artilleries: with which munitions and prouisions he marched further through the lands of the *Florentins*, by whom he was receiued in amity & friendship: & in that sort did he stay with his army neare to *Sienna* at the Popes request, who for that neither by authority, nor with armes, he could not meete with all things that troubled him, resorted to his natural cōditiō, & begā to manage his purposes with art & industry. It nothing displeased him that the French should get the Duchy of *Millan*, for that he made this coniecture, that whilest the Emperor & the French king abode in *Italy*, both the sea Apostolike and his Pontificacy shold stand assured from the ambition & greatnesse of either of them, because they would keepe iealous eyes the one ouer the other: and yet by the same reason it was grieuous to him to see the French make a conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, for feare least at one time that kingdom and the Duchy of *Millan* were reduced vnder the power and commandement of one so puissant a Prince: wherein to cast impediments against the doings and fortunes of the king, he sought occasion to stay the Duke of *Albanie*, & made instance to the king, that as he passed he wold readdress and reorder the gouernement of *Sienna*, which the Pope (for the oportunity and seate of that City, standing in the midway betweene *Rome* & *Florence*) desired greatly might fall into the hāds of some of his friends, like as was hapned not many monethes before by his meane & working: for as the Cardinall *Petrucchi* dying during the Pontificacy of *Adrian*, his nephew *Francis* pretended to succeed him in the gouernment: so by reason of his insolency, the chieftaines of *Montenouo* being neuerthelesse of the same faction, opposed vehemently against him, and made solicitation to the Duke of *Sesse* the Emperours Embassadour, and to Cardinall *Medicis*, to giue them another

forme of gouernement, as either to reduce it into liberty, or else to referre the whole authority into the hands of *Fabio sonne of Pandolfe Petrucci*, notwithstanding somewhat before he was secretly stolen away to *Naples*. This matter was long debated, and at last when *Clement* was elected Pope, the common consent of him and the Emperour concurring, *Fabio* was by *Caesars* re-established in the place of his father: but both for that he had not the full authority of his father, and for the present inclination of the City bearing vniuersally to liberty, and also because the family and faction of *Montenouo*, was neither firmly knit with him, nor of no assured agreement amongst themselves, the estate of things drew to other effects then answered the expectation: for, by the debility that was discerned to be in the power of one only, both hauing no foundation vpon the affections and good wils of the Citizens, and also holding no gouernment absolute, and without regard to the course and maner of tyrants, there hapned one day by the incensing of his aduersaries, a popular tumult, by the which without the ayde of any forreiners, he was easily driuen out of the City, notwithstanding he had alwayes in the place a gard depending vpon him. The Pope making his aduantage of this deuision, and reposing no confidence neither in the populars, nor in any other faction, determined to put the authority into the hands of the *Montenouaes*, to the end afterwards to create chiefe Ruler either *Fabio*, or any other of them that should be best agreeable to him: a matter which as when men be entered into suspicion, they are wont for the most part to take all things in the worst part, so the manner of that dealing increased this opinion in the Imperiall Capitaines, that the capitulation made betweene the Pope and the French king, contained on all sides some matter of more aduantage, and a greater obligation then the band of neutrality. It hapned by the staying of the Duke of *Albania* vpon the confines of *Sienna*, that the inhabitants there, to redeeme their domages which they receiued of the army, gaue a most ample voyce and authority touching the gouernement to those Citizens who were most of the Popes confidence and faction: and afterwards the *Siennois* sent certaine quantities of munition and money to the Duke of *Albania*, who passed on marching notwithstanding as slowly as he was wont. He went from *Mountiasco* to *Rome* to speake with the Pope, and afterwards passing *Tiber* to *Fiano*, he abode vpon the lands of the *Vrsins*, where did assemble the bands of footmen that were leuiued at *Rome* by the permission of the Pope, who gaue semblable succorance to the *Colonnos* mustering at *Marina* for the defence of the realme of *Naples*, to wage regiments of footme at *Rome*: but both for that they aduanced not much, & that vniuersally they were ill provided of mony, there was no great accopt made of those leuies or mustings, since the eyes, the eares, the expectation, the spirits and contemplations of all men were altogether settled vpon the affaires of *Lombardy*: which pretending to one end and by diuerse accidents, increased in both parties indifferently the humor of hope and feare.

The defendants
of *Pavia* in
necessity.

They that were within *Pavia* suffered no small necessity of mony & munitions, the store of wine beginning also to faile and all other sorts of victuals, except bread: by reason whereof the Launceknights assembled, and almost in maner of a tumult demanded their payes, wherunto, besides their owne insolent dispositions, they were pushed on by the incitation of their Captaine, who was feared to haue made some secrete contract with the French king. On the other side, the Duke of *Burbon* approached, and led with him from *Germany* fife hundred men at armes *Burgomani*, and sixe thousand Launceknights payed vpon the treasure of the king of *Romaines*: The *Viceroy* also was gone to *Loda*, where they meant to assemble the whole army, pretending that it should be nothing inferiour to that of the enemies. But as there was no present store of money, and lesse expectation to get so much as would make march the souldiers and entertaine them: so also they were destitute of all hope to be ayded by the Pope or by the *Florentines*: neither had they confidence in the *Venetians*, who after many excuses and delayes, had at last answered *Caraccioll* the Pronotary, and the Emperours Embassador at *Venice*, that they would proceede according to the example of the Pope, by whose meane and working it was supposed that they had secretly made a contract of neutrality with the French king: yea it was thought, that they priuily solicited the Pope, to procure to descend into *Italy* at their common charges, an army of ten thousand *Swissers*, to the end they should not neede to feare the victory of either of the armies. This was well allowed by the Pope, but both for want of mony, and by the custome and property of his nature, so slowly executed, that he sent too late into *Switzerland* the Bishop of *Verculo* to dispose the minds of the *Swissers*.

The necessities & wants of *Pania* were somewhat releued by the industry of the *Viceroy* and other Captains: for, sending certaine victuallers of wine into the French camp, *Antbo. de Lena* hauing a signall sent out certaine troupes to offer the skitmilsh on that side; by which occasion the bruite & alarme following, the victuallers breaking their greatest vessell, ran into *Pania* with a litle vessel enclosed in the great, and wherein were beltowed 3000 duckats: which though it did not to the full remedy their wants, yet it wrought such an operation of comfort amongst the, that the Launceknights seeing by that litle summe the difficulty to send them mony, bare afterwards with more patience their other extremities, wherein also the death of their Captaine did conveniently concurre at the same instant. It was beleued that *Antbo. de Lena* procured him to be poisoned, to the end to take away both the matter and occasions of tumults. In this time the Marquis of *Pesquero* went to incampe before *Casciano*, where were in garrison fifty horsemen and foure hundred *Italian* footmen, whom he compelled to render themselves to discretion.

After the Duke of *Burbon* was arrived with his Launceknights, there was nothing that more retayned the Captaines (being very carefull ouer the danger of *Pania*) then the want of mony, such as they had not only wherewith to pay the regiments of the men of warre, but also there was not to defray necessarily the conduction of the munitions and artilleries. In this necessity, they were driuen to haue recourse to perswasions; wherein they forgot not to recommend to the bands of footmen, the glory and riches which the victory would cast vpon them, and reducing to their memory the reputation of their conquests past, they labored also to inflame their minds with the fire of enuy and hatred against the Frenchmen. By which commendation of glory and profitte, they brought the Spanish footmen to make promise that they would follow the army one whole moneth more without receiuing any money: and the Launceknights were contented with that which should suffice for the prouision of their nurriture and necessary victuals. But they found many difficulties to winne the men at armes and light horsemen being lodged in the townes of *Cremona* and *Guaradadda*: they alleaged, that hauing receiued no money of long time, it would be grieuous to them to follow the army, where of necessity they must be driuen to buy victuals to nourish themselves; and forrage to feede their horses: they brought also into complaint this iniury, that their paines and seruice was holden lesse acceptable and recommended, then the infantry, to whom neuerthelesse had bene made many distributions of money, without releuing of them with one penny of long time. In which griefe they forgot not to insinuate their many merits, and making comparison of their reputation and valor, much lesse that they yeilded to be inferior to the infantry either in valor or fidelity, but they challenged place about them, both by their nobility and for their seruings past. It was necessary for the expedition of the seruice to reapease this murmure, & by some present industry to reasssure the minds that began so manifestly to shake; which office the Marquis of *Pesquero* tooke vpon him, who traueilling to their particular lodgings, vsed those meanes that best agreed with the state of the matter he had in hand, taking his obseruation of the wife Phisition, who hauing found out the humor that offendeth, prepareth that ministracion & medicine that is most apt to cure and remedy: sometimes he serued histurne with excuses, which in such cases haue their operation, and sometimes he whetted them on with words of comfort, which to minds wauering giue no litle edge and reuiuing: sometimes he reprehended them, which according to the persons might worke some notable office, & sometimes he confessed the equity of their complaints, wherein he ouercame their generall griefe with his proper compassion. And hauing thus by the singularity of his wit and industry, reduced to moderation their present murmures and discontentments, he followed his purpose with new encouragements, that by how much more they stood to make their vertue apparant, and their valor manifest, by so much more were they bound not to suffer so noble harts to be ouercome by an estate of infantry or footmen, either in fidelity or affection to the Emperour. And as the present quarrell did not concerne the glory and honor of the Emperour alone, but also the successe of the condition and whole estate of *Italy* was concurrant, so if they expressed not their readinesse and valor equall with the greatnesse of the occasion offered, they could hardly acquite the expectation that was conceiued of them, but sitting downe with dishonor & infamy, they would leaue to the Emperour an vnthankfull recompence for his benefits past. Lastly he told them, that seeing they had so many times offered their liues to hazard in the Emperours quarels, and no lesse often had made waie by their vertue thorough all perils of warre and fortune for his sake, it could not but

intangle with shame and infamy the memory of their merites past, if now they should refuse to go to the warre for so vile a thing as a small quantity of money. What by these perswasions, and the authority of the Marquis, they consented to receiue for one moneth a small allowance of pay: insomuch that the whole army being thus assembled, which was supposed to containe seuen hundred men at armes, as many light horsemen, a thousand *Italian* footemen, and more then sixteene thousand *Spanish* Launceknights: they brake vp from *Loda* the five and twentieth of Ianuarie, and marched the same day to *Marignan*, making as though they would draw towards *Millan*, either to make the king, being touched with the daunger of that City, to leaue his siege from before *Pauia*, or else to giue cause to the souldiers to go from *Millan* that were there in garrison. Neuerthelesse hauing afterwards passed the riuer of *Lambra* neare to *Vidigoso*, they tooke manifestly the way to *Pauia*. The king payed in his army thirteene hundred Launces, ten thousand *Swissers*, foure thousand Launceknights, five thousand Frenchmen, and seuen thousand *Italians*: and yet what thorough the abuses and robberies of his Captaines, and corruption and negligence of his officers, the numbers of the footemen were farre lesse. *Theodor Trinulce* lay in garrison within *Millan* with three hundred launces, sixe thousand footemen *Grisons* and *Valsiens*, and three thousand Frenchmen. But assoone as the king discerned that the Imperials turned towards *Pauia*, he reuoked to the army all the regiments of footemen, except two thousand.

Assoone as the army of the Imperials had taken the field the French king began to deuise what was best to be done: and calling to counsell his Captaines, *Trimonille*, *Palissa*, and *Monsieur de Foix* with many others, aduised him to retire his army from before *Pauia*, and to go incampe either in the monastery of Charterhouse, or at *Binaquo*, which are places of good strength, and likewise are found many such in the countrey there, for the oportunity of the channels deriuing, and do serue for the watering of meadowes. They told him that in taking this course, he should speedily cary the victory without bloud or danger, the wants and necessities of his enemies not suffering them to hold out many dayes, but would constrain them either to dissolue, or disperse their companies into seuerall villages: That the Launceknights that were within *Pauia*, to the end to cut off all imputation that they sought to couer their feare and timerousnesse with the excuse that they were not payed, were content to beare with patience the prolonging of their payes for many moneths: but assoone as they saw the siege remoued, they would in insolency demand their payes, & not finding in their Captaines any assured meanes to satisfie them, and lesse expectation to entertaine them with credible hopes, it was to be feared they would draw to some daungerous tumult: That the enemies with no other thing kept themselves so orderly together, but with hope to giue speedily the battell, but when they should see the war drawne out into longnesse, & the commodity of offering the battell not presented, their expectation wold be frustrate, & the whole army replenished with difficulties & confusion: That it could not be but daungerous to remaine betweene a towne wherein were five thousand footemen of a most warlike nation, and an army that came to rescue it, which was no lesse mighty in numbers of men, valour and experience of Captaines and souldiers, then braue and resolute by the glory of their victories obtayned in times past, and who now had reposed all their hopes in the battell. That in warres it was no shame to flie, when the flying profiteth him that giueth place to his aduersary: That there could be no infamy in a retraite that was made by discretion and not by timerousnesse, when it is done vpon this confederation, not to put in doubt things that be certaine, and when in the issue & successe of the warre is to be expressed to all the world the maturity of the counsell: That there is no victory more profitable, more honourable, nor more glorious, then that which is obtayned without the damage, the spoyle, and bloud of souldiers: Lastly that the first and chiefe commendation of the discipline of warre consisted in this, that a Generall should not oppose his army to daungers without necessity, and rather with industry and patience to reuerse and make vaine the enterprises of his aduersaries, then through valour & courage to hazard the battell, which fortune and accidents may make doubtfull. The Pope concurred in the same counsell, & signified no lesse to the French king though not so much for the kings interests, yet for the necessity of his owne affaires, for that the Marquis of *Pesquiera* being not without his feare in so great a necessity, had aduertised afore hand the difficulties of the Emperors army to be such, as they almost cut from him all hopes of happy successe: neuerthelesse the king (a destiny inuitable can not be auoyded) who

in his deliberations followed only the counsels of the Admirall, seemed to set before his eyes rather the rumors of men and brutes varying for every light accident, then the firme and assured substance of the effects of things: he interpreted it to a great shame and infamy, that an army royall led by his owne person, should shew more feare then valour, and basely give place to the coming of the enemies, wherein he was also pushed on by this vaine suggestion; that he was bound to follow and performe with deedes, the words that his rash tongue had vainely promised; a resolution most vndiscreete and dishonorable to a Captaine: for, both he had vnder protestation assured all the world, and many times signified by messengers into *France* & al the parts of *Italy*, that he would sooner chuse to sacrifice himselfe to death, then to retire from before *Pavia* without the victory: he stood fixed vpon these hopes, that in the place where he incamped, he might easily fortifie himselfe to auoyd all inconueniences by surprise: That through want of money every small delay, or the least necessity that might driue the enemies, to temporise, would put them into disorder, and hauing no meane to get victuals but by raiue and pillage, they could not remaine long in one lodging: Lastly he hoped to giue impediment to the victuals that were to come to their camp, whereof he knew the greatest part was appointed from *Cremona*, wherein he was furthered by this helpe, that he had newly taken into his pay *Iohn Lodowike Paluoyfin*, either to the end he should impatronize himselfe vpon *Cremona*, where was a very slender garrison, or at least to lie to cut off the suretie of victuals that had an ordinary traffike from that city to their campe.

For these reasons the king stood resolute not to leaue the siege of *Pavia*; and to haue the better way to impeach that the enemies should not enter, he dislodged in other maner, and gaue another forme to the incamping of his army: for, the king was lodged before in the Abbey of *Saint Lanfranke*, situated about a mile and an halfe beyond *Pavia*, beyond the way that leadeth from *Pavia* to *Millan*, and vpon the riuier of *Thesin* neare to that place where was proued the diuersion of the waters: *Monsieur Palissa* with the vanguard & the *Swissers* lay within the suburbs neare *S. Justines* gate, hauing fortified himselfe in the Churches of *S. Peter*, *S. Apolline*, and *S. Ierome*: and *Iohn de Medicis* with his horsemen and regiments of footemen, was bestowed in the Church of *Saint Sauoir*. But now, the king hauing information that the enemies were departed from *Loda*, he went & incamped within the Parke in the right sumptuous & stately house of *Mirabell*, situate on this side *Pavia*, leauing at *S. Lanfrank* the *Grisons* footmen, & yet changed not the lodging of the vanguard. At last the person of the king was lodged in the monasteries of *S. Paule*, & *S. Iames*, places besides other commodities, very eminent and neare *Pavia*, & command the champion, but are somewhat without the ring of the Parke. In the kings place *M.^r Alenfon* with the areargard went to incampe at *Mirabell*: and as for their more conuenient succouring one another, they bracke downe on that side the parke wall, so they held and commanded betweene them all that space of circuit that stretcheth towards *Thesin* on that side below, and vntill the way that leadeth to *Millan* towards aboue: so that holding *Pavia* enuironed on all sides, and hauing also at their deuotion the riuers of *Granalone*, *Thesin*, and *Touretta*, which is right against *Darsina*, the Imperials could not enter *Pavia*, vnlesse they passed the riuier of *Thesin*, or else made their entry by the Parke. The king for the managing of the army, reposed himselfe, wholly vpon the counsels of the Admirall: he had singular confidence in his fidelity, & so absolutely referred things to his direction, that he dispensed with himselfe and passed the most part of his houres in idlenesse and vaine pleasures, without any study or care of his affaires, or once to thinke vpon expeditions of importance: wherein such was either his wilfull negligence or willing partiality, that if at any time he sate in counsell amongst them, he would referre the sentēce & resolution of all things to the Admirall, without accepting the aduise of other experienced Captaines. By him were ordered all the kings deliberations, though at times he suffered his eares to be gouerned by *Anne Montmeraucy*, and *Philip Chabot* Lord of *Bryon*, personages very agreeable to him in his sports, but of slender experience touching matters of warre. Moreouer the estate and numbers of his army were not according to his desire and opinion, and much lesse answering to the brute that went: for, one part of his horsemen being gone with the Duke of *Albanie*, & another part left for the gard of *Millan* with *Theodor Triuulce*, and many also being disperfed into seuerall villages and boroughs thereabouts, there was not found in the campe aboue eight hundred Launces; and touching the footemen the numbers were farre lesse then was supposed, as well by the negligence of the kings officers, as though the deceit of the Captaines, of whom the greatest abusers were the *Italians*, who notwithstanding

The French king will not follow the counsels of his Captaines.

standing they receiued payes for great numbers offootemen, yet their bandes were farre from their full complements, many of the French Captaines tooke counsell also by their corruptions: and lastly the regiment of two thousand *Valefions* that were bestowed at *Saint Sauoir* betwene *Saint Lanfranke* and *Pania*, being suddenly assaulted by those that were within, were disperfed and broken.

The Imperials
take the Castell
S. Angelo.

In this estate of affaires, the Captaines Imperiall hauing passed *Lambray*; they made their approaches to the Castell *S. Angelo*, which hauing his situation betwene *Loda* and *Pauia*, would haue giuen great impediments to the course of victuals that were brought from *Loda* to their campe: it had not bene at their deuotion and in their power: *Pirrhus*, the brother of *Federike de Bosolo* lay there in garrison with two hundred horse, and eight hundred footmen, and the king not many dayes before, to the end he would not rashly commit his people to daunger, had sent to visite and consider the place the same *Federike* and *Iames Chabanes*, who brought report that that strength and garrison sufficed for the defence of the place: but experience made it knowne immediatly after, how farre they were deceiued in their reckening, for assoone as *Ferdinād d'Amalo* made his approaches with the regiments of Spanish footmen, and had cut off with his artilleries, certaine defences and resistances, the feare of the defendants became greater then their valor, and in those humors of timorous cowardise, they retired the same day into the Castell: and not many howers after (feare hath a vehement operation in the minds it possesseth) they compounded that *Pirrhus*, *Emilio Boriano*, and the three sons of *Phebus Gonsaguo*, should remaine prisoners and all the residue depart the place, without armor and horse, and being sworne not to beare armes for one moneth against the Emperor. In this time the king sent for from *Sauona* a regiment of two thousand Italian footmen, parcell of those companies that had bin at the siege of *Marseilles*: but being come vpon the territories of *Alexandria* neare the riuer of *Urba*: *Gaspar Maine* lying there in garrison with a regiment of seuen hundred footmen, issued out of *Alexandria* with a very slender strength, and set vpon them: he found them very weary with the long way they had made, & without gard, for that they doubted no daunger by reason of which aduantages he disordered and brake them easily, and in their feare being fled within the Castell, they rendred themselues immediately with seuentene Ensignes. There hapned no better successe to the enterprife that was committed to the charge of *Iohn Lewis Paluiofin*: who, after he was entred with foure hundred horse & two thousand footmen within *Casalmajor*, where was no wall, but ramparts which he had made, & hauing afterwards won *S. Iohn in Croce*, he began from that place to make incursions into the countrey, laboring with all the meanes he could to cut off their victuals. By reason of which violences, *Francis Sforce* lying then within *Cremona*, leauied with great celerity foureteene hundred footme, and sent them to *Casalmajor* with certaine troupes of horsemen of the band of *Rodolfo Camerino* and the horsemen of his gard, vnder the leading of *Alexander Bentiuole*. As they were drawne neare to that place, *Paluiofin* repofing confidence in the aduantage of his numbers without tarying for certaine succours of *Francis Rangon*, issued out the eightene of February and occupied skirmish with them: but he payed a deare price of his rashnesse, & fell by equity into the punishment of his hasty rashnesse, for that in laboring to sustaine his troupes that fought & begā to draw to retraite, he was stricken from his horse and made prisoner, and all his souldiers broken and disperfed. There was also added to the affaires of the French king, this further difficulty of great consequence: *Iohn Ia. Medicis* of *Millan* Captaine of the Castell of *Mus*, whither the Duke of *Millan* had sent him for the murder he had done of the person of *Monsieur Viscounte*, hauing placed by night an ambush on the side of the rocke of *Chiauenna* standing vpon a hill side at the head of the lake, and somewhat distant from the houses of the borough: tooke the Captaine prisoner as he walked without his Castell, & led him presently before the gate of the rocke, where threatning to kill him if he put not the rocke into his hands, his wife in whose presence his life was threatned to death, deliuered vp the rocke. After this first fortune, he caused to discouer another ambush with three hundred footmen with whom he tooke the towne making his entry by the Castell. Whereupon it hapned that the Cantons of the *Grisons*, taking suspicion vpon that accident, reuoked a litle before the battell, the regiment of fixe thousand *Grisons* that were in the kings army.

About this time, arriued in the Imperiall army, the knight *Casalo*, whom the king of *England* sent thither with great promises: that king beginning to be iealous ouer the prosperity of the French king, & pushed on also with a certaine despite that in the Scottish seas the French had taken

certaine

certaine vessels of the English, [threatned manifestly to make warre vpon *Fraunce*] and in that humour desired the well aduancing of the Imperiall army: in which forwardnesse of disposition, he sent to his Embassador *Pace* remayning at *Trent*, to go to *Venice*, and protest in his name the obseruation of the League; to the which his Maiesty hoped they would be so much the more easily induced, by how much the Emperour had sent to the *Viceroy* the inuestiture of *Francis Sforce* with authority to dispose of it by his discretion, and according to the necessity and respect of his affaires. The king of *England* also solicited the Pope by his Embassador to minister aide to the Emperour in his affaires: but the Pope excused him vpon the capitulation made with the French king for his owne surety, and not offending the Emperour, whereunto he added this complaint, that since the army was returned from *Prouence*, he was not able in the space of twenty dayes to vnderstand their purposes, nor whether they pretended to defend or abandon the estate of *Millan*.

But now, litle auailed the treaties and intelligences of Princes, and of lesse seruice were the negotiations and labors of Embassadors, for that by the affronting and approching of the armies, the whole estate of the war, together with the difficulties and daungers sustained for many moneths, were reduced to the fortune and hazard of a very few houres: for the army Imperiall passing further since the taking of *S. Angelo*, marched and lodged the first day of February at *Vistarino*, and the second day at *Lardiraguo* and *S. Alexis* beyond the litle riuer of *Lolono*: alodging distant from *Pauia* foure miles, and from the French campe three miles. The third of February they marched towards the gate of *S. Iustine*, the place of their incamping being stretched out betweene *Prati*, *Treueno*, *la Motto*, and a wood on the side of *S. Lazarus*, places within two miles and a halfe of *Pauia*, within halfe a mile of the French vauntgard, & not halfe a mile from the rampiers & trenches of their camp: by reason they were so neare affrōted one the other, they escaped not without their feuerall damages by the artilleries. The Imperials commanded *Belioyense*, with all the villages & country that lay vpo their backs, except *S. Colombin* where lay a garrison of French, but so straitly besieged as no person could issue out. They found within *S. Angelo* & *Belioyense* great quantities of victuals, and to haue more plenty and abundance, they labored to command *Tbesin*, as they did *Paw*, by the commodity of which they gaue impediment to the French victuals. They held *Saint Crosse*, and albeit the French king at that time when he went to incampe at *Mirabel* had abandoned the *Charterhouse*, yet they forbore to go thither, least their market of victuals should be cut off. The Frenchmen kept *S. Lazarus*, but the fury of the artilleries of the enemies put them in feare to abide there. There was betweene the two campes a litle brooke or riuer of running water called *Vernacula*: his head or spring was within the parke, and from thence making his course in the middest betweene *S. Lazarus* and *S. Peter in Verge*, hath his fall afterwards into the riuer of *Tbesin*: This brooke the Imperials to the end they might come on with lesse difficulty, labored to passe, as a matter of great importance: but they found a valiant defence made by the Frenchmen, hauing both the ayd of the channell which was very deepe, and the commodity of the shores or bankes that were very high. By which impediments there was no possibility of passage without great difficulty: euery one with that art & care that the perill required, fortified their lodging and quarter: The kings lodging had in front, in backe, and in the left flanke, thicke and huge ramparts, enuironed with ditches & fortified with bastillions: & on the right flanke was the wall of the parke of *Pauia*, which was supposed to make the lodging very strong: The lodgings of the Imperials carried the same forme of fortification, hauing also the liberty of the whole countrey from *S. Lazarus* drawing towards *Belioyense*, euen vntill the riuer of *Paw*, which ministred to them great abundance of victuals. Betweene the ramparts of both the one & other lodging, was no more distance than xl. pases, and the bastillions so neare neighbours, that the small shot played in great liberty. These two armies were thus lodged and incamped the eight day of February: and albeit they lost no time in skirmishing, yet euery one kept himselfe within his fort, not willing to do any thing to his disaduantage: The Imperiall Captaines made their reckening, that they had gained much til that day being approached so neare *Pauia*, that if it came to a day of battell, they might be aided with the garrisons that were within the towne: And because the souldiers within *Pauia* suffered want of munitions, the Imperials ventred to send in fifty horsmen, euery one carying in croupe or behind him, a litle bag full of powder: who taking by night the way of *Millan*, and obseruing the instant wherein their campe by a token giuen should giue the alarme to the Frenchmen, they got safely

The Imperials draw neare to Pauia.

into *Pania*, their fortune being nothing inferiour to their valor. *Antho. de Luna* made many sallies out of the towne, bringing with him in diuerse maners many harmes & domages to the enemies, in one of which sallies he charged those that had the gard of the borough of *S. Lanfranke*, whom he did not only defeate & breake, but also with the same felicity tooke from them three peeces of artilleries, & foure wagons laden with munitions. In this condition it was wonderfull to behold what was the study, the industry, & perpetuall toyle of body & mind of the Marquis of *Pesquero*, who omitted no oportunitie wherein occasiō was giue to vex the enemy, sometimes prouoking the with skirmishes, sometimes traueilling the with alarmes, & neuer ceassing to keepe them awaked either with vndermining, intrenching, or raising of mounts to annoy them. They caused to erect a cauallier or mount vpon the channel: & for that the Frenchmē with two peeces of artilleries planted vpon *S. Lazarus*, made dangerous executiō of those that wrought vpō it, they planted there certaine peeces which reuerfed the sayd place of *S. Lazarus* & compelled the French to abandon it. And as the artilleries of this cauallier annoyed them much, so also they were no lesse beaten by another mount or cauallier which they had made within *Pania*. Besides, the *Spaniards* had so fortified themselves with bastillions & ramparts, & other preparatiues defensue, that they had great meane to greue the French Campe, without receiuing much offence themselves: for which cause the Frenchmen remoued their artilleries to beate them in the flanke, the *Spaniards* not ceassing for all that to aduance & come on, & to win aduantage by footmeale: & in this estate of proceedings in such a neare neighborhood & affronting of the armies, the skirmishes were very rise, wherein the Frenchmen for the most part caried the worse: & yet the practises and negociatiōs of truce did nothing cease, being cōtinually solicited by the Popes Nuncios resident in both the armies: to whom were adioyned many of strait familiaritie & fauor with the king, who ceased not to admonish him, the Popes counsell also concurring, that to auoyd so great a perill it were his best to retire his army frō before *Pania*, by which meane the victory could not but fall vpō him with facility, & without effusion of blood, the rather by the necessities of the enemies, suffering the great want of mony. The xviij. dayes of February the souldiers within *Pania* made a sally, & charged the regiment of *John de Medicis*, who gaue them a braue repulse, & with no lesse valor compelled them to retire: but immediatly afterwards as he returned to shew to the Admiral the place of the incounter, with relatiō of things as they passed, certaine loose shot lurking in a house, gaue him a wound with the bullet a litle above the heele which brake the bone, for the curing of which hurt he was constrained to be caried to *Plaisance*. This was an vnfortunate hurt, or else vnhappily chanced on that mā, for that like as immediatly after his wounding, the fury of the french campe in skirmishing and assaulting began to diminish & abate, so it seemed to giue to them of *Pania* a greater and more ready resolutiō, for that their sallies were more familiar and furious, in which vehement inclination they burned the Abbey of *S. Lanfrank*, & ceased not fiercely to execute the Frenchmē, taking aduantage of the diminution of their courage & fortune. In so much that the night betweene the xix. & xx. day of February, the Marquis of *Pesquero* issuing out with a regiment of three thousand Spanish footmē, assaulted the French bastillions, and winning the ramparts, he slue more then five hundred footmen, and cloyed three peeces of artilleries.

It was now not possible to the Imperiall Captaines any longer to maintaine their army in that place, for want of money: They considered also that if they should breake vp and retire, the estate of *Pania* would not onely remaine desperate, but also there would be left little hope to be able to defend their other peeces which they possessed in the Duchy of *Millan*: There was also in them all a wonderfull confidence to obtaine the victory, both for the resolution and valour of their souldiers, and also through the infinite disorders in the French armie, and the insolent departing away of diuerse of their footemen, in so much as the bodies to fight did not by farre aunswere the numbers that were inrolled in their pay-bookes. Therefore partly to determine these difficulties, and partly to follow the humour of their hopes, the night before the five and twentieth of Februarie, a day dedicated by the Christians to the Apostle *Saint Matthias*, and also the day of the Natiuitie of the Emperour, they detemined to march to *Mirabell*, where lay incamped certaine companies of horfemen and footemen. In this march they stood vpon this intention, that if the Frenchmen moued, then they had set at libertie the siege of *Pania*: and if they moued not; then to aduenture the fortune of the battell. Therefore the better to aduance this determination, all the beginning of the night they gaue many alarmes, the more to keepe trauelled

The battell of
Pania where
in the French
king is taken
prisoner.

travell'd and weary the Frenchmen, making semblance as though they would charge them on that side towards *Paw, Thesin, and S. Lazarus*, and about midnight every souldier by the commandement of the Captaines, put on a white cassakin over his armour to be knowne from the Frenchmen: they were cast into two squadrons of horsemen, & foure of footemen in the first were six thousand footemen equally compounded of Launceknights, Spaniards & Italians: This Squadron was led by the Marquis of *Gnast*: the second stood onely upon certaine bands of Spanish footemen under the charge of the Marquis of *Pesquero*: the third and fourth Squadron were of Launceknights commanded by the Viceroy and the Duke of *Barbon*: they arriv'd at the Parke wals certaine houres before day, and by the working of their Masons and ready wils of their souldiers, they cast downe to the earth threescore fadom of wall by which breach being entred within the Parke, the first Squadron drew towards *Mirabell*, and the residue of the army tooke the way to the campe. As soone as the king understood that they were entred the Parke, thinking they would draw to *Mirabell*, he issued out of his lodging to fight in plaine and open field, desiring to draw the battell rather to that place then to any other, for the advantages which it gave to the horsemen: he commanded to turne the artilleries towards the enemies, which beating them in flanke, brought great damage to the arcaregard: but in the meane while, the battell of the Imperials gave a furious charge upon the kings Squadron which ordinarily was the battell, but as the Spaniards went, it was the arcaregard. The king fought valiantly, and sustayned with great courage the violence of his enemies, who with the fury of their harquebuziers constrained his men to give ground, untill the rescue of the *Swissers* came, when the Spaniards were repulsed as well by them as by the horsemen that charged them in flanke. But the Viceroy being called in by the Marquis of *Pesquero*, who brought to the fight his Launceknights, they were easily broken, not without great slaughter of the *Swissers*, who that day did nothing answer the opinion of valour which aforesometimes they had wont so honorably to expresse in battels. The king kept alwayes the middle of the battell, being environed with a great gard of men at armes, & albeit he did what he could to containe and confirme his people, yet after he had fought long with his owne hands, his horse being slaine under him, himselfe lightly hurt in the face and in the hand, he was stricken downe to the earth and taken prisoner by five souldiers that knew not what he was. In which misfortune the Viceroy pressing into the throng, his Maiesty disclosed himselfe to him, who, with great reverence kissed his hand and receiv'd him prisoner in the Emperors name. At the same time the Marquis of *Gnast* with the first Squadron, had defeated the horsemen that were at *Mirabell*, and *Anthony de Lena*, who as was sayd, had to that end cast downe to the earth so great a quantity and space of wall, as an hundred and fifty horsemen might sally forth in front, issued out of *Pavia*, and so charged the Frenchmen behind, that he put them wholly to flight: and in that feare they were almost all stripped and trussed, except the arcaregard of the horsemen, which being led by *Monsieur d'Alençon* from the beginning of the battell, retired almost whole. It is holden for certaine, that in this battell were slaine more then eight thousand men of the French campe, part by the sword, & part of bodies drowned in the riuer of *Thesin* seeking their safety by swimming: of this generall number were about twenty of the most noble & apparant Lords of *Fraunce*, as the Admirall, the *L. James Chabanes*, the *L. Palissa* and *Trimouille*, the Maiter of the horse, *Monsieur d'Aubigny*, *Monsieur de Bussy*, and *Monsieur de l'Escud*, who being taken grievously wounded by his enemies, gave to them his life in steede of a rancome: The prisoners that were taken were the king of *Nauarre*, the bastard of *Sauoy*, the *L. Monmerancy*, *Saint Paule*, *Brion*, *Aual*, *Monsieur de Chandion*, *Monsieur d'Imbercourt*, *Galeas Viscount*, *Federike Bossolo*, *Barnabie Viscount*, *Guidanes*, with many Gentlemen, and almost all the Captaines that escaped the slaughter of the sword: there was also taken prisoner *Ierome Leandro* Bishop of *Brunduſo* the Popes Nuncio, but by commandement of the Viceroy, he was eftsloones set at liberty: as also *Monsieur Saint Paule* and *Federike Bossolo* committed to the Castell of *Pavia*, brake prison a little after by the corruption of the Spaniards that had them in charge. Of the Imperials side the vniuersall slaughter exceeded not 700 bodies, and not one Captaine of name except *Ferrand Castriot* Marquis of *S. Angelo*. The Marquis of *Pesquero* was wounded in two places, & *Antho. de Lena* lightly hurt in the leg. The pray & spoyle of this battell was so great, as there had not bin scene in *Italy* more rich souldiers. Of so great an army, there was preserued but the arcaregard of 400 Launceknights commanded by *M. d'Alençon*, they neuer came to the fight, neuer suffred charge, nor neuer were followed, but

leaving behind them their baggage, they retired whole to *Piemont*, their feare making them more hasty to fly, then carefull of their honor. And as one calamity followeth another, so the losse of the battell was no sooner reported at *Millan*, then *Theodor Triunlce* who lay there in garrison with foure hundred launces, departed and tooke his way to *Musocquo*, all the souldiers following him by troupes, inso much as the same day that the king lost the battell, all the Duchy of *Millan* was made free from the iurisdiction of the French.

The day after the victory, the king was led prisoner to the Rocke of *Pisqueon*, for that the Duke of *Millan* in regard of his proper surety, consented hardly that the person of the king should be kept within the Castell of *Millan*: he was garded with great ieaiousie and watch, but in all other things except his liberty, he was vsed and honoured as appertained to the estate and maiesty of a king.

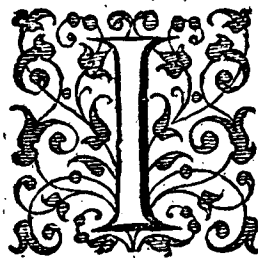
The end of the fifteenth booke.



THE SIXTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Pope is accorded with the Emperour. Many practises are made for the kings deliuey. Ierom Moron conspireth against the Emperour. The king is deliuered out of prison and returneth into Fraunce.



IN the booke before, you haue scene set downe the ouerthrow of the French army in the battell of *Pania*, a wretched successe, where was so great expectation of victory: you haue scene a mightie king deliuered vp prisoner into the hands of him with whom he contended for glory & imperie; a spectacle most tragicall amongst all the calamities that fortune bringeth vpon mans mortality: you haue scene the most part of the Nobility and honourable Captaines of *Fraunce* slaine in the seruice and presence of their king; a matter that made more lamentable his owne condition and aduersity: you haue scene the residue of that army, so vniuersally perplexed with feare and confusion, that the same thing that should haue retained them in so great affliction, made them the lesse assured and further off from confidence. Lastly you haue scene the loose hearts and pusillanimity of the *Swissers*, a nation which in the warres past, had fought in *Italy* with so great name and glory. But the thing that most wonderfully increased the reputation of the victors, was the generall feare and astonishment of all the Potentates in *Italy*, who looking into the fecility of the Imperials, carying so honourable a victory with so little losse to themselves, could not but make a desperate reckening of their owne safeties. In which astonishment, they set before their eyes all those dangers which either doubt or dispaire could stir vp their feare would not let them hope for the things that reasonably might comfort them: and whatsoeuer their amazed minds suspected, the same did they feare would assuredly happen vnto them. Lastly when they saw themselves disarmed on all sides, and the Emperours forces most mighty in the field without impediment of enemies, they could not but giue a grieuous sentence against their owne estate and condition: and in this confusion they could not be so much assured and comforted by the opinion which many had of the good intention of the Emperour, of his honorable inclination to

peace

The Potentates of Italy in great feare for the imprisonment of the French king.

peace, and of his vertuous mind not to vsurpe the estates of others, as their passions were redoubled by the consideration of their great dangers, most manifest to the eye, and no lesse fearefull to their minds, in which lay suppressed all that resolution and constancy which reasonable men should expresse chiefly in times of aduersities: They doubted least the Emperour, pushed on either by ambition (naturall almost to all earthly Princes) or by insolency (which commonly accompanieth victories) or by the importunate couetousnesse of those that gouerned his affaires in *Italy*, or lastly set on by the vniuersall perswasions of his Counsell and court: They doubted I say, least in these vehement respects, and in an occasion so sufficient to set an edge vpon the dullest spirit that was, he would dispose his thoughts to make himselfe absolute Lord ouer all *Italy*: wherein they were not ignorant how easie it is to euery great Prince, but much more to an Emperour of *Rome*, to iustifie his enterprises with titles appearing comely & reasonable. This feare and astonishment did not onely occupy those Potentates that were of meane force and authority, but also euen the Pope and the *Venetians* were no lesse trauelled then the others. The *Venetians* began to call into remorse and conscience, the fault they had committed against the Emperour without iust cause, in not following the capitulations of the confederation: and also the memory of ancient hatreds and iniuries betweene them and the house of *Austrich*, together with the great warres they had had of many yeares before with his grandfather *Maximilian*: by which they feared would be reuiued in the estates which they possessed in the firme land, the name and memory of the rights of the Empire which were almost buried and forgotten: as also they cast this coniecture, that whoeuer had any purpose to make himselfe great in *Italy*, would haue his first recourse to lay plots to embale and pull downe their too much puissance and greatnesse. And for the Pope, his passion was this, that except the maiesty of the Popedome which euen in the times of the auncient reuence that the world bare to the sea Apostolike, was oftentimes ill assured of the greatnesse of the Emperours, he was in all other regards very easie to be endamaged, as being disarmed of forces, depriued of money, the Church in an vniuersall weakenesse for want of strong townes, the minds of the people not vnitd nor firme in deuotion to their Prince, all the free holds and dependances of the Church full of diuisions and factions, the one part being *Guelfer*, & the other part *Gebelins*, and the *Gebelins* by an ancient and naturall impressiō; inclined to the name of the Emperours; and lastly the City of *Rome* more then all other places, defiled and weakened with these seedes and rootes of diuisions: The Pope also called into care and reckening the estate of *Florence*, which depending vpon him, and being the very peculiar and ancient greatnesse of his house, it was happy no lesse deare to his heart then the estate of the Church, and assuredly no lesse easie to be inuouated and changed: for as that City, since the passage of king *Charles*, hauing chased out the family of *Medicis*, and vnder the name of liberty, was diuolued to a gouernement popular for eightene yeares space, stood so ill contented with the returne of the *Medicis*, that there were very few to whom indeede was agreeable their puissance and greatnesse: so also the Pope feared vehemently least to so mighty occasions, were added a forward will and desire to offend that late. Wherein also he had reason to doubt that that same desire and enuy was not lesse, not so much for the regard of ambition in the most mighty, from which who is least puissant, is neuer wholly assured, as for feare that for many reasons, his name in that time were not odious to the Emperour: and albeit he made discourses in himselfe how much, both in the life of Pope *Leo*, and afterwards since he was Cardinall, he had trauelled for the greatnesse of the Emperour, so farre worth as Pope *Leo* and he with their great expences and dangers, had opened him the way in *Italy* to so great a puissance, and that for his owne particular, since his election to the Popedome, he had giuen mony to his Captaines, & made the *Florentins* to contribute during the Admirals being in *Italy*, without reuoking from his army the regiments of the Church and the bands of *Florence*: yet, either in consideration of his office, wherein he is a father and pastour indifferent betweene Princes Christian, and rather the author of peace then the nourisher of warres: or else for that he had begunne very lately to suspect and feare such a greatnesse, he was retired, and so giuen ouer to run the same fortune, that neither he would renew the confederation made by his predecessor for the defence of *Italy*, neither ayde him with money when the yeare before the Duke of *Burbon* entered with his army into *Prouence*. And albeit those matters had not giuen the Emperours Capitaines any iust cause to complaine, seeing he was not as yet bound by the League of *Adrian* to be concurrant against the Frenchmen in the warres of *Italy*: yet they were beginnings to make him

not esteemed the same man with the Emperour, but diminished much of the faith that til that day they had in him, as men who caried onely either by their appetites or by necessitie, thought themselves offended, if, to their particular enterprises dressed to occupie *Fraunce*, others did not as it were lay to their hands, according to the exāples before of others begun, vnder title to assure *Italy* against the power of the French. The complaints and displeasures began to discouer themselves at such times as the French K. passed the mounts to recouer the Duchy of *Millan*: for albeit the Pope according to the cōplaint he made afterwards to the Emperour, by a letter which he wrõte to him, had secretly distributed certaine quantities of mony to the Frenchmen at their returne from *Mailles*, yet afterwards he had no strait familiaritie or intelligence with them: but as soone as the king had made a conquest of the Citie of *Millan*, he entred into capitulations with him, taking his reason vpon the good euent and traine of his affaires; of which he excused himself to the Emperour with this allegation, that in that time, his Captaines forbearing to communicate with him any part of their plots or purposes by the space of twentie dayes, and despairing afterwards of the preseruatiō of that state, not without some feare of the kingdome of *Naples*, for that the Duke of *Albanie* drew with his regiments towards *Tuscane*: he was constrained to looke to his surety, and yet neuertheless the regard of his proper daunger did not so much cary him, but that he did accord with conditions no lesse fauourable and providing for the Emperours affaires then his owne, and did refuse very great offers which the French king tendred, to the end to make him enter into the alliance ioyntly with him. And yet neuertheless these excuses had not such operation, but that the Emperour and his Captaines were much troubled, not so much for that they saw themselves wholly depriued of hope to haue any more succours of him, as for the doubt they had that the capitulation containd not some further matter then the obligation of neutrality. Besides, they construed that in all sortes he had giuen too great reputation to the enterprise of the Frenchmen, and had this further feare also, least the Pope were the meane that the *Venetians* were not brought to follow his example; a matter which afterwards was discerned to be true by certaine letters and billes found in the kings tent after the victorie. Lastly the Pope had kindled these suspitions and discontentments when he consented that the munitions lent by the Duke of *Ferrara* to the French king when he lay afore *Pauia*, should not onely passe through his lands, but also he gaue ayde to the conduction of them. But much more were these quarrels broached at such time as the Duke of *Albanie* went to the enterprise of the Realme of *Naples*, not onely for that he was receiued and honored as a friend along all the estates of the Church and the *Florentines*, but also he stayed certaine dayes about *Sienna* to reforme at his instance the gouernment of that city; which albeit was the cause to prolong the Dukes voyage into the realme of *Naples*, and that it was a matter solicited principally by him to that end, as being a thing troublesome to him, that vpon one man should be layd the iurisdiction of *Naples* & *Millan*: yet the Imperials in that respect had made an interpretation, that betweene the French king & him was a further bond, then a simple promise not to offend one another. So that it was not without good reason that the Pope did not only feare together with the other Potentates, to be inuaded by the Imperials vpon euery concurrence of time and occasion, but also he had his feare particular, that without expecting an opportunity more great, they would bring on their fortune presently euen to set vpon the estate of the Church, or to execute some action against the common-weale of *Florence*. But the thing which more redoubled his feare, was, that the Duke of *Albanie* as soone as he was aduertised of the kings calamity, retired from the Mount *Rotondo* towards *Bracciano* for his safety: and hauing also sent thither a cornet of an hundred and fifty horfmen that were within *Rome*, whom the Pope caused to accompany him thither for his gard, fearing the preparations which the Duke of *Sessa* and the Imperials made to defeat the regiments of the Duke of *Albanie*: and comming from *Sermoneta* about foure hundred horse and twelue hundred footmen of the bands of the *Vrsins*, being followed by *Iulio Colonna* with many troupes of horfmen and footmen, it hapned that he ouerthrew them at the Abbey of tree fountaines, who flying for their safety into the City of *Rome*, where they entred at the gates of *S. Paule* and *S. Sebastian*, the bands of *Iulio* entred with them pellmell, and in their rage killed diuerse of them in the field of *Flora* and other places of the City. Vpon which occasion the whole City drawing into tumult tooke armes, first with a great feare, and afterwards with no little indignation of the Pope, for the slender regard and reuerence that was

giuen

giuen to his authoritie: but in such a doubt and generall trauell of mind, he had occurrant the counsels and offers of the *Venetians*, who being of themselves entred into the like feire, laboured to perswade him with no small instance, that by their common aide and meanes there might be procured to descend into *Italy* with all speede a regiment of ten thousand *Swissers*, and calling also into their pay another Colonie of *Italians*, they might ioyne in grosse to oppose against so manifest and huge daungers: wherein they promised for their parts (which is their ordinary custome) farre greater things then they are wont to obserue: they alleaged that it was many months since the Launceknights within *Pania* had hene payd, who seeing since the victory the same difficulties of payment to continue, were become mutinous, and seazing vpon the artilleries, were drawne into a setled strength within *Pania*: that because the Captains had no mean to make good their paiement, all the residue of the armie was drawne into tumult, & murmured euery day more and more: in so much as both he and they falling speedily into armes, both their common estates were assured, and the occasion was entertained by the which they would of themselves fall into disorder, being no lesse imbarcked into those difficulties, then constrained to keepe continually great forces for the guard of the king that was prisoner. To this they added, that there was no doubt that the Ladie Regent through whose hands passed the gouernement of *Fraunce*, and in whom was no small desire to further that vnion, would not onely make march at their instance the Duke of *Albanie* with his regiments, and the foure hundred Launces of the arearegard reserved of the battell: but also would induce the vniuersall consent of the kingdome of *Fraunce* to be concurrant for the safetie of *Italy*, with a great summe of money, as knowing that thereupon depended the greatest part of their hope to recouer the king. Lastly, they vrged this deliberation to be good and necessarie, if it were with the same speede put in execution: but to deferre and temporize, were to giue meane to the Imperials to reduce their condition and reordor themselves, the rather for that whosoever tooke not a resolution to enter into armes, stood in case of constraint to compound with them, and to giue them money: which was no other thing then to become an instrument and meane to deliuer them from all their difficulties, and submit themselves wilfully vnder a yoke of perpetuall subiection. Moreover they put him in hope, that the Duke of *Ferrara* would follow them, who like as both for his ancient dependancy of the French, and for the aide which in that war he had administred to the king, was not without his feare: so also his coniunction seemed of no litle importance, no lesse for the commoditie of his estate in the warres of *Lombardie* (*Ferrara* being a verie strong towne) then for his great store of munitions and artilleries, and (as the brute went) for his right huge wealth of gold and siluer. But neither the hope to ouercome an enterprize so hard and dangerous, which with wise men ought to carie no litle care and impression, nor the consideration of perils furthest off and remoued, to the which time is wont to bring those remedies which the wit of man could not find out, nor anie other thing of what propertie or operation soeuer, could not encline the Pope to open his eares to such speeches and perswasions, had not a feare to be inuaded presently, induced him to lay himselfe downe rather to the daunger least certaine, then to the perill that seemed most assured and most present: and therefore the practises were so farre aduanced betweene them, and they staying vpon nothing but to set downe the capitulations by writing, there was expectation from houre to houre to contract and accord: in so much as the Pope, who perswaded himselfe of the conclusion, dispatched in post to the king of *England*, *Ieronimo Ghinuccio* a *Siennois*, and Auditor of the Apostolike chamber, whose commission was to labour to dispose the king to oppose his forces against such a greatnesse of the Emperour. In the verie instant of this expedition, arriued with good oportunitie the Archbishop of *Capua*, his ancient Secretary & Counsellour, and for many yeares of great authority with him: he as soone as he was aduertised of the victorie of the Imperials, departed from *Plaisance*, & went to the campe of *Don Charles de Lauro* Viceroy of *Naples*, and being resolved of his intention, he tooke post horse to go to the Pope, to whom he caried an assured hope of accord: for at that time the Viceroy and the other Captaines were occupied with two thoughts and perplexities: the one to provide money to content the armie, which for want of pay they saw began to decline into manifest confusion: the other, to carie the person of the French king into such a place, as the difficultie to gard him should not keepe them in continuall care and feare: which two things being established, they iudged them to stand in degree and condition alwayes able to execute and put to effect their purposes. In which

*The Venetians
solicite the
Pope to con-
derate with
them.*

*The Imperials
determine to
accord with
the Pope.*

respect they desired accord with the Pope, pretending thereby to draw from him a great quantity of money whereunto seeking to dispose him the rather by feare, and also in relieuing the estate of *Millan*, which was almost waisted with the burthen of souldiers, they sent to lie vpon the countrey of *Plaisance* foure hundred men at armes and eight hundred Launcelknightes not as enemies, but alleaging sometimes the pouertie of the Duchie of *Millan* to be farr vnable to nourish so great an armie, and sometimes threatening to make the march vp to the terrace of *Rome* to seeke out the Duke of *Albany*, if the regiments of men of warre that had bene leauied by the *Vrsins* were not retired and dissolued. But these industries and diligences were superfluous, for that as soon as the Pope was assured to auoid the dangers present, he left there all his other thoughts and disposed his mind wholly to the accord: in which inclination concurring also the reasons & counsell of the Archbishop, he sent after the Auditor of the chamber, to countermaund him backe againe. And to take away all occasions that might hinder the accord, he wrought so that the Duke of *Albany* dispersed his whole armie, except those bands of footmen & horfmen that were of beyond the Mounts: he lodged the Duke within *Corneto*, after he had on the other side receiued promise of the Emperours Commanders, to giue leaue also to their souldiers that lay vpon the passages of *Rome*, and cause to stay *Ascanius Colonno* with the other companies that came from the kingdome: he also was an interposer with the *Colonnois*, beginning to molest the lands of the *Vrsins*, to defist and depose armes.

The Pope both desired and did all he could to bring the *Venetians* comprehended within the accord which he solicited with the *Viceroy*, but the only difficultie that resisted was, that they refused to pay so much money as the *Viceroy* demanded of them: for he required of them so much money as had bene spent in the warre, to the which they ought to contribute, and that hereafter they should make their contribution not with men, but with money: the like demaund did he also make to all those that were comprehended in the confederation made with *Adrian*: but it made well for the Pope that the *Venetians* shewed themselves hard and strait, because they put the *Viceroy* in suspicion that they layd for new stirres and commotions: and whilest these matters were negotiated with a verie assured hope of conclusion, the *Florentines* by the Popes ordinance sent xxv. thousand duckets to the Marquis of *Pesquero* for the entertainment of the armie, hauing first receiued promise from *Iohn Bart. de Gattinaro* who negotiated with the Pope for the *Viceroy*, that that summe should be parcell of the principall summe which was to be paid to him by vertue of the new capitulation. And not many dayes afore the resolution and conclusion of the said capitulation, the Duke of *Albanie*, who for his returning into *Fraunce* had taried for the Nauie at sea, which being now come, and also the Galleys that were sent him, he embarked himselfe in them together with the Galleys of the Pope, which were sent to him by consent of the *Viceroy*, and had neuertheless no safe conduct, neither for the one nor for the other: *Ranse de Cere* was imbarked with him, together with the artilleries which he had had from *Sienna* and *Lucqua*, and foure hundred horse, a thousand Launcelknightes, with a very smal troupe of *Italians*, the residue of the regiments being retired and gone away by troupes: the residue of the horses were partly sold, and partly left there. It was discerned clearly by the dealing and proceeding of the Duke of *Albany*, that the purpose of his sending thither, was either to diuert the Imperials from the Duchie of *Millan* for feare of the kingdome of *Naples*, or else through that feare to induce them to accord, and as wel for that cause he had marched slowly, as for that the forces which the king had giuen him, were not sufficient for such an enterprise.

But at last leauing out the *Venetians*, the confederation was concluded within *Rome* the first day of Aprill, betwene the Pope and *Florentines* on the one part, and the Emperour of the other, for whom the *Viceroy* vnderooke, being his Lieutenant generall in *Italy*, & for the *Viceroy*, *Iohn Bart. de Gattinaro*, nephew to the Emperours chiefe Chauncellour, being in *Rome* with full and ample commission. The effect of the capitulations most importing was this: That betwene the Pope and the Emperour should be a perpetuall amitie and confederation, by the which both the one and the other should be bound to defend with a certaine proportion of men the Duchie of *Millan*, being then possessed vnder the name of the Emperour by *Frauncis Sforce*, who was named as principall in this capitulation: That the Emperour should take into his protection all the estates which the Church held, together with those which the *Florentines* possessed, and particularly the house of *Medici*, with all the authoritie and preheminences which that familie held

Confederation
betwene the
Pope and the
Emperour.

held in that Citie: That the *Florentines* should pay presently an hundred thousand duckets, for recompence of their part of contribution in the last warres, by vertue of the league made by Pope *Adrian*, which the Emperour pretended not to be dissolued by his death, for that it was manifestly expressed vpon the capitulations to endure one yeare after the seuerall death of the confederates: That the Imperials should retire their forces from off the Church estates, and not to send afterwards any bands of souldiers to harbour or lodge there without the Popes consent. There was place left for the *Venetians* to enter into this consideration within the terme of twentie dayes vnder reasonable conditions, which were to be dedared by the Pope and the Emperour. Moreouer, it was accorded, that the *Viceroy* should be bound to bring in within foure moneths the Emperours ratification to all these capitulations: and those that were delegates and deputies for the *Viceroy*, were bound seuerally to a capitulation confirmed by oath, that if the Emperour within the said time did not ratifie the said capitulations, the *Viceroy* should repay ouer againe the said hundred thousand duckets: and yet so long as they were not repayed, the league should haue his full obseruation, to the which were added these three articles, not being any of the text of the capitulation, but set downe in articles apart, and confirmed also by oath: That in all causes and actions of benefices of the realme of *Naples*, it should be permitted to the Popes to vse the same authoritie and iurisdiction as was disposed by the inuestitures of the kingdome: That hereafter the Duchie of *Millan* should make all their prouision off salt from *Cernia*, according to the price and order which had bene afore time couenanted betweene Pope *Leo* and the French king now raigning, and confirmed in the capitulation which the sayd Pope *Leo* made with the Emperour in the yeare a thousand five hundred twentie and one: That the *Viceroy* should so worke and labour, as the Duke of *Ferrara* should immediatly render to the Church, *Reggio*, *Rabiera*, with such other townes as he had taken during the vacation of the Sea by the death of *Adrian*: and that in consideration thereof, the Pope as soone as he should be repossessed of them, should pay to the Emperour an hundred thousand duckets, and at the first request to be made to him, to absolue the Duke of *Ferrara* of the censures and priuations which he had incurred, but not of the penalty of an hundred thousand duckats, which he had promised in case of breaking the bond made with *Adrian*: and yet neuerthelesse after the Pope had recouered possession, there should be search and examination made in law, whether those townes, together with *Modena*, appertained to the Church or to the Empire: and if they were found to be the rights of the Empire, then they should stand holden and recognized in chiefe of the Emperour, and otherwise to remaine free to the sea Apostolike.

This deliberation of the Pope was diuersly interpreted, according to the diuersity of mens passions and iudgements: but especially did varie the construction of the popular sort, to whom such counsels as cary the sayrest shewes seeme commonly more acceptable and pleasing, then those that are digested with good maturity of reasons: the common people also according to their lightnesse and credulity, do for the most part esteeme for wise and noble, such men as measure things not by discretion and experience, but by affection and light relation. There were also some that professed to desire the liberty of *Italy*, who blamed the Popes dealing, as though through pusillanimity and infirmity of courage he had let slippe the occasion to vnite it against the Emperour, and to deliuer himselfe from all disorders: but most men of deeper iudgement and insight in matters of state, were of another opinion: They saw how farre it had bene from wise counsell, to oppose resistance with new companies against so glorious and victorious an army: They considered by how many reasons the comming of the *Swissers* might be long and dilatorie, and with what difficulties they should passe notwithstanding they were ready to descend: and yet wayghing with their custome and inconstancy of their nature, the fresh wound which they had so lately receiued, there was no assurance of their comming. These wise-men sawe also that there was no better hope or expectation on the French side, either for that by reason of so great an ouerthrow they stood depriued both of courage and counsell, or else there remained no prouision of money, nor any supply of men of warre to refutnish the bands (those few that escaped the lamentable slaughter of the battell being so spoyled of their furniture and baggage, that they stood in neede both of time and money to readresse them: so that this vnion carryed no other foundation apparant or probable, then a naked hope that the army of the enemies would not come on nor moue for want of money: a matter which though it

came so to passe, yet they remayned not for all that depriued of the Duchie of *Millan*, which so long as it stood at the deuotion of the Emperour, the Pope could not be without a perpetuall occasion of feare: and yet that hope was not without his vncertainties, for that it drew with it this feare, that the Captaines, either by their authoritie, or by their pollicie, or lastly, by propounding to the souldiers the sacke of some rich towne of the Church or of *Tuscane*, would dispose the armie to march: & of this inclination was discerned this manifest tokē, that one part of the Launce knights to seeke a place of harbor of more benefite & conueniency, were passed the riuier of *Paw*, & come vpon the lands of *Parma* and *Plaisance*: in so much as if they had any intētion to passe further; it could not be but all remedies would come too late, and also so great a deliberation was grounded with too great a danger, vpon a bare hope of the disorders of the enemies, who neuerthelesse had it in their power & will to rid themselues out of their disorders. Then the counsell of the Pope seemed discret & well considered according to the time that then ran, but it had haply bene more commendable, if in all the articles of the capitulation he had vsed the same discretion, and disposed his wit rather to close vp and make whole all the wounds of *Italy*, then to open and make sharpe any one of consequence: wherein he had wisely imitated the order of the skilful physicians, who when the remedies they prepare to cure the indisposition of the inferiour members, augment the malady of the head or the heart, they throw away all care of griefes and infirmities most light, and with the fauour of time they proceede carefully to the cure of that which most importeth and carieth most necessity of remedy for the safetie and good health of the patient: but the better to explaine and signifie such a matter, it is necessarie we descend more deeply into the discourse of one part of those things which we haue set downe seuerally here and there, and reduce them into one place and order.

The rights and pretensions of the family of *Esse*.

They of the family and house of *Esse*, besides that they haue bene possessed of long time vnder the title of the Vicars of the Church, of the iurisdiction of *Ferrara*, were Lords also for many yeares of *Reggia* and *Modena* by vertue of inuestiture from the Emperours, for that in those times there was none that called into doubt why those two cities were not subiect to the Empire: they were enioyed peaceably vntill Pope *Iulio* the second (he whose custome was to recouer the ancient titles and rights of the Church, long buried with tract of time, and vnder shadow of piety, was the author of many ills) began the warre with Duke *Alfonso*, to reduce wholly *Ferrara* vnder the obedience of the Church: by the occasion and accidents of this warre, the Pope tooke from him *Modena*, & at the beginning retained it for himself, as though together with all the other townes euē to the riuier of *Paw*, it had appertained to the Sea Apostolike, as being part of the partage or diuision of *Rauenma*: but a litle after he gaue it to the Emperor *Maximilian* for feare of the Frenchmen, and yet he ceased not for all that the warre against *Alfonso*, but tooke from him afterwards *Reggia*: yea, it was beleueed that (in that humour of authority and ambition) if he had liued longer, he would haue depriued him also of *Ferrara*: not that he accompanied his action with equity, but for the hatred and enuy he bare to *Alfonso*, wherein he not onely sought to couer his ambition with piety, pretending vnder that pretext to recouer to the Church all that he could find had bene holden by her in any time: but also vnder such a shadow, he pushed on the disdain he had to *Alfonso*, for that he followed rather the amitie of *Fraunce*, then depended of him: yea in this malicious disposition was haply concurrant the vnappeasable hatred which he bare to the memorie and reliques of *Alexander* the sixt his predecessor, whose daughter called *Lecrece* had bene married to the Duke *Alfonso*, of which mariage were procreated many children. The said Pope *Iulio* left by his death to his successors not only the succession of *Reggia*, but also the same thirst and desire to get *Ferrara*, whereunto they seemed to be inclined, for the glorious memorie he had left of himself to posteritie: for which reason that ambition was more mighty in *Leo* his successor, then the regard to the greatnesse which the house of *Medici* had in *Florence*, on whose behalfe it seemed more profitable that the puissance of the Church should diminish, then to haue it made more redoubted to all her neighbours, by annexing of *Ferrara* to it: and indeed after he had bought *Modena*, he disposed his spirits and studie wholly to the getting of *Ferrara*, & that more by practise and ambushes then with force open & disclosed, for that it wold haue bene an enterprize of too great difficulties, since *Alfonso* by the consideration of his owne dangers, fortified himselfe on all sides, & made plentifull provision of artilleries & munitions, and as the brute went, had confirmed his strength with huge proportions of wealth & treasure: it may be his hatred

were greater then the hatreds of *Iulio*, euen so were they managed with more secrecie and subtilty: wherein besides many plots which he layd to take *Ferrara*, either by surprize or by fraud, he passed such manner of obligations, with those Princes, that he made alliance withall, that at least they were restrained to hinder him in this enterprize: that held him, not only during the life of *Luian* his brother, and *Lawrence* his nephew, for whose greatnesse and exaltation it was thought he was caried with that ambition, but also euen after their death: yea he was so ouer-ruled with that running desire, that many were perswaded that thereupon proceeded his last deliberation (more then discrete) to knit with the Emperour against the French king: insomuch that by necessity *Alfonso* was constrained to satisfie the French king (being his only founder & hope) in making warre vpon them of *Modena*, at such time as the armies of Pope *Leo* & the Emperour held *Pavia* besieged: in which warre, albeit he had received a verie ill successe, yet he had bene reduced into more greater difficulties, if Pope *Leo*, euen amid the course and dayes of his victories, had not bene called into the other life by sodaine death; an accident which assuredly chaunced no lesse aptly and conueniently to him & to his affaires, then the death of *Iulio*. And it may be doubted, whether at last *Adrian* that was successor to *Leo*, was not infected with that property of couetousnesse, although both for his new creation, and want of training in the affaires of *Italy*, he gaue him absolution of the Censures in the verie first times of his coming to *Rome*: he granted him also of new the inuestiture of the Duchie, with permission to retaine all that he had possessed during the vacation of the Sea: he brought him also into a generall hope to make restitution of *Modena* & *Reggia*, although after wards vpon better information of the estate & condition of things, he well expressed how farre his will was estranged from his promise. But by the creation of Pope *Clement*, *Alfonso* entred into a great feare to returne eftsouones into the same dangers wherin he was intangled before: he tooke his reason of this feare, for that if things had happily succeeded with *Clement*, the same propertie of disposition would haue bene found in him, which had alwayes followed *Iulio* and *Leo*: but as the occasion was not yet ripe for *Ferrara*, so he made his next practise and preparation to haue againe *Reggia* & *Rubiera*, as an enterprize of more facilitie, and better to be iustified by the late possession which the Church had of them, and as though in that regard he could not but beare dishonour and infamie, to leaue them vnrecovered. Vpon which selfe suggestions & reasons, he tooke occasion both in many other sorts afore, and lastly in the capitulation with the *Viceroy*, to occupie his memorie with that deuise more often then manie desired: who as they looked into the daungers hanging ouer euerie mans head by the greatnesse of the Emperour, and to breake the same, saw no better remedie then a ready and generall vnion of all the estates of *Italy* together, that the time might cut out occasions & necessities euerie day to take armes. So they iudged it a better course for the Pope not to stirre and kindle the Duke of *Ferrara*, and much lesse to put him into necessity to seeke his rescue betweene the armes of the Emperour, against whose forces, whose fortune, & whose felicities, the time gaue them no power to oppose: & for the particular of the Duke, he was a Prince rich, which in conference of actions and enterprises, is not of the least consideration, and for his training and experience, well able to foresee and auoyd; a vertue most commendable in a Prince, whether his case be to defend or offend. Besides, as well for the congruencie of his estate, as for his other conditions, the present diuisions and conspiracies of the time, required rather to cal him into affection and assurance, then to leaue him perplexed with hatred or feare: and yet it may be doubted, whether to do benefite and pleasure to one perswaded that he hath receiued iniuries, be sufficient to wipe out of a mind ill disposed and full of iealousie, the memorie of wrongs and offences, specially when the pleasure is done at a time, when it seemes to proceedes more by necessitie then of good will.

After this capitulation was resolved, the Pope not to omit any conuenient office to so great a Prince as the French king, by permission of the *Viceroy*, sent the Bishop of *Pisfoya* to visite and comfort him in his name: there past betweene the king and him but generall speeches, and that in the presence and hearing of Captaine *Alarcan*, wherein he chiefly besought the Pope to make some good solicitation for him to the Emperour: he asked him also, in such secrecie as the licence of a prisoner would suffer, what was become of the Duke of *Albanie*, and was answered to his great grieve, that one part of his armie being broken and retired, he was returned with the residue into *Fraunce*. In these times they of *Lucqua* accorded with the *Viceroy*, who receiued them to the protection of the Emperour, vnder condition of ten thousand duckets: by whose example

*The Pope
sends to visite
the French king
being prisoner.*

also the inhabitants of *Sienna* contracted with him for fiftene thousand duckets without binding him to maintaine more the one forme of gouernement then the other, for that of the one side, the family of *Montenono*, who at the instance of the Pope, and by the meane of the Duke of *Albanie*, had resumed the authority, which neuerthelesse was not as yet well confirmed: and on the other part, those who by the profession they made to desire liberty, were commonly called *Liberlines*, tooke heart by reason of the battell of *Pania*, and would not endure the pollicie & gouernment induced by the forces of the French king: both parts sent messengers to the *Viceroy* to incline him, and to worke him favorable to their seuerall doings, and receiuing from him no certaine resolution touching the forme of gouernment, they ioyned both together and solicited readily composition: which being established and set downe, and the men arriued whom the *Viceroy* sent to receiue the money, it hapned both in their presence and in the very action of counting the money, that *Ierome Senerino* a Citizen of *Sienna*, who had bene sometime with the *Viceroy*, *flue Alexander Dichio*, both chiefe of the new gouernment, and also to whom the Pope had assigned at that time the whole reputation: the residue of the Citizens of faction and conspiracy with him, vpon that alarme tooke armes, concurring with them the commotion and confociation of the populars, being ill contented that the pollicie should estsoons returne vnder the yoke of tyranny: in which vniuersal emotion and rising they chased out the Chieftains of the family of *Montenono*, and reducing the Citie to a reformation, they readdressed estsoones the gouernment popular, being both enemie to the Pope, and adherent to the Emperor. It was beleueed that this alteration of pollicie was either done directly with the priuie of the *Viceroy*, or at least not without his great allowing & approbation, seeing it brought no litle commodity to the affaires of the Emperor, to haue at his deuotion that Citie, which for her forces is very mighty and puissant, for the oportunitie of her ports and hauens, of great regard for marine enterprises, for her fertility of countries very rich and plentifull, for her neighbourhood to the realme of *Naples*, verie congruent and apt, and for her situation betweene *Rome* and *Florence* not of least respect and reason to fauour his affaires, and yet both the *Viceroy* and Duke of *Sessa* had giuen hope to the Pope not to alter the gouernment introduced with his fauour. There were many other townes in *Italy*, who taking example of the inclination of them of *Lucqua* and *Sienna*, followed the fortune of the victors: amongst these was the Marquis of *Montferat*, who compounded for fiftene thousand duckets: & the Duke of *Ferrara* made a loane to the *Viceroy* of fiftie thousand duckets, vnder promise to haue them repaid if they did not capitulate together: he tooke his reason of that loane vpon the present condition of his affaires which could not be established so speedily, both for the respects they bare to the captulation made with the Pope, and also for the necessitie to vnderstand first the will of the Emperour: but with the money of that loane, together with a hundred thousand duckets, which were promised from the Duchie of *Millan*, and the imposition of *Sienna* and *Lucqua*, together with some proportion of treasure sent to *Genes* by the Emperour for the supportation of the warre (which neuerthelesse came after the victorie) the Captaines set downe the payes of the armie according to the rate and quantitie of the money that came, meaning to pay the souldiers for all that was past, and to send backe from hand to hand the *Almaines* into *Germanie*: so that no tokens appearing that there was any intention at that time to follow the course of the victorie against any man, since the *Viceroy* both had ratified the capitulation made with the Pope according to his request, and also had put in negociation at the same time a new appointment with the *Venetians* which hee greatly desired. The eyes of euery man were set to beholde with what propertie of affection the Emperour would receiue his glad some newes, and to what endes his thoughtes were disposed: who so farre as exterior demonstrations made shew of, expressed great tokens of a mind much moderated, and verie apt to resist easily the prosperity of fortune: yea the signes and inclinations appearing seemed so much the more incredible, by how much he was a Prince mightie and young, and as yet had neuer tasted but of felicitie: for after he was informed truely of so great a victorie, whereof he had the report the tenth of March, together with letters of the French kings owne hand, written rather in the spirit and condition of a prisoner, then with the courage of a king: he went forthwith to the Church to make his holy oblations to God with manie solemnities, and the morning following he receiued with signes of right great deuotion the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, and so went in procession to our Ladies Church out of *Madriil*, where was his Court at that time.

The moderation and temperance of the Emperor vpon the newes of the victorie.

His temperance and moderation was about the expectation of his estate, and farre contrary to the custome of the time in matters of that nature: for he would not suffer any belles to be rung, nor bonfires to be made, nor any other manner of publike demonstrations: such as are vsed for glorie or gladnesse, alleaging with a minde more vertuous then insolent, that such propertie of feasting and reioycing was due to victories obtained against Infidels, but thought to haue no shew where one Christian ouercame another: neither were the actions and gestures of his person and speeches differing from so great a temperance and continencie of minde, which he well expressed in the answers he made to the congratulations of the Embassadors and great men that were about him: to whom he sayd he was not glad of the accident according to the glorious operation of flesh and blood, but his reioycing was in that God had so manifestly ayded him; which he interpreted to an assured signe that he stood in his grace and fauour, though not through his owne merite, yet by his celestiall election: both for that he hoped now to haue occasion to reduce Christendome to peace, and to prepare warre against the Infidels, and also to haue meane to do good to his friends and to pardon his enemies: he said that albeit he might iustly appropriate to himselfe the whole victory, for that the helpe of none of his friends did concur in the action, yet he was contented so great a prosperitie should runne common to them all without any separation of glorie. Wherein after he had heard the Embassadour of *Venice*, who iustified afore him the seruices done by his common weale, he sayd to such as stood about him, that though his reasons and iustifications were not true, yet he would both accept them and repute them for true: and after he had continued certaine dayes in these speeches and demonstrations full of wisdom and moderation, he called his Counsell together; to the end that according to his obseruation and custome, nothing were proceeded in, which were not well measured with maturitie of reasons and counsell: He required them by a manner of proposition, to aduise him in what sort he was to deale with the French King, and to what endes he was to adresse and dispose his victorie, commaunding them all to deliuer freely in his presence their seuerall opinions. Amongest them the first place of speaking was referred to the Bishop of *Osimo* his Confessor, who reasoned in this manner.

It is not vnknown to your excellent Maiestie, that God hath authoritie to dispose all things, by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing: and albeit all accidents and mortall euentures what so euer falling in this inferiour world, take their proceedings and dayly mouings of the prouidence of the eternall God, yet we finde it oftentimes more especially declared in some nature of things then in others, as manifestly hath appeared vpon the successe of your present victorie: for, both for the greatnesse of the glorie gotten, which is the most honourable end and reward of warre, and for the facilitie of the victorie, which iustificeth the innocencie and goodnesse of your cause, and also for your happinesse to haue subdued enemies most puissant and better prepared for the warre then you, by which your valour and felicitie shineth with a clearer light, I thinke it can not be denied, that in the action hath not bene expressed an especiall will of God drawing almost to a miracle: Therefore by how much the eternall God hath layd this great blessing vpon you both manifestly and publikely, by so much more stand you tyed in obligation and office both to acknowledge it with humilitie and submission, and by demonstration to declare how thankfull you are for it. This is the sacrifice that God requireth at your hands, and to this calleth you the consideration of the benefite, and your Christian pietie: the action whereof consisteth principally that you adresse your victorie to the exaltation of the seruice of God, which is the end for the which you ought to beleue that he hath throwen it vpon you. And for my part, when I looke into what termes and degrees the estate of Christendome is reduced, I see no way more holy, more necessarie, nor more agreeable to God, then to worke an vniuersall peace betwene the Princes of the imperie and regiment of Christendome. Wherein I am so much the more touched in conscience, in office, and in calling, by how much I discern by the generall face and shew of things, that without peace, both religion and all her lawes and rules, and faith which mortall men repose in it, together with all obseruation of the commaundements of God, which is the foundation of our Christianitie, are sliding into manifest ruine. Your Maiestie is not ignorant, how on the one side we haue the nation of the *Turkes*, who besides they haue wrought great things vpon the Christians by our owne discords & diuisions, do now manifestly threat the kingdome of *Hungary* which appertaineth to

*The Oration
of the Bishop of
Osimo touching
the taking of
the French King.*

" the husband of your sister : Their ambition goeth on increasing by the degrees of our separa-
 " tions and disagreements : and if God for our punishment suffer them to take *Hungarie*, which
 " assuredly they will take if the Christian Princes do not draw into one vnitie and amitie together,
 " the way is made open to them to carie the whole Monarchie of *Germanie* and *Italie* ; a losse
 " irreparable, and no lesse tyed to a perpetuall infamie to the name of Christian Princes ; then
 " the seruitude and yoke of barbarisme will be alwayes intollerable to the generall posteritie of all
 " Christian soules . On the other side we haue the infection of Lutheranisme , so flaunderous to
 " those that haue power to oppresse it , and so dangerous for the spreading it makes in all partes,
 " that if it be not restrained , the world is in hazard to be replenished with Heretickes ; there
 " is no other remedie for that euill, then by your authoritie and puissance , which yet you can not
 " aduance for the cure of this maladie , so long as you stand embarked in other warres . But
 " be it , that for the present there were neither feare of the *Turkes* , nor daunger of Heretickes,
 " yet to a Prince professing pietie and charitie , what can be more fowle ; more sinfull , or
 " more to be abhorred , then for our passions , and emulation of ambition , to liue in a confu-
 " sion of so much Christian blood , which either with greater glorie might be spent in the quar-
 " rel of the faith of Christ , or at least with better oportunitie be reserued for times more neces-
 " sarie . The warres that you now prosecute, draw after them a bottomlesse gulfe of violations and
 " whoredomes , an infinitie of sacrileges and blasphemies , and a world of other impious and
 " execrable deedes ; such as who so euer is a voluntarie authour of them, can not but stand in a
 " weake estate of grace or hope of pardon at Gods hand , seeing that if necessitie leade him into
 " them , he is without merite of excuse , if at the least he proceede not to the remedie of so great
 " euils so speedily as he hath the meane . It is not good to be the authour of euill , but we are es-
 " pecially bidden to beware to continue in those euils which our conscience doth assure vs to of-
 " fend God : so that this ought to be the end of your Maiesties thoughtes and counsels , and the
 " especiall marke whereat you haue to shoote , to reduce the Princes and Potentates of Christen-
 " dome to an vniuersall peace, as a matter most honourable , most holy , and most necessarie ; for
 " the maner and reall effecting whereof , your Maiestie may take three deliberations touching the
 " French king : The first to keepe him a perpetuall prisoner : The second to deliuer him friend-
 " ly and brotherly without other conditions then such as may induce betweene you a perpetu-
 " all peace and amitie , and tende to cure and readdressse the harmes of Christendome : The
 " third , to exact by his libertie as great a profite as you can . Of these , two of them in my o-
 " pinion do augment and prolong the warres : but the third which is his absolute libertie in ami-
 " tie and brotherhood , is the onely remedie to remoue the warre , and resist for euer all moti-
 " ons and occasions to renew it : for it is not to be doubted, but that the French King (for so sin-
 " gular a liberalitie as the free benefite of his libertie) will remaine more assured to you in minde
 " and affection , then he standes now fast bound to you in bodie . Greater is the bond of li-
 " beralitie and friendship , then the law of kindred and blood , for that election and iudgement
 " make a friend , but fortune brings parentage . And if betweene your sacred Maiestie and him
 " shall runne a league of true vnion and concord , all other Christian Princes will embrace recon-
 " ciliation and agreement , and by your vertuous example ; will labour to reclaime to the bodie
 " of Christendome , such members as liue now in separation . But if you make a resolution to de-
 " taine him alwayes in prison , besides the apparant crueltie in the act , which is contrarie to
 " the pietie of a Christian Prince ; and besides the imputation of ignoraunce touching the muta-
 " bilitie of fortune , which in matters of victorie draweth deepe consideration , you shall nou-
 " rish the seedes of mutuall warres betweene you , which no doubt will grow increasing and mul-
 " tiplying to the indifferent ruine of you both : for in so doing you will make the world clamorous
 " against your vehement thirst after the crowne of *Fraunce* or some member thereof, and driue him
 " in reason and equitie to rise into new warres , to resist so great an ambition . And to chuse the
 " way to deliuer him vnder capitulations for your most profite and aduantage , can not be but
 " the worse way, and an election more daungerous then both the others : for , make what alli-
 " ance you will , what capitulations you can, and what obligations you thinke good , yet by how
 " much you seeke to tye his liberty to such conditions, by so much will he take occasion to be more
 " & more your enemy, wherein he shall neuer want the assistance and companie of all those Princes
 " whom

whom he can induce to be iealousse ouer your greatnesse . In cases of iealousie and emulation „
 for imperie and estate , it is hard to containe the courage of man , though in all other occasions „
 nature hath assigned him an ordinarie bridle and restraint : and such is mans infirmitie , that „
 when the heart is possessed of the iniurie , the whole body is caried with a violent motion to the „
 passion of reuenge . I am not ignoraunt how farre this opinion differeth from the tast of ordina- „
 rie men , neither how new it is to their eares , nor how little confirmed with examples : but „
 I know againe how much it agreeth with the Maiestie of the Emperour to dispose his minde „
 to deliberations extraordinarie and singular : such as the conceptions and capacitie of other „
 men can not reach vnto , whom if your Maiestie exceede in dignitie , you ought by so many „
 degrees to surmount in magnanimitie , which will not onely leade you to the merite and effect „
 of true glorie , but also it will open your sacred eyes to discerne what greate comelinesse it „
 brings to you to pardon and vse liberalitie , then to punish and be couetous in getting . By this „
 your Maiestie shall know that God hath not giuen you in vaine , yea almost miraculously , the „
 power to reduce the world to a peace : and that it appertaineth vnto you , after so many victo- „
 ries , after so many graces and blessings throwen vpon you by the goodnesse of God , and after „
 you haue brought so many Princes prostrate at your feete , to proceede no more in the person „
 of anemie to any man , but to prouide in the affection of a common father , for the safetie of „
 all men . That glorie is vniust that is purchased with the iniurie of another , and nature hath „
 sown in man as well seedes of equitie and clemencie , as of iniurie and furie . The magnanimitie „
 which *Alexander* the great and *Iulius Caesar* haue shewed in pardoning their enemies , and „
 restoring kingdomes to those they had vanquished , hath made their names more glorious , then „
 their infinite victories and many triumphes : whose example it importeth most those men to „
 follow , who not making glorie their onely end (though it be a right great reward) do desire „
 principally to do that which is the true and proper office of euery Christian Prince . But to the „
 end to conuince such as measure humane things onely with humane endes , let vs consider fur- „
 ther if there remaine yet any other deliberation more conformable then this ; For my part I be- „
 leeue , that in all the greatnesse and soueraigne estate of your Maiestie , there is no part more „
 wonderfull nor more worthy , then this commendation and glorie , that you haue stood till „
 this day inuincible , and haue guided all your enterprises to a most happie end , drawing with it „
 both felicitie and reputation : which as you can not but interprete to be the most precious iewell , „
 and most singular treasure that God hath indued you withall , so he hath left to your Maiestie „
 no better way to establish it , nor fitter meane to assure and conserue it , then in leauing the „
 warres with an end so honourable and worthie , to take out of the handes and power of for- „
 tune the subuersion of your glorie gotten , and to reduce from the middest of the sea to the port „
 of safetie , this vessell loaden with marchandise of value inestimable . It belonges to wise men not „
 to referre euen soones to the arbitrement of fortune , the things which they haue once atchieued by „
 their valour and wisdom : and this hath bene alwayes an obseruation with wise men , that the „
 greater their fortune was , the lesse did they trust it . But let vs passe further , there is no man doub- „
 teth that that greatnesse which is preserved willingly is not more agreeable , then that which is „
 maintained by violence , for that it is so much the more stable , so much the more easie , so much the „
 more agreeable , and so much the more honorable : If your Maiestie bind the Frēch king to you by „
 so great a liberalitie , and by so great a benefite , will it not be the proper degree to put vpon you the „
 absolute authoritie & iurisdiction both of himselfe and his kingdome ? If you giue to the Pope and „
 other Princes so manifest a certaintie , that you are cōtēted with the states which you haue , & that „
 you liue in a speciall care and watching ouer the vniuersall safetie of Christendome , will not they „
 remaine without suspition ? Yea hauing no more to feare you , nor nothing to quarrell with you , „
 they will not only loue you , but they will honor in your person so great a bountie . By this meane „
 you shall draw to you the hearts of mē , which are not to be subdued by fiercenesse , you shall giue „
 lawes to all nations for that they see you deuided from ambition , and by this meane shal you dis- „
 pose more Christians with good wil and authoritie , then with forces & subiection . By this meane „
 being followed and aided of all men , you shal haue good oportunitie to turne your armes against „
 the Lutherans & Infidels , with greater glory & with more occasion of greater conquestes . Which „
 I know not why they should not be also desired in *Affrike* , in *Greece* , or in *Lenant* , seeing that as „
 you haue had so great facilitie to amplifie your dominion amongst the Christians , & the puissance „

" of your Maieſtie ſo augmented, that it is almoſt become terrible to them all , ſo when they ſhall
 " ſee your purpoſes extended further, and your ambition breake out of limit, all the world will con-
 " ſpire by neceſſitie againſt you, whom they finde armed with a minde ſo prejudiciall to their libe-
 " tie. In all times, in all climats, and to all natures, ſeruitude hath bene hatefull , and libertie ſweete
 " and acceptable: the Pope feareth your power, the *Venetians* tremble vnder your puiſſant hand,
 " your forces haue put all *Italy* into aſtoniſhment, and by the tokens that are diſcerned, it is credi-
 " ble that the king of *England* enuieſh your felicitie : you may for certaine moneths entertaine the
 " Frenchmen with faire hopes and vaine practiſes , but in the end, either the king muſt be deliue-
 " red , or they muſt be ſent backe deſperate : if they reape diſpaire, they haue reaſon to conſpire
 " againſt you with all the confederates they can procure : and if you deliuer the king with conditions
 " of little profit to your Maieſtie, what ſhall you winne, to loſe the occaſion to uſe ſo great a magna-
 " nimitie? which if you expreſſe not at this beginning, when afterwards you would ſhew it, it will
 " haue neither prayſe, glory, nor the like grace : if you tie to his deliuerie couenants that bind him
 " to your profite and commoditie, he wil not obſerue them , for that no ſuretie that he ſhall giue
 " you can ſo much import him , but that it will import him much more not to haue his enimie to
 " become ſo great as afterwarde he ſhall not be able to oppreſſe him : and ſo ſhall we haue ei-
 " ther a peace vnprofitable , which ought to be farre from the deliberation of your Maieſtie , or
 " elſe warres verie daungerous , whole end is as vncertaine as the action is iealous . Beſides , the
 " chaunge of fortune is to be feared of him to whom ſhe hath giuen ſo long a fruition of felicitie,
 " and much more grieve and heauineſſe by the ill ſucceſſe of things , is to be doubted of him who
 " hath had power to aſſure them : Thus haue I ſatiſfied the commaundement of your Maieſtie,
 " though not with grauitie and wit that was expected , yet with affection and fidelitie according
 " to a ſubiect , beſeeching God to inſpire you with the election of that deliberation , which
 " may be moſt acceptable to his will and agreeable to your glorie , and alſo be moſt conducible
 " to the benefite of the common weale of Chriſtendome , of the which both for your ſupreme di-
 " gnitie , and correſpondencie of the diuine will of God , there is neceſſarily transferred to your
 " perſon the name of patron and protectour.

*The opinion of
 the Duke of
 Alba touching
 the kings im-
 priſonment.*

This Oration was heard of the Emperour with great attention , and yet he made no declara-
 tion by any ſigne or geſture, whether he allowed or condemned it: but giuing the ſigne to the re-
 ſidue to ſpeake, *Federike Duke of e Alba*, a man of great authoritie with the Emperour, roſe vp &
 reaſoned in this ſort: There be in the ſoule of man two principal powers neceſſarily concurring to
 " every good action, the vnderſtanding and the will, of both which wiſedome is the full perfection:
 " The one we neede not doubt to be the free gift of God , and the other we may aſſure to be bred
 " in nature: the one an inſpiration to leade vs to the knowledge of things, & the other a diſpoſition
 " carying vs to the operation and action of the ſame , and they both no other thing then the effect
 " of that perfection which is referred to wiſedome: And as this wiſedome deſcended by grace, and
 " is not giuen by nature, ſo yet in the adminiſtration of worldly things, we ſee it both much holpen
 " and well confirmed by learning and induſtrie . In which reſpect (right ſoueraigne Emperour) I
 " pray to be excuſed, if my iudgement differ not from the common iudgement of others, and if by
 " the facultie of my ſpirite I be not capable to pierce ſo deepe as the vnderſtanding of others can
 " not reach vnto: yea I hope to deſerue more commendation, if in my counſels I perſwade you to
 " follow the ſame way which your fathers and elders haue alwayes taken : for albeit counſels new
 " and without uſe , at the firſt ſight may haply bring with them glorious ſhewes and apparances,
 " yet no doubt in the end they are found to draw with them more daunger and deceite , then ſuch
 " as being meaſured by reaſon, example and experience, haue bene in all times approued by gene-
 " rall ſentence of all men: yea all things are put to aduenture, that are done by raſhneſſe and not by
 " reaſon . Your Maieſtie hath receiued principally by the will and working of God , and second-
 " ly through the valour of your Captaines and armie , the greateſt victorie that in many ages hath
 " bin transferred to any Chriſtian Prince : but the chiefe fruite to vanquiſh conſiſteth in the well
 " ſing of your victorie, and who ordereth not his felicitie ſo, incurreth a farre greater infamy, then if
 " he knew not how to vanquiſh. Greater is the fault of that man who ſuffreth himſelfe to be decei-
 " ued by thoſe things which he holdeth in his owne power, then by ſuch as depend vpon the arbi-
 " tration or fortune : ſince for the moſt part whom fortune doth bring to belecue in her , ſhe
 " maketh them more deſirous of glory, then apt to receiue it, or able to gouerne it . Your Maieſtie
 hath

hath to take heede to enter into any deliberation which in the end may bring shame to others & repentance to your selfe : and by how much the importance of this negociation is great, by so much doth it call your Maiestie to proceede with great aduise in your resolutions, in which the faults that are once committed, can not be corrected. If you once deliuer the French king, you can no more retaine him but so long as he remaineth your prisoner, it is alwayes in your power to giue him libertie. In cases of captiuitie he that hastily enfreeth his enemie, worketh to himselfe the occasion of his owne harme : and therefore it can not but be an iniurie to obiect your slownesse to set him at libertie, since the King knoweth in his owne conscience how he would vse the Emperour if he were his prisoner. Truly it was a great felicitie to take the French king, but in conference & comparison of things, it would proue a far greater infelicitie to let him go. I hope your Maiestie is not ignorant, that follie and rashnesse haue no societie with wisdom, nor fortune no communitie with good counsell, and therefore touching the deliberation of his deliuerie, it ought to be debated with grauitie of counsell, calling to you a long assistance and course of times I might happily change this opinion, if I saw any reason to perswade me, that the king being presently deliuered, would reasonably acknowledge the benefite according to the consequence of it, and that the Pope & the other potēates of *Italy*, would be brought to lay away together with their suspicions, all their couetousnesse and ambition: but who knoweth not how dangerous it is, to ground and establish a resolution of so great importance vpon a supposition both vntrue and vncertaine: the consideration of the condition and maner of mortall men induceth the contrarie, for that ordinarily there is nothing endureth so litle a season as the remembrance of benefites receiued, and the more greater they be, the more commonly are they recompenced with ingratitude, for that he that either can not or will not make them good with recompence, seeketh oftentimes to deface them with forgetfulnesse, or at least to make the lesse, by perswading that they were not so great: and as to some men it is a more shame to cōfesse a fault, than to do it, so, we haue seene many who being reduced to such necessitie as they haue stood in neede of a benefite, do yet receiue it with mindes grudging and not contented : in whom commonly hatred beareth more rule for the remembrance of the necessitie wherein they were fallen, then the obligation and thankfulness which ought to follow the fauour and benefite that was done vnto them. Moreouer there is no nation vnder the couer of the skie to whom insolencie is more naturall, and lightnesse more familiar, then to the Frenchmen: and where is insolencie, there is inconsideration: and where is lightnesse, there is no knowledge of vertue, there is no iudgement to discern of the actions of others, nor grauitie to measure that which concerneth themselves: then what other thing may we hope for in the French king, for his custome so insolent, and for his greatnesse so proud and hawrie, then that he burneth with rage and disdain to be prisoner to the Emperour, at a time when he looked to triumph ouer him: he will keepe alwayes before his eyes, the remembrance of this infamie, and being deliuered, he will neuer beleue that the meane to quench it, is to be thankfull & acknowledge, but in struing to be superiour, he will perswade himself that you let him go for the difficulties to hold and retaine him, and not through your bountie and magnanimitie: Such is for the most part the nature of men, and such hath bene alwayes the condition of the Frenchmen, from whom who looketh for a constancie or magnanimitie, expecteth a renouation and new rule in humane things: so that in place to haue peace, and to reorder the regions of Christendome, we shall see rise vp, warres, both more doubtfull and more daungerous then those that are passed, such as for their confederacies will be intollerable, and for their calamities horrible. The reason of these is, for that your reputation will be lessened, and your armie, which now expecteth the fruite due vpon so great a victorie being deceiued of their hopes, will haue no more the same vertue, nor your affaires followed with the same fortune : who if she be hardly holden by him that retaineth her, much lesse will she tarie with such as chase her and driue her away: she hath a freewill to come & go when she list, & is not stayed by the power of mortall Princes, whom with other earthly creatures nature hath made subiect to the law of reuolution & change: neither haue you reason to repose any thing in the bountie of the Pope, or the modestie of the *Venerians*, for that repenting themselves to haue suffred you to go away with the victorie past, they will seeke to cast blocks in your way for going any further, wherein will be concurrant the present feare they haue of you, which wil cōpell them to oppose against your new fortunes & victories to come: yea where you haue now in your power to hold all men bound and astonished, your selfe with a dissolute bountie will be

he that will vnbind them and giue them hart: I know not what is the will and resolution of God, neither do I thinke others can reach to the knowledge of it, for that we are made assured by the Scriptures that his iudgements are secret and deepe. But if it be lawfull to interpret matters by coniecture, which is the onely way to comprehend things to come, I see many tokens that God fauoureth your greatnesse: neither can I beleue that he extendeth his graces vpon you in so great abundance to the end you should dissipate and dissolue them of your selfe, but thereby to raise you and make you superiour ouer others, as well in effect, as you are in title and right: and truly to loose so rare an occasiō which God doth send you, would be no other thing the to tempt him, and make you vnworthy of his grace. In cases of conquest and victorie, Princes are hardly contented with that which occasion doth offer, for that the things which they winne first do not satisfie them, so long as they hope to get better. Reason hath alwayes taught, & experience doth well confirme it, that seldome do those things draw good successe which depend vpon the counsels of many: by which argument I doubt whether he measure rightly the nature of the world, who beleueueth that he is able to roote out the Heretikes, or suppress the Infidels, with the vnion of many Princes. They be enterprises that haue need of a Prince so mightie and great, as to be able to giue lawes and rules to others. If that be not obserued and considered, they will haue their passage hereafter with the same successe, wherewith they haue passed in times before: for this cause do I beleue that God hath cast on you so great victories, and for the same reason hath opened you the way to the whole Monarchie, which onely may make you able to bring to passe so great and holy effectes: to the which it is not amisse that you be slow to giue the first beginnings, to the end to accomplish them with more better and more certaine foundations. Let not the feare of so many puissant leagues and confederations as are contracted against you, estrange you from this deliberation, for that both the occasion which you retaine in your hand is sufficient to aduaunce it, and also if things be well negociated, the Kings mother, for her affection to her sonne, and for the necessitie to recouer his liberty, wil neuer cast off her hopes to redeeme him of you by accord. Besides, the Princes of *Italie* will neuer enter vnitie with the gouernment of *Fraunce*, knowing that it remaineth alwayes in your hand, setting the King at libertie, not onely to separate him, but also to turne him against them; a matter which as for the time it will keepe them in astonishment and suspence, so in the end it must needs come to passe, that they must be the first to receiue lawes of you, and then it can not be but an action full of glorie, to vse towards them clemencie & magnanimity, euen when matters shall be reduced to that estate and degree, as they can not chuse but acknowledge you for superiour. Such was the maner of dealing of *Alexander* and *Cesar*, who were forward and liberall to pardon iniuries, and not slow and inconsiderate to readdress their estate of themselves, amid those difficulties and daungers which they had already surmounted: he that doth so, deserueth prayse, for that he doth an act which hath verie few examples; but that man can not but beare notes of imprudēcie & indiscretion, who doth that which hath no law of example nor rule of time. By these reasons I am bold to induce your Maiestie to draw of your victory as great a profit as you can, and alwayes vsing towardes the King those offices and oblations that appertaine to him, either to send for him into *Spaine*, or at least to haue him conueyed to *Naples*: and for aunswere of his letter sent to your Maiestie, it were good to returne to him some speciall man to visite him with wordes full of grace and hope, and withall to propound vnto him conditions of his deliuerance, such as (vpon more particular consultation) may be worthie recompences and rewardes of so great a victorie. In this sort your foundations being layed, and your thoughts extended to these endes, the time and the operations and accidents thereof, will make either more quicke or more slow, the deliuerie of the King, and will also beget occasiōs of peace or warre with the *Italians*, whom for the present you may entertaine with good hopes: so shall you with art and industrie augment the fauour and reputation of armes, and auoyding to tempt euery day a new fortune, we shall be prepared and readie to accord either with this Prince or with that common weale, either with all together or with one in particular, as occasiōs and accidents shall induce vs. These be the wayes which wise Princes haue alwayes followed, and particularly those who haue left to you the foundatiōs of such a greatnesse: They were neuer curious to reiect occasiōs that made to raise them higher, nor slow to push on the fauour of fortune when they saw her well disposed: to you belongeth the interest of their example, as of right appertaineth vnto you that which in any of them might seeme to be ambition. Your Maiestie must remember that

that you are a Prince, and that it is one office in your calling to follow the trace of Princes, much lesse that any reason either diuine or humane perswadeth you to leaue the occasion to relieue and redresse the authoritie of the Empire vsurped and defaced, seeing all lawes of God and nations bind you by strait obligation, to arme your courage and intentions to recouer it rightfully: occasions are precious if they be executed in the ripenesse of time, but being foreflowed, they turne to the preiudice of those that hoped in them: your Maiestie must be iealous ouer them, knowing how easily they are lost, and with what difficultie they are recovered: you must not be curious to make your profit of them, nor doubtfull to aduance them when you see they draw with them a correspondencie of time, of place, and all other circumstances helping to your enterprises: You are not to make your foundation vpon the bountie or wisdom of those that be vanquished, seeing all mortall men draw with them their corruptions, and the whole world is full of infirmitie and error: dignities and greatnesse are the effectes and rewards of valour, and where is a resolute mind to execute, there neuer wanteth a good fortune to establish and confirme. Lastly, seeing the estate of Christendome can not be defended by any other meane then by your greatnesse, it is a iust office in your Maiestie, to lay to your hand though not for the interest of your owne authoritie and glorie, yet for the seruice of God, and zeale of the vniuersall benefite.

This Oration was heard with a wonderfull fauour and inclination of the whole Councell, in whom, for the authoritie of the man, and for the spirite and efficacie of his reasons, might be discerned an vniuersall impression of ambition almost to the whole Empire of Christendome. There was not one amongst them, who without replie, did not confirme his opinion, which the Emperour also approued, though more for colour not to seeme to swarue frō the counsell of his friends, the in disclosing what was the propertie of his inclinatio. *Monsieur Beauvain*, by office his great Chamberlaine, and by fauour verie gracious with him, was dispatched both to impart with the Capitaines of the army, the Emperours deliberation, and also to visite in his name the French King, and to propound to him the conditions by the which he might obtaine his deliuerance: he tooke his way by land, for that the Kings mother had made free and open all passages for messengers and curriers to come and go to the Emperours Court, for the more easie and safe negociation of her sonnes affaires: and so together with the Duke of *Burbon* and the *Viceroy*, he went to *Pisqueson*, where the King remained as yet: There he offered him his libertie; but with so vnequall and heauie conditions, that the verie hearing of them was intollerable to the King: for, besides the resigning of all his titles and rights which he pretended in *Italie*, the Emperour demaunded to haue rendred vnto him the Duchie of *Burgondie* as appertaining to him in proper, and to giue to the Duke of *Burbon* *Prouence*, with all the dependencies thereof; and he required besides, as well for himselfe as for the King of *England*, other conditions of verie great moment. It seemed the vertue of the king had ouercome the aduersities of his imprisonment: for, to the Emperours demaunds he answered constantly, that he had rather offer vp his life in prison then to depriue his children of any part of the Realme of *France*, and though he should consent to a composition so preiudiciall, yet it was not in his power to execute it: for that the auncient traditions and constitutions of *Fraunce* did not suffer alienation of any member or apertenancie to the crowne without the consent of the Parliaments, and others in whose hands rested the authoritie of the whole kingdome, and who in like cases had bin alwayes wōt to preferre the vniuersal safetie of the maine bodie of the realme, afore the particular interest of the persons of their Kings: That if they would demaund conditions which were in his power to performe, they should finde him most ready to ioyne with the Emperour, and to fauour his greatnesse: but such was his desire of libertie, that here he ceased not to offer conditions diuers, making no difficultie to graunt large parts of other mens estates, without promising any thing of his own. This was in effect the summe of the things he accorded: He offered to take to wife the Emperours sister, a late widow by the death of the king of *Portugall*: He made confession that he would hold *Burgondie* as in dowrie, and that it should appertaine to the children issuing of that marriage: That he would restore to the Duke of *Burbon*, the Duchie that had bene confisked from him, enlarging it with some other estate: That in recompence of the Emperours sister who had bene promised to the Duke, the King would giue him in marriage, his sister a late widow by the decesse of *Monsieur d'Alençon*: That he would satisfie the King of *England* with money, and pay to the Emperour a great treasure for his ransom: That he would resign vnto him his interests and rights in the kingdome of *Naples* and Duchie of *Millan*: That

he would send to accompanie him both with a nauie by sea and an armie by land, at such time as he would go to *Rome* to take the crowne Imperiall, which was as much as if he had promysed to giue him in pray the whole Monarchie of *Italie*. *Beaurain* returned with these capitulation to the Emperour, to whom went with him also *Monsieur Montmorancie*, a personage then verie agreeable to the King, and afterwarde great Maister of *Fraunce*, and at last by the Kings libertie, indued with the dignitie of high Constable of *Fraunce*.

The sorowes
and feares of
Fraunce for
the imprison-
ment of the
king.

But now let vs say somewhat of the sorowes and feares of *Fraunce*: After they were possessed of the newes of the ouerthrow of the armie, & taking of the King, there ranne through the whole kingdome an vniuersall astonishment and confusion: for, besides the incredible sorow which the accident of the Kings imprisonment brought to that nation, naturally verie deuout and louing to their Kings, there appeared on all sides infinite mournings and heauinesse, as well publike as priuate: priuate men lamented and made sorrowes apart, for that as well of the Court as of the Nobilitie, there were verie few who had not lost in the battell, their children, their brethren, or other their parents and friends of marke: they wept and could not be comforted, because they iudged their sorrow could not be greater then the qualitie of their losse: and in the publike and generall bodie of the realme might be discerned nothing but an vniuersall face of desolation and dispayre, euerie one crying out of so great a diminution of the authoritie and glory of so flourishing a realme: a perplexitie so much the more grievous and intollerable to them, by how much naturally they are hawtie and presuming of themselves. In this estate of aduersitie they set before their eyes all that feare and dispayre could imagine: They doubted least so great a calamitie were not the beginning of a further ruine and subuersion: They saw their King prisoner, and with him either take or slaine in the battell, the Chieftaines of the kingdome, which in the imagination of their sorowes they held a losse irreparable: They beheld their Captaines discomfited, and their souldiers discouraged; a calamitie which stopped in them all hope to be readdressed or reassured: They saw the Realme naked of money and treasure, and enuironed with most mightie enemies, an affliction which most of all caried their thoughts into the last cogitations of desperate ruine: for the King of *England*, notwithstanding he had holden many parleys and treaties, and shewed in many things a variation of minde, yet not many dayes before the battell, he had cut off all the negociations which he had entertained with the King, and had published that he would descend into *Fraunce* if the things of *Italie* tooke any good successe: so that the French men feared least in so great an oportunitie the Emperour & he would leaue war against *Fraunce*, either for that there was no other head or Gouvernour then a woman and the litle children of the King, of whom the eldest had not yet runne eight yeares accomplished: or else because the enemies had with them the Duke of *Burbon*, for his owne particular a puissant Prince, and for his authoritie in the realme of *Fraunce* verie popular and strong in opinion, a mightie instrument to stir vp most daungerous emotions. Besides, the Lady Regent, as well for the loue she bare to the king, as for the dangers of the realme, was not without her passions both proper & particular: for being full of ambition, and most greedie of the gouernement, she feared that if the Kings deliuerie drew any long tract of time, or that any new difficultie hapned in *Fraunce*, she should be constrained to yeeld vp the administration of the Crowne to such as should be delegate and assigned by the voyces of the kingdome. Neuerthelesse amid so many astonishments and confusions, she drew her spirites to her, and by her example were recomfited the Nobles that were of counsell with her, who taking speedy order to man the frontiers of the Realme, and with diligence to leauy a good prouision of money: the Lady Regent in whose name all expeditions and dispatches went out, wrote to the Emperour letters full of humility & compassion, wherein she forgot not by degrees vehement & inducing to solicit a negociation of accord, by vertue whereof, hauing a litle after deliuered *Don Hugo de Moncado*, she sent him to the Emperour, to offer him, that her sonne should renounce and disclaime from all rights of the kingdome of *Naples* and the estate of *Millan*, with contentment to referre to the censure and arbitration of the law, the titles and rights of *Burgondie*, which if it appertained to the Emperour, he should acknowledge it for the dowrie of his sister: That he should render to *Monsieur Burbon* his estate together with his moueables and goods which were of great value, and also the fruits and reuenues which had bene leauied by the commissioners deputed out of the regall chamber: That he should giue to him his sister in marriage, and deliuer vp to him *Provence*, if iudgement of the interest and right were made of his side: and

For the more facilitie and speedie passage of this negociation, rather then for any desire she had to nourish her inclination to the warre, she dispatched immediatly Embassadors into *Italie*, to recommend to the Pope and the *Venetians* the safetie of her sonne: to whom she offered, that if for their proper securitie they would contract with her, and raise armes against the Emperour, she would for her particular aduance five hundred launces, together with a great contribution of money. But amid these trauels & astonishments, the principall desire aswell of her as of the whole Realme of *Fraunce*, was, to appease and assure the minde of the King of *England*, iudging truely that if they could reduce him to amitie and reconciliation, the Crowne of *Fraunce* should remaine without quarrell or molestation: where, if he on the one side, & the Emperour on the other, should rise in one ioynt force, hauing concurrant with them the person of the Duke of *Burbon*, and many other oportunities and occasions, it could not be but all things would be full of difficulties and daungers. Of this the Ladie Regent began to discern many tokens and apparances of good hope: for notwithstanding the King of *England* immediatly after the first reports of the victorie, had not onely expressed great tokens of gladnes & reioycing, but also published that he would in person passe into *France*, & withall had sent Embassadors to the Emperour to sollicite & treat of the mouing of warre ioyntly together: yet proceeding indeede with more mildnesse then was expected of so furious shewes & tokens, he dispatched a messenger to the Ladie Regent, to send to him an expresse Embassador: which accordingly was accomplished, & that with fulnes of authoritie & comission, such as brought with it also all sortes of submissions & implorations which she thought apt to reduce to appeasement the mind of that King so highly displeased: he reposed him selfe altogether vpon the will and counsell of the Cardinall of *Torke*, who seemed to restrain the King and his thoughts to this principall end, that bearing such a hand vpon the controuersies and quarrels that ranne betweene other Princes, all the world might acknowledge to depend vpon him and his authoritie the resolution and expectation of all affaires. And for this cause he offered to the Emperour at the sametime to descend into *France* with a puissant armie, both to giue perfection to the alliance concluded betweene them before, & also to remoue all scruple & ialousie, he offered presently to consign, vnto him his daughter who was not as yet in an age and disposition able for mariage. But in these matters were verie great difficulties, partly depending vpon him selfe, and partly deriuing from the Emperour, who now shewed nothing of that readinesse to contract with him which he had vsed before; for the king of *England* demaied almost all the rewards of the victory, as *Normandie*, *Guyen*, and *Gascoigne*, with the title of king of *Fraunce*: and that the Emperour, notwithstanding the inequalitye of the conditions, should passe likewise into *France*, & communicate equally in the expences & dangers. The inequalitye of these demaundes troubled not a litle the Emperour, to who they were by so much the more grieuous, by how much he remembred that in the yeares next before, he had alwayes deferred to make warre euen in the greatest dangers of the French king: so that he perswaded himself that he should not be able to make any foundation vpon that confederation: and standing in a state no lesse impouerished for money & treasure, then made wearie with labours and perils, he hoped to draw more commodities from the French king by the meane of peace, then by the violence of armes and warre, specially ioyning with the king of *England*. Besides, he made not that account which he was wont to do of the mariage of his daughter, both for her minoritie in age, and also for the dowrie for the which he should stand accomptable for so much as the Emperour had receiued by way of loane of the King of *England*: he seemed by many tokens in nature to nourish a wonderfull desire to haue children, and by the necessitie of his condition, he was caried with great couetousnesse of money, vpon which two reasons he tooke a great desire to marie the sister of the house of *Portugall*, which was both in an age able for mariage, and with whom he hoped to receiue a plentiful portion in gold and treasure, besides the liberalities of his owne peoples offered by way of beneuolence in case the mariage went forward: such was their desire to haue a Queene of the same nation and language, & of hope to procreate children. For these causes the negociation became euery day more hard and desperate betweene both those Princes, wherein was also concurrant the ordinarie inclination of the Cardinall of *Torke* towards the French King, together with the open complaints he made of the Emperour, aswell for the interests and respects of his King, as for the small reputation the Emperour begā to hold of him: he considered that afore the battel of *Pania*, the Emperour neuer sent letters vnto him which were not written with his owne hand, and subscribed, your

sonne and Cofin *Charles*; but after the battell, he vsed the seruice of Secretaries in all the letter he wrote to him, infixing nothing of his own hand but the subscription, not with titles of so great reuerence & submission, but onely with this bare word *Charles*. In this alteration of affection of the Cardinall, the King of *England* tooke occasion to receiue with gracious wordes and demonstrations, the Embassadour sent by the Lady Regent, to whom he gaue comfort to hope well in things to come: and a litle afterwarde, estrauing his minde wholly from the affaires which were in negociation betweene him and the Emperour, he made a confederation with the Lady Regent contracting in the name of her sonne, wherein he would haue inserted this expresse condition, that for the kings ransome and deliuerie, should not be deliuered to the Emperour any thing that at that time should be vnder the power or possession of the crowne of *Fraunce*.

This was the first hope which fell vpon the Realme of *Fraunce*, and this was the first consolation in so many aduersities, which afterwarde went on increasing by the disorders of the Imperials in *Italie*: They were become so insolent for so great a victorie, that perswading themselves that all men and all difficulties should yeeld and giue place to their will, their glorie made them loose the occasion to accord with the *Venetians*, and gaine say things which they had promised to the Pope, and lastly brought them to fill full of suspitions both the Duchie of *Millan* and all the other regions of *Italie*: and so going on to sow seedes of new innovations and troubles, they reduced the Emperour to this necessitie, to make a rash deliberation, dangerous for his estate in *Italie*, if his auncient felicitie and the hard fortune and destinie of the Pope had not bene of greater force: Matters assuredly most worthy of a knowledge particular, to the end that of accidents and things so memorable may be vnderstood the foundations and counsels, which being oftentimes hid, are for the most part reuealed and published after a manner most farre from the truth.

But scarcely had the Pope capitulated with the *Viceroy*, when were presented vnto him the great offers of *Fraunce*, to stirre him vp to the warre: wherein albeit he wanted not the perswasions of many to induce him to the same effect, and lesse diminution of the distrust which he had before of the Imperials, yet he determined to take such a course and proceeding in all things, as he would leaue no cause to either of them to suspect him for his actions: Therefore he had no sooner vnderstood that the *Viceroy* had accepted and pronounced the contract made at *Rome*, then he caused publication to be made within *Saint Iohn de Latran*, and as he taried not for the ratification of the Emperour which was promised to be sent first, so the better to demonstrate his intention, he honored with his presence, and with the same solemnitie he was wont to vse at his coronation, the publication which was made the first day of May: he solicited also the *Florentines* to make payment of the money promised, and interposed as much as he could, to draw the *Venetians* to enter appointment with the Imperials. But on the other side, were presented to him by them, many iust causes of complaint, since in the payment of the money promised, they would not accept the siue and twentie thousand duckats payed by the *Florentines* according to his ordinance during the negociation of the accord, for that the *Viceroy* alleaged impudently, that if other promise were past, it was made without his commission: besides, that they had not retired their souldiers from off the landes of the Church, but replenished the townes of *Plaisance* with garrisons. To these things which some way might haplie be excused, both for their want of money, and necessitie of harbour and lodging, was added also, that not onely in the mutation of the state of *Sienna*, they gaue suspicion to beare a minde estraued from the Pope, but also they suffered afterwarde the Citizens of *Montenouo* to be ill handled and spoyled of their goods by the Libertines, notwithstanding vpon the Popes often complaints, they gaue him hope to remedie those disorders. But that which vexed him most of all, was the dealing of the *Viceroy*, who did not onely incline suddenly to the solicitations of the Duke of *Ferrara*, but also put him in hope not to force him to leaue *Reggia* and *Rubiera*: he promised him also to induce the Emperour to take his estates into protection, notwithstanding he made dayly promises to the Pope, that when the *Florentines* had performed to pay that which they ought, he would make him essoones repossessed of those townes: and to the end the Pope should the better sollicite the effectes of these promises and hopes, and also to obtaine to haue the companies of men of warre to retire from the territories of the Church, he sent vnto him the Cardinall *Saluatis*, his Legate in *Lombardie* and Deputie Legate with the Emperour, to whom the *Viceroy* made beleeue

beleue that he was determined to procure restitution of *Reggia* by armes, if the Duke refused to render it by good will : But the effect of things answered nothing the promises and wordes; a manner and manner of dealing which could not be excused by the necessitie of money, for that vpon the rendering of those townes, there grew to them a greater quantitie : and there was taken good reason and matter to interpret the likelihood of that matter to proceede of a desire they had either to haue him embased and pulled lower, or else to winne the Duke of *Ferrara*, or lastly, to go on still with better degrees and preparations for the oppressing of *Italie*. These matters brought to the Pope a suspition and grieve of minde almost incredible, but much more was he perplexed to see and consider that the Emperours intention was nothing different: who hauing dispatched to the Pope letters of ratification of the confederation made in his name to the *Viceroy*, deferred to confirme the three articles accorded apart and separate from the capitulation : he alleaged, that touching the restoring of the townes holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*, he had no power to do an act preiudiciall to the rights of the Empire, nor to force the Duke who protested to hold them in chiefe of the Empire, in which respect the Emperour offered to referre that controuersie to the triall of law and iustice, or else to be resolved by some friendly composition. It was easily comprehended that he could haue bin contented they should still haue remained to the Duke, but vnder his inuestiture, and to pay him an hundred thousand duckats, and as much to the Pope for the inuestiture of *Ferrara*, and for the penaltie imposed vpon the contract which he had made with *Adrian*: he alleaged that it was a thing impertinent to accord with his ministers touching the trade & prouisiō of salt frō the Duchy of *Millan*, because the soueraigne profite of that Dukedome by the cōpositiō of the inuestiture though not as yet cōsigned, appertained to *Francis Sforce*: & that therefore the *Viceroy* was not simply bound by the article to cōpell him to take it, but to do what he could to induce him to cōsent: which promise for that it was extended to the actiō of a third person, was notoriously of no force touching the effect to bind either himselfe or another. Neuerthelesse for desire he had to gratifie the Pope he would haue practised to induce the Duke to consent, if the matter had not become no more his owne interest but the interest of another, seeing the Duke of *Millan* in recōpēce of the succōrs which the Archduke had sent him, had cōuenanted to take salt of him: and yet notwithstanding, he sayd he would interpose & do all he could to induce his brother (receiuing recōpence of money) to accord & cōsent to it, not for euer is the article expressed, but during the Popes life, which was most agreeable to reason : he would not admit also the article of benefices & benefices, vnlesse, together with that which was expressed in the inuestitures, were ioyned such things as had bin obserued by his predecessours kings of *Naples*. In regard of these difficulties, the Pope refused to accept the letters of ratification, nor would he send his to the Emperour, but insisted this demaund, that seeing the Emperour had not ratified within the terme of foure moneths according to the promise of the *Viceroy*, that the hundred thousand duckats might be restored to the *Florentins*: which demaund was answered with subtleties & rather cauillations, thē with firme & good foundations: that the conditiō of restitution of the hundred thousand duckats was not affixed to the instrument, but promised in an article apart by the *Viceroy*s Agents by oath, & that it was not referred to the ratification of the league which the Emperour had not onely ratified within the terme of foure moneths, but also had sent out letters of it in due forme. Moreouer the Pope had aduertisement that the Emperours Court was vniuersally ill disposed to the things of *Italie*, & he was not ignorant that the Captaines of his army rose up to perswade him, that for the more absolute assuring of his enterprises in *Italie*, it were good to cause *Modena* to be rendred to the Duke of *Ferrara*, to repesse the familie of *Bertinoleis* of *Bologna*, & to take the iurisdiction of *Florēce*, of *Sienna*, & of *Lucqua*, as townes appertaining to the Empire: yea, so full was he of doubt and suspition, & so farre from stay and resolution, and knowing withall that the Frenchmen offered as a pray to the Emperour the regions of *Italie*, that by necessitie he went temporising, hauing not whereupon to fixe his foundation.

In this time the accord betweene the *Viceroy* & the *Venetians* was solicited continually, wherein besides the *Viceroy* sought to bind of new the *Venetians* to the defence of the Duchy of *Millan*, he demaunded great summes of money to satisfie their fault of inobservatiō of the cōfederatiō, passed: The *Venetians* had many reasons to incline thē to giue place to necessitie, but of the cōtrarie, they were caried with more reasonable perswasions to remaine in suspēce: amid which incertaintie of estate, their counsels were full of varietie & irresolution: Neuerthelesse after many conferences &

*A treatise of
accord between
the Viceroy &
the Venetians.*

meetings, their astonishment being no lesse then their neighbours for so great a victory of the Emperor, & their estate onely being abandoned & reduced to priuatiō on all sides, they addressed new commissions to *P. Pefero* their Embassador resident with the *Viceroy*, to cōfirme the league in the same maner it had bin made afore, paying ouer to the Emperour fourescore thousand ducats for satisfactiō of penalties past. But the *Viceroy* being made so much the more obstinate, by how much they seemed fearefull, answered them resolutely, that he would not renue the confederatiō, vnlesse they payed in the hundred thousand ducats: which obstinacie drew with it this ill accident, as oftentimes is seene to happen in matters deliberated with lōgnesse of time & no readinesse of will: for, so long a tract was taken in the disputing and debating of this litle summe, that the *Venetians* had aduertisement how the king of *Englād* bare no more so ill a mind to the aduersities of *France* as was feared in the beginning, & besides, the Imperiall armie had both payed and dismissed many regiments of Launceknights: matters which the *Venetians* interpreting to their aduantage, and better suretie from vexation, they determined to dwell as yet in suspence, and to reserve in themselves (as much as they could) power and election to take those deliberations, which by the traine and euent of generall things, they knew were best for them.

The person of
the French king
led prisoner into
to Spaine.

The *Viceroy* and the other Capitaines Imperiall were not a litle stirred vp by these variations to transport the person of the French King into a place of suretie, iudging that for the ill disposition of others, they could not without perill keepe him garded in the Duchie of *Millan*. In which feared ioyned to their continuall desire so to do, they resolved to conuey him to *Genes*, and from thence by sea to *Naples*, where his lodging was prepared within the Newcastell. This determination brought no litle grieffe to the King, who from the beginning of his captiuitie, had vehemently desired to be eased into *Spaine*: perhaps he had opinion (measuring happily another man by his owne nature, or else running with the common error of mortall men being easily beguiled in things they desire) that if once he were brought to the presence of the Emperour, he doubted not of some easie passage for his libertie, either through the Emperours benignitie, or by the conditions he meant to offer. The *Viceroy* was of the same desire for the augmentatiō of his owne glory, but being retained for feare of the French army by sea, they dispatched by common consent *Monsieur Montmerancie* to the Lady Regent: she graunted to him sixe light gallies of those that lay in the port of *Marfeilles*, w^{ch} promise to haue the restored as soone as the king was arriued in *Spaine*. With these gallies he returned to *Portofino*, where the kings person was already arriued, & ioyning them to sixteene Gallies of the Emperour, which was the nauie appointed at first to conduct him to *Naples*, he reduced them all into one fleete, and armed them all with footemen of the *Spanish*. The Capitaines Imperials & the Duke of *Burbon*, were perswaded that the kings person should be led to *Naples*; but on the contrary, setting saile the seuenth of Iune, they tooke such course, that the eight day they arriued with a happy voyage at *Rosa* a haven of *Catalognia*: their coming brought no small ioy to the Emperour, who till that day had vnderstood nothing of that resolution: and as soone as he was made assured of the kings being there, he dispatched commandments to all places where he should passe, to receiue him with great honors, onely till it should be otherwise determined; he gaue order to keepe him in the castell of *Sciatiua* neare to *Valence*, a castell anciently vsed by the kings of *Aragon* for the garding of great personages, & wherein had bin kept prisoner for many yeares, the Duke of *Calabria*. But the deliberation to keepe him in that place, seeming farre too rigorous to the *Viceroy*, & nothing agreeable to the promises he had made to the king in *Italie*, he won so much of the Emperour, that till he had taken another counsell; the Kings person might remaine neare *Valence* in a place apt for hunting & other delights of the fildes. There he left him lodged with sufficient gard vnder the charge of Capitaine *Alarcon*, in whose custody he had alwayes remained since his vnfortunate day: and fro thence the *Viceroy* together with *Montmerancie*, went to the Emperour to make report of the estate of *Italy*, & the discourse of things which till that day bin debated with the king, with whō he perswaded the Emperour with many reasons to draw to accord, for that he could not haue a faithfull amitie & conjunction with the *Italians*. The Emperour after he had heard the *Viceroy* & *Montmerancie*, determined to conuey the King into *Castille* to the castell of *Madriill*, a place far removed fro the sea & the confines of *France*, where being honoured with ceremonies & reuerences agreeable to so great a Prince, he should neuertheless be kept vnder carefull & strait gard, with libertie to take the ayre abroad certaine times of the day, mounted onely vpon a moyle. The Emperour could neuer be brought

brought to admit the king to his presence, if first the accord were not either established, or at least in an assured hope of resolution: & to the end there might be interposed in the negotiation a person of honorable, and almost equall with the king, *Montmerancie* was sent in great diligence into *Fraunce*, to bring the Duchesse of *Alençon* the kings sister and a widow, with fullness of authority to debate and contract: and to the end this negotiation of accord were not hindered by new difficulties, there was made a litle afterwards a truce vntill the end of December, betweene the Emperour and such as administered the gouernement of *Fraunce*. Moreouer the Emperour gaue order that one part of those galleys which were come with the *Viceroy*, should returne into *Italy* to bring the Duke of *Burbon* into *Spaine*, without whose presence and priuie he gaue out that he would make no conuention: and yet the galleys what for want of money, and other impediments, were prepared but with slow diligence. The Emperour shewing himselfe vehemently disposed to establish an vniuersall peace betweene the Princes of Christendome, and also at one time to giue some reasonable forme to the affaires of *Italy*, solicited instantly the Pope to hasten away the Cardinall *Saluatió*, or some others, with sufficient authority: he sent also to be excused to the king of *England*, taking the reasons of his excuse vpon this, that he could not resist the generall will and vniuersall inclination of his peoples: and sent withall to the Pope *Lopus Virado*, for a dispensation to marie the infant of *Portugall* his cousin german, and by that meane conioyned to him in second degree: he sent also by the same *Lopus*, who departed vpon the end of Iuly, the inuestiture of the Duchy of *Milano* to *Frauncis Sforce*, but vnder this condition, to pay presently an hundred thousand duckets, with obligation to pay fiftie hundred thousand more at diuerse tearmes, and to take the trade of salts of the Archduke his brother: the same *Lopus* caried also commission to dispose of his men of warre in this sort; that except the regiments of Spanish footmen who were to remaine in the Marquisdome of *Saluzzo*, all the others should be dismissed; that sixe hundred men at armes should returne to the realme of *Naples*, and the residue remaine in the Duchie of *Milano*: and lastly, that the Marquis of *Pesquero* should be Captaine generall of his army. The Emperour added to this commission, that those moneys which he had sent to *Genes* to defray foure Carackes with the which he intended speedily to passe in person into *Spaine*, should be conuerted to the necessities and vsage of the armie, for that he was now determined not to depart out of *Spaine*: the Commission bare also to send in the Emperours name the Protonotarie *Caraccioll* to *Venice*, to induce that Senate to a new confederation, or at least to insinuate his disposition, and leaue them satisfied that all his actions tended to an vniuersall peace amongst Princes Christian. But the going of the French king into *Spaine* brought no litle perplexitie to the Pope and the *Venetians*, who seeing the Emperours armie was much diminished, considered that into what part of *Italy* the kings person should be transported, the Imperials could not but find many impediments by the necessity to haue him well garded; so that by that meane either there might easily arise some occasion to deliuer him, or at least the difficultie to carie him into *Spaine*, and the litle surtie to keepe him in *Italy*, would constrain the Emperour to giue some good forme to the generall affaires: but when by transporting his person into *Spaine*, both his owne hopes were disappointed, and meane giuen to his enemies to leade him into sure prison, they discerned that all treatises and negotiations were wholly in the hands of the Emperour, and that there could be established no foundation vpon the practises and offers of the French: in so much as the reputation of the Emperour rising into augmentation by dayly degrees, all men began to expect from his Court and from his hand lawes and rules to dispose all affaires. In these discontentments were concurrant also (but for diuerse causes) the displeasures of the Duke of *Burbon*, & the Marquis of *Pesquero*, for that the *Viceroy* took vpon him without their priuie to leade the French king into *Spaine*: Such is the emulation of men in the case of glory or reputation, which more then all other worldly passions, hath a naturall propertie to cary their minds headlong into ambition of other mens merite. The Duke of *Burbon* tooke the reason of his discontentment vpon this, that being expulsed *Fraunce* for the alliance he had made with the Emperour, he challenged a more interest then any others to be called & to communicate in all the practises of accord: in regard whereof he determined to passe also into *Spaine*, and yet he was driuen to stand longer vpon his going then willingly he would, for that he taried for the returne of the galleys that caried the *Viceroy*. The Marquis tooke displeasure with the *Viceroy* for the small estimation he made of him: and was no lesse ill contented with the Emperour, for that he was not thankfull as

appertained to his merits and many seruices done in the last warres, and lately in the battell of *Bellinaria*, touching which victorie albeit he had deserued more praise and glorie then all the Captaines of the armie, yet the Emperour, contrarie to the law of equitie & reason, had transferred the whole reputation to the *Viceroy*, with many high honours & demonstrations. This the Marquis could not digest with sufferance, but in the passion of his wrong, as he thought, he wrote letters to the Emperour full of detraction against the *Viceroy*, tempered with complaints, to be so much disfa- uoured of him, as not to be thought worthy at least to be made priue to such a resolution. And that if in the warre and dangers thereof, the deliberation of things had bene referred to his coun- sell and proper arbitration, the French king had not onely not bene taken, but also as soone as the losse of the Duchie of *Millan* had followed, the Imperiall armie being driuen to abandon the de- fence of *Lombardy*, would necessarily haue retired to *Naples*: lastly, he charged the *Viceroy* to be gone to triumph of a victory, wherein it was manifestly knowne to the whole army he had no part at all: yea for prooffe that in the heate and most furie of the battell, he was both without coun- rage and without counsell, there were many that heard him crie many times, *We are lost and van- quished*: and that if he would denie this challenge, he offered to iustifie it vpon his body by the exe- cution of armes, according to the lawes and rules of warre: the Marquis also was further incensed vpon this, that sending immediatly after the victorie to take possession of *Carpy*, thinking the Em- perour would deliuer it to him, he was not satisfied in that desire: the reason was, that the Empe- rour hauing graunted it two yeares before to *Prosper Colonne*, assured that notwithstanding he neuer had the inuestiture, yet in memorie of him that was dead, he would to the profite of *Ves- pasian* his sonne, leaue to his house the same recompence, which in his life time he had intended in recordation of his valour and actions: which reason albeit was iust, and that such examples of gratitude ought to be acceptable to the Marquis, though not so much for the excellency of them, yet for the hope they brought, that his great seruices should be brought into liberall consideration by the Emperour: yet it was not embraced of him, not for that it was not iust & equall, but because for the opinion he bare of himselfe, he held it conuenient that that peculiar humor and appetite of his, proceeding of a couetousnesse and irreconciliable hatred which he bare to the name of *Prosper*, should be preferred before all other interests, how iust soeuer they were. In this intem- perancie of passion, he cried out of the Emperour and the whole counsell, sending his com- plaints through all the regions of *Italy*, and that with such detestation of the Emperours ingrati- tude, that by his exclaiming others tooke courage to build new plots. Of which, if the Emperour thought to proceed no further in the matters of *Italy*, did rise a iust occasion, yea almost a necessity to take other resolutions: but if he stood vpon ends and purposes ambitious, he had means to co- uer them with the most honest occasion and fairest colour he could desire: and seeing from thence was deriued the very beginning and cause of right great stirres and alterations, it is necessary we re- duce it to some particular rehearfall.

Occasions, giue
to the Emperour
of new emotions

The warre which in the life of the late Pope *Leo*, was begun as well by him as by the Empe- ror, for the chasing of the French king out of *Italy*, was leauied vnder colour to reestablish *Fraun- cis Sforce* in the Duchie of *Millan*: and albeit for the execution hereof, after the victory was obtai- ned, promise was made to transerre to him the obedience of that state, together with the castle of *Millan*, & the other places of strength, when they should be recouered: yet such was the magni- ficency & oportunitie of that Duchie, that the former feare ceased not, which men had of the Em- perours ambition to aspire to it. They interpreted the impediments which he receiued by the French king, to be the cause that he kept cloked as yet so great a thirst, for that he had alte- red those peoples desiring vehemently to haue *Frauncis Sforce* for Lord, and had stirred vp all *Italy* against him, being not content to suffer the French to rise to such a greatnesse: so that *Frauncis Sforce* held that Duchie but with a hard yoke and subiection, and tributes and charges intollerable: for all the stay & foundation of his defence against the French consisting in the Empe- ror & in his army, he was constrained not only to respect him as his Prince, but also to liue subie- cted to the will of his Captaines: by whom he was miserably compelled to entertaine his regi- ments of men of warre not payd by the Emperour, sometimes with money which he leauied vpon his subiects with grieuous imposts & great difficulties, & sometimes in suffering them licentious- ly to liue vpon his people by discretion, and that in all the seuerall parts of his estate, except the Citie of *Millan*: oppressions which albeit of themselues were heauie and grieuous, yet the nature

nature of the *Spaniard* being greedy, and when he hath the meane to discover his inclination very insolent, made them intollerable: neuertheless the daunger which was had of the Frenchmen, to whom the inhabitants were enemies, and the hope that those vexations would one day draw to end, wrought in the hearts of men a greater sufferance then their forces or faculties could well beare. But after the victorie of *Pavia* the people could no more endure, seeing the same necessities no more continuing, for that the king was prisoner, yet their calamities continued notwithstanding, and therefore they required to be somewhat eased of their burthens, by withdrawing from the Duchie, either all or the most part of the armie. The like instance was also made by the Duke, hauing enioyed of the Dukedome no other thing till that day, then the bare name and title: he feared least the Emperour, being now assured of the French king, would occupie and retaine the Duchie to himselfe, or at least bestow it in donation vpon some of his followers and dependancers. In which feare and suspition, deriued of the verie nature of the affaires occurrent, he was specially nourished by the insolent words spoken by the *Viceroy* afore he conueyed the king into *Spaine*, together with the demonstrations expressed by the other Captaines, wherein much lesse that they published any reputation to be holden of the Duke, seeing they desired openly that the Emperour would oppresse him: Besides, the Emperour, after many delays and deferring, hauing sent to the *Viceroy* the expedition and priuiledges of the inueltiture, the *Viceroy* when he presented them to the Duke, demanded for recompence of charges for conquering and defending that state, to pay to the Emperour within a certaine terme, the summe of twelue hundred thousand duc-kets; a demaund so excessiue and intollerable, that the Duke was driuen to haue recourse to the Emperour to moderate and abate the summe. But these difficulties drew a doubt least the demands so immoderate were not interposed to make the matter alwayes deferred: moreouer such as sought to excuse the necessity of *Franncis Sforce*, alleaged manie other generall causes of his iust suspition, and particularly the knowledge he had that the Imperiall Captaines were resolued to restraine or retaine him. In so much as being summoned by the *Viceroy* to a certaine counsell or Dyot, he refused to go, sayning to be sicke, couering himselfe with the like excuses in all places where they had power to do him violence: he nourished this suspitiō whether it were true or false, and ioyned withall this consideration, that the state of *Millan* was well disburdened of the regiments of men of war, part of the Spanish footmen being gone into *Spaine* at seuerall times with the *Viceroy* and the Duke of *Burbon*, and also diuerse bands being made rich with pillage and pray, were retired by troupes into fundrie places: and considering also the great indignation that was shewed to the Marquis of *Pesquero*, he deuised by these aduantages to assure himselfe of the present danger, and entred into hope that the army might be easily defeated, vsing the cōsent and valour of the Marquis. The author of this deuise was *Ierome Moron* his Chauncellour, a man of high authoritie and place with him, and for the faculty of his spirit, facility of inuention, flowing eloquence, familiar readinesse, and great experience, and lastly, for his resolution and magnanimi-tie, hauing oftentimes made singular resistance against aduersities, was in our age a personage of right worthy memory: which parts or gifts had tied vpon his name a perpetuall fame and honour, if they had gone accompanied with such sincerity of mind, such care and zeale to integrity, and with such maturitie of iudgement, as his counsels for the most part had not bene dis-cerned to hold more of precipitation and impudencie, then of circumspection or honestie. This man founding the intention of the Marquis, made such insinuation into his mind already deeply grieued, that they began to commune to cut in peeces the remainder of the regiments remaining within the Duchie of *Millan*, and to make the Marquis king of *Naples*; an enter-prise which they held of easie action, if the Pope and *Venetians* would be concurrant with them: and touching the Pope, whose mind was drawne with suspition and doubt, after he was founded by the aduise of *Moron*, he shewed himselfe no whit disagreeing to that counsell, and yet he aduertised the Emperour vnder colour of friendship to entertaine his Captaines in deuotion and well contented, not that he meant to disclose the practise, but to prepare to himselfe a refuge if the matter declined to some ill euent: but the *Venetians* imbraced the deuise with reso-lution and sincere affection, perswading themselves that no lesse readinesse of mind and will would be found in the Lady Regent, who began to perceiue, that since her sonne was arriued in *Spaine*, the negociations of his deliuerie were not continued with that facilitie that was loo-
 ked for. There is no doubt but these counsels had easily succeeded, if the Marquis of *Pesquero*

*Conspiraacie a-
 gainst the Em-
 perour.*

had proceeded sincerely in that confederation against the Emperour: but whether at the first he entertained the practise or not, there was diuersity of opinions aswell amongst the Spaniards, as in the verie Court of the Emperour. Many that were obseruers of times and euents of affaires, beleueed that at the beginning he was simply concurrant with the residue, but afterwards he disclaimed from the enterprise, and made new deliberations both for the consideration of many difficulties that might happen with the time, & also fearing the continuall solicitations of the French with the Emperour, with the resolution that the Duchesse of *Alençon* should go to him: yet some do assure that he deferred so long to aduertise the Emperour of these conspiracies pretended in *Italy*, that hauing receiued knowledge of them by *Anthony de Leua* and *Marino* Abbot of *Nagero*, Commissarie in the Emperours armie, all the whole Court maruelled at the silence of the Marquis: but howsoeuer his dealing was then, it is certaine, that a litle after he sent to the Emperour *Iohn Baptista Castaldo*, who imparted the reall discourse of the conspiracie: and with the priuie of the Emperour did not only entertaine the practise, but also the better to defeat the thoughts of euerie man, and to take from them all the meane to deny that they had consented, he communed by mouth with the Duke of *Millan*, and perswaded *Moron* to induce the Pope, who a litle before had indued him with the perpetuall gouernment of the Citie of *Beneuent* to send *Dominicke Sawlo* with a letter of credence to conferre with him of the matter. The conclusions of the treatise were these: That betweene the Pope, the realme of *Fraunce* and the governments of *Italy* should be a league, ouer the which the Marquis of *Pesquero* should be Captaine general: That for the first action he should bestow the Infanterie or footbands of the Spanish seuerally in sundry places of the Duchy of *Millan*, and so drawing to himselfe so manie as would follow him, the others should be spoiled and put to the sword, together with *Ambo. de Leua*, who next to himselfe was the chiefe Commander of the armie: & then ioyning to him the forces of all the confederates, he should execute the enterprise of the kingdome of *Naples*, whereof the Pope was to indue him with the inuestiture. The Marquis seemed to find no other difficulty in these actions, sauing that afore he put any thing to triall, he desired to be satisfied, whether without blemishing his honour and fidelity, he might embrace such an enterprise in case the Pope put it vpon him by his authoritie: whereupon was brought into question & consideration, to whom, he being a Baron and subiect of the realme of *Naples*, ought to obey, either to the Emperour, to whom the profitable iurisdiction of the realme appertained, by the inuestiture he had receiued of the Church, or to the Pope, in whom was the direct soueraigntie, being absolute and soueraigne thereof. Vpon which article both at *Millan* by the ordinance of *Frauncis Sforce*, and at *Rome* by the appointment of the Pope, were called very secret consultations of excellent Doctors with suppression of their true names. These hopes against the Emperour were augmented by the offers of the Lady Regent, who iudging that either the necessitie or the feare of the Emperour, would aduance much the matters that were treated with him for the deliuerie of her sonne, solicited earnestly to take armes, promising to send into *Lombardie* a strength of fise hundred Launces, and to be concurrant in the expences of the warre with great contributions of money. *Moron* for his part ceased not to confirme the minds of the residue in that opinion: for, besides the perswasions he made how easie it would be euen without the aide of the Marquis of *Pesquero*, to defeat that armie so much diminished in numbers, he promised in the Dukes name, that if the Marquis should not stand constant, but swarue from the resolution of the treatise, immediatly after order given to the other businesse, there should be apprehended prisoners within the Castle of *Millan*, aswell he as the other Captaines, hauing daylie accessse thither to consult. But albeit these occasions seemed great, and no lesse importing the circumstances and dependances which they drew, yet they had not bene sufficient to cary the Pope into armes without the Marquis of *Pesquero*, if at the same time he had not heard of prouision sent to *Genes* to arme foure Carackes, & with all had not had some token & intelligence from *Spaine* of the Emperours inclination to passe into *Italy*; a matter which did not a litle afflict him, aswell in regard of the conditions of the time present, as also for the ancient obseruation and disposition of the Popes of *Rome*, to whom nothing hath wont to bring more terrour and astonishment, then the comming of Emperours with armed hand into *Italie*: in so much as desiring in his feare to meet with this danger, he tooke the consent and priuie of the *Venetians*, & dispatched secretly into *Fraunce* to conclude the matters negociated with the Lady Regent, *Sigismund* Secretarie to *Albert Carpi*, a man experieced in affaires of estate, & of singular confidence

Capitulations
betweene the
confederates
against the
Emperour.

confidence with the Pope: but as he ran post towards *Fraunce*, he was set vpon by night by theeves and robbers, and slaine neare the lake of *Isea*, vpon the territorie of *Bressia*; which accident for the secret keeping of it many dayes, brought to the Pope great suspicion that he was secretly taken and stayed in some place by the Imperiall Captaines, and haply by the Marquis himselfe, whom they began to distrust much for his maner of proceeding, but more for the delayes he vsed.

In this estate and condition of affaires, arriued the dispatch of *Lopus Vitrado*, who remaining sicke in *Sauoy*, sent his expedition away to *Millan* by a man expresse: he brought the letters patents by the which the Marquis of *Pesquero* was declared Captaine generall, who to continue with others in the same semblance, made as though such a charge was not verie agreeable to him, and yet he accepted it immediatly. The same *Lopus* sent also to the Pronotarie *Carraccioll*, the commission to go to *Venice* in the Emperours name, to induce that Senate to a new confederation, or at least to insinuate into them what desire the Emperour had to liue in peace with all

In this time *Franncis Sforce* was fallen into a disease verie dangerous for his life, and accepted the inuestiture of the Duchie, paying for it fifty thousand duckets, and ceased not for all that to continue the practises begun with the Marquis. The opinions were diuerse touching this dispatch of the Emperour: some beleued that he had simply determined to assure the *Italians*: but others iudged that for feare of new innouations & stirres, he sought to hold men in suspence with diuerse hopes, and going on still winning of time, to agree to the inuestiture, and in apparence graunt a commission so agreeable to all *Italy* to make retire his armie, though on the other side he had giuen directions to his Captaines not to stirre nor remoue: yea there were some that had this opinion, that he had intelligence from the Marquis of the practises entertained with *Moron*, and therefore he sent out such a commission, not to be obeyed, but to get some iustification, & with his hopes to keepe lulled asleepe the mindes of men, yntill he saw apt time to aduance and execute his purposes. In which diuersitie of humors and opinions, albeit it was verie hard to sound out the simple truth, seeing withall it was not knowne whether *Lopus Vitrado* was dispatched at the same time that arriued at the Court *Iohn Baptista Castaldo*, sent by the Marquis to aduertise the Emperour of the negociation: yet considering by many accidents and euents sithence, what course the Emperour hath taken, it is without doubt that it is lesse fallible to hold for true the better and the more easie interpretation. But in this meane while the Marquis omitted no oportunitie wherein occasion was giuen to entertaine *Moron* and the others with the same hopes, deferring notwithstanding with many excuses the execution of things: wherein he tooke one occasion of the sicknesse of the Duke of *Millan*, which increased on him by such dangerous degrees, that euerie one held almost for certaine, that it would leade him to his last time: for all the Captaines pretending that in case of the Dukes death, the estate of that Duchie should returne to the Emperour, as soueraigne Lord in chiefe, it was not only not conuenient for him to retire his armie, but also it was necessarie to call in a new strength of 2000 Launceknights, & prepare a greater number to be in readinesse: so that the Souldiers for their numbers and valours being puissant in the Duchie of *Millan*, there was no meane either to dissolue them, or at least to offend them: he gaue also hope to execute the counsels of the conspiracie as soone as there was apt concurrance of time and meane: in expectation whereof he said he proceeded with a great respect to the Pope, and for gratification of him, he leauied from off the estates of the Church his garrisons of men of warre, who gaue him occasion of right great complaints.

But about this time almost all things were chaged by a new accident which hapned in *Spaine*: The French for the French king falling sicke in the Castle of *Madril*, and hauing in vaine desired the presence of the Emperour, was caried by his discontentment and melancholy into such extremity and danger of his life, that the Physitions appointed for his cure, told the Emperour that they stood desperate of his recoverie, if himselfe in person came not to comfort him with some hope of his deliuerie. The Emperour obeying more compassion then the reason of things, was not curious to condescend to performe so good an office: and as he prepared to visite him accordingly, his high Chancellour seeking to turne him from the iourney, told him with many strong reasons, that he could not go to him in honor, but with intention to deliuer him presently, and without any covenant: otherwise as it would be a humanity not royall but mercenarie, so it wold disclose a desire to recouer him, not moued of charitie, but pushed on by his proper interest, as not to loose by his death the occasion of the profite hoped for by the victorie, a counsell assuredly both graue and

honorable touching the man that gaue it, & no lesse worthie to be followed by so great a Prince as the Emperour: and yet being more caried by the reasons of others, he tooke post to go to him: but for the daunger of the king being almost at the extremitie, the visitation was short, and yet for the time accompanied with gracious words, full of hope that he would deliuer him immediately vpon his returning to health. In so much that whether it was by the comfort that he breadd into him (in the sicknesse of captiuitie the promise of libertie exceeds all medicines) or by the benefite of his youth, which with the fauour of nature was stronger then the maladie, he began: for this visitation to resume so good disposition, that within few dayes he was out of danger, notwithstanding he could not recouer his former health but with very slow time. And now neither the difficulties that were shewed on the Emperours side, nor the hopes which were giuen by the *Italians*, nor any other nature of impediments whatsoever could stay the voyage of the Lady *Alençon* into *Spaine*: for that as nothing was more hard or heauie to the Frenchmen then to leaue off the practises and negociations of accord begun with those that had power to restore their king: so nothing was more easie to the Emperour, then feeding the French with kopes, to draw their minds from taking armes, and by that meane so to keepe the *Italians* in suspence, as not to dare to enter into new deliberations: and in that cunning maner, sometimes vsing delayes, and sometimes pressing forward the affaires, he thought to keepe the minds of all men confused and entangled. The Lady *Alençon* was receiued by the Emperour with verie gracious demonstrations and hopes, but the effects fell out both hard and heauie: for when she ministred speech to him for the mariage of his sister the widow with the king, he made answer that it was a matter which could not be done without the consent of the Duke of *Burbon*: the other particularities were debated by deputies of both partes, wherein as the Emperour insisted obstinately to haue the Duchy of *Burgundy* restored, as appertaining to him: so the French refused to consent, vnlesse he would accept it for dowrie, or else to referre it to the sentence of the law and iustice to decide the true title: and albeit they could easily haue condescended to the residue, yet for that they were so far off for the demaund of *Burgundy*, the Lady *Alençon* returned at last into *Fraunce*, without winning any other grace then a fauour to see the king her brother: who growing more and more into distrust of his deliuerie, desired her at her departing, to admonish his mother and all the Counsell fro him, to looke carefully to the profite of the Crowne of *Fraunce* without hauing any consideration of him, as if he liued not. But notwithstanding the departing of the Lady *Alençon*, the solicitations for the kings deliuey did not cease, for that there remained behind the President of *Paris* & the Bishops of *Ambrun* and *Tarbe*, who had till then followed the negociation but with verie litle hope, since the Emperor would not hearken to any condition, if first *Burgundy* were not rendred, which the king could not be brought to restore, but in a last necessity.

The Lady *Alençon* treateth with the Emperour for the kings deliuey.

Cardinal *Saluatiato* the Popes Legate in the Court of the Emperour.

About this time the Cardinal *Saluatiato* the Popes Legate arriued at the Court, where being receiued of the Emperour with great honour and fauours, he debated vpon his commissions, which principally contained the ratification of the articles promised by the *Viceroy*, and secondly a demaund to transerre the inuestiture to the Duke of *Millan*, for the common surety of *Italy*. But the *Viceroy* notwithstanding his promises, dissuaded the restitution of *Reggia* & *Rubiera*: & by his counsell, & through the hopes he had in him, the Duke of *Ferrara*, desiring to sollicite his owne cause before the Emperour, and hauing the Popes promise not to execute any enterprize vpon his estate for sixe moneths, tooke his way to the frontier of the realme of *Fraunce*, with intention to passe further, but being denied passage & safe conduct by the Lady Regent, he returned backe againe to *Ferrara*. The Legate and the Emperour conferred together, touching a dispensation to take to wife the king of *Portugals* sister; a mariage which the Emperor was determined to contract notwithstanding he had promised the king of *England* by oath to take no other wife then his daughter: but the Pope temporized this demaund, and stood long to accord to the dispensation, for that many perswaded him that the desire to obtaine such a grace, would reduce the Emperor, and make him the more easie to his desires touching the matters in negociation: and at least wise, in case he would warre vpon him, it were far from pollicie and discretion, to giue him meane to heap together so great a masse of money as would grow to him by that mariage, for that the king of *Portugall* offered him for a portion, nine hundred thousand duckets; of which, deducting so much as was set downe to defray the debts contracted betweene them, it was thought there would come to his hands at least a summe of five hundred thousand duckets: besides, the subjects

of *Spain* consented to rayse a contribution of foure hundred thousand, vnder the title of a beneuolence or seruice, which taking his beginning in times past of the proper wils and motion of the people to relieue the necessities of their kings, was reduced by custome and working of times, into a *Spane* or rather an ordinary Subsidy: yea they offered him moreouer to enrich him with a further summe of foure hundred thousand duckats, if he went through with the mariage. On the other side, the Pope had no power to resist the importunities of the Duke of *Sessa* the Emperours Embassador, for that by the property of his inclination, there appeared for the most part in him a repugnancy betweene that he purposed, & things which he executed: for being by nature very far off to accord any grace that was demanded of him, he was not apt to vse difficulties, nor easie to make deniall: only by the facility of his nature, he suffered oftentimes his will to be won and ouerruled by the importunity of such as sued to him, and in that disposition seemed to accord to things more through feare then by grace, wherein he proceeded neither with that constancy of minde, nor with that Maiesty of title and place, which was required of the greatnesse of his dignity, and was agreeable to the importance of the affaires that stood vpon negotiation. And in that maner did he deale touching the dispensation required by the Emperour, for as on the one side he was caried by his proper profite, and on the other side ouerruled by his ordinary facilitie and softnesse, so according to his custome, he discharged vpon the backe of another the thing which himselfe was not sufficient to sustaine, neither with his body nor with his minde: he dispatched by writte the dispensation in the same forme the Emperour demanded it, and sending it to the Cardinall *Saluatio*, he tied to it this commission, that if his affaires with the Emperour sorted to a resolution according to the hope he had giuen asloone as the sayd Cardinall should come to the Court, he should deliuer the writ, otherwise to retaine it to himselfe; a commission wherein the minister or seruant (as shall be sayd in his place) shewed himselfe no more firme nor more constant, then the maister.

But whilest the Cardinall disputed the Popes commissions with the Emperour, and was alwayes entertained with hope to haue the expedition he desired, there fel out in *Lombardy* very diuerse effects: for the Duke of *Millan* being so well recouered of his sicknesse, that at the least he was holden out of danger of sudden death, the Marquis of *Pesquero* hauing receiued by *Castaldo* the Emperours Commission to prouide for those daungers as he thought good, determined to enter vpon the Duchy of *Millan*, vnder this colour, that the Duke by reason of the conspiracies and practises holden by *Moron*, was falne from the rights of inueltiture, and the chiefe or Soueraigne freehold reuerted vpon the Emperour and supreme Lord: and to giue a beginning to this resolution, the Marquis lying at *Nouaro* very sicke, notwithstanding he had bestowed one part of the army within *Pania*, and lodged the Launcelights neare *Loda*, which two Cities he had fortified: yet vnder colour to dispose the army through all the state of *Millan*, he reuoked to *Nouaro* when was least doubt of such a matter, the residue of the bands dispersed in *Piedmont* and the Marquisdome of *Salusse*, which state the Imperiall Captaines had occupied almost immediately after the victorie. He called also to *Nouaro*, *Moron*, in whose person rested almost the importance of all things: and as it was certaine that *Moron* being made prisoner, the Duke of *Millan* would be made depriued both of men and counsell: so the Marquis by that meane thought to take away all impediments and resistance, where, if he should suffer him to liue in liberty, it could not be but that *Moron*, with his spirit, with his experience, and with his reputation, would entangle the estate of his affaires, and giue many impediments to his plots and purposes. Besides, it was necessary for the Emperour to haue the person of *Moron* in his power and possession, for that being the author and speciall instrument of all the conspiracies, he thought to draw from him by his proper confession all those treasons and intelligences which were charged vpon the Duke of *Millan*. There is nothing more hard then to auoyde destiny, nor no remedie auaylable against the euils determined to fall vpon vs. And as it is easie to suffer a mischiefe when we are sure of the remedie, so, for that aduersitie is of his owne nature quarrellous, there is no ill that happeneth which is not so much the more grievous and troublesome, by how much it happeneth on a sudden, shaking so much the more vehemently the resolution and constancie of the minde. *Moron* might now discern that the practise he had with so great secrecie enttayned with the Marquis, was a matter vayne and dissembled: he knew himselfe to be followed with an vniuersall hatred of all the Spanish souldiers,

*Jerome Moron
prisoner.*

amongst whom ranne already many rumours of his infidelity: *Antho. de Lena* gaue out pulke threats that he would kill him. It is not credible that he did not consider the importance of his person, and discerned to what estate was reduced the Duke of *Millan* at that time vnprofitable, and as a body dead. Betweene them many dayes before, all things were suspended and full of suspicion, every one connelled him not to go thither: himselfe wauered betweene feare and ambition: and yet either for that he suffered himselfe to be flattered with the faire semblances of the Marquis, or making a foundation vpon the great amity running betweene them, or reposing confidence in his faith assured by a letter subsigned with his hand, or lastly being pushed on by that fatall necessity which violently draweth on men that will not be led, he resolved to go as it were to a manifest prison; a matter so much the more wonderfull, by how much he hath bene oft heard say in the time of Pope *Leo*, that in all *Italy* there was not a more impious and disloyall man then the Marquis of *Pesquiero*. The Marquis receiued him with gracious demonstrations, & leading him into a chamber apart, they began to renew betweene them the discourse of the former conspiracies, both how to kill the *Spaniards* and to murder *Anth. de Lena*, whom the Marquis had secretly conuayed behind a hanging of Tapestry, to heare what past betweene them. But as soone as the Marquis was parted from him, which was the fourteenth day of October, *Antho. de Lena* entred the chamber and apprehended him prisoner, sending him in that fortune to the Castell of *Paui*. Thither the Marquis went in person to examine him vpon the matters they had debated together, which *Moron* confessed from one end to the other together with the whole conspiracy, charging the Duke of *Millan* both as guiltie and consenting to all that had bene past, which was the matter that principally was sought. Thus the Marquis hauing *Moron* vnder gard and keeping, proceeded by other degrees to reuerse vtterly the Duke: and being already possessed of *Loda* and *Paui*, he required the Duke for the surety of the Emperours estate, to deliuer vp *Cremona* and the Castels of *Bressia*, *Lecqua*, and *Pisqueton*, places supposed to be the keyes of the Duchy of *Millan*, for that they haue their situation vpon the passage of *Adda*. And as he promised to introduce no alteration nor innouation, so the Duke both abandoned of counsell, and deprived of hope, made present deliury according to the demaund, departing willingly with the things which his destinie denied him to detain. Being possessed of these places, of no lesse importance for the surety of the Marquis and his drifts, then most apt to pull on the extreame reuerfement of the Duke, he passed to further insolencies, requiring to be receiued into *Millan* to haue conference with the Duke as he alleaged: which being graunted to him with the same facility, he demaunded estsoones to be possessed of the Castell of *Cremona*: and albeit he forbore to require the Castell of *Millan* as being a demaund not reasonable, for that his person was lodged within it, yet he insisted vehemently that for the surety of the Emperours armie he would consent the Castell might be enuironed with trenches: he required also to haue deliuered into his hands *John Angeo Riccio*, his Secretarie, and *Politian* Secretarie to *Moron*, to the end examinations might be imposed vpon them for the conspiracies against the Emperour. To these demaunds the Duke answered: That touching the Castels of *Millan* and *Cremona*, as he held them in the name and at the instance of the Emperour, to whom he had alwayes bene a most deuout and faithfull vassall, so he could not but iudge it preiudiciall to his fidelity, to deliuer them vp to the hands of any without his priuie and will. Wherein for his more full vnderstanding and satisfying, he sayd he would dispatch forthwith a messenger expresse, so farre forth as the Marquis would giue him surety of passage: That in the meane while he held it neither comely nor conuenient to consent to be inclosed or intrenched within the Castell; a violence which he would defend with all his power: That he could not depart with *John Angeo*, being the only man that was instructed in all his affaires of importance, and at that time the only officer about him: And that as touching the Secretarie of *Moron*, he had a greater care to detain him, to the end to present him to the Emperour, and to proue by that meane, that during the Dukes sicknesse, his master had embraced and dispatched in his name, and without his priuie many expeditions, which sinisterly might be charged vpon him, if by that meane he iustified not his innocency, and shewed that the practises of *Moron* were farre different and separate from his operations. But the effect was, that after manie offers and protestations past by writing as well by the one as the other partie, the Marquis compelled the peoples of *Millan* to passe an oath of fidelitie to the Emperour, in whose name he bestowed officers through all the estate of the Duke dome, to the great displeasure

displeasure and discontenting of the inhabitantes : and in that authoritie he beganne with trenches to incompasse the Castels of *Cremona* and *Millan*, in the which the Duke was resolved to remayne with eight hundred choise footemen and such reasonable store of victuals as by the shortnesse of the time he could provide : he gaue himselfe ouer to that besieging, partly through the necessitie of the time, and partly for the comfortes and hopes of succours giuen him by the Pope and the *Venetians*, not sayling withall with the vse of his Artilleries to hinder as much as he could the working of the trenches which were drawne on that side without, and of more distance from the Castell then those which *Prosper Colonna* caused to be cast.

All the Regions of *Italy* were reduced to a great astonishment for the vsurpation of the Duke-dome of *Millan*, which they saw could not but fall into manifest seruitude, when so euer an Emperour of nature ambitious and stirring, and for his forces mighty and warlike, should be Lord ouer *Millan* & *Naples*. But aboue all others the Pope was especially afflicted, seeing in that action his pretences were disclosed, with the which he had pretended not only to assure *Millan*, but also to confound the Emperours army, and take from him the kingdome of *Naples*. Touching the Marquis of *Pequero*, it may be, that by these operations he won great fauour with the Emperour, but with all other sorts of men he purchased perpetuall infamie, not only for the opinion that most conceiued of him, that in the beginning he extended his intentions to double with the Emperour & to bandy against him, but also notwithstanding he intended fidelity to the Emperour, yet he ran a course of infamy in this, to set on men, and with so great art and infidelity to draw the into conspiracy with him, to the end to haue occasion to detect them, and to make himselfe great of the transgressions of others, solicited with words dissembled and artificiall. This alteration made hard the hope of accord that was negociated with the Senate of *Venice* by the Protonotarie *Caraccioli*: who hoped that (for the tearmes wherein things stood) the Senate would speedily draw to a conclusion to renew the former confederation with the same conditions : and to pay to the Emperour fourescore thousand ducats in recompence that in times past he had withdrawne his ayde, leauing there wholly all demaunds to contribute hereafter with money. But the accident of *Millan* reduced the Senate to no little perplexitie : for on the one side they stood grieued to be the onely people in *Italy* that with so great daunger contended against the Emperour, seeing they were threatned by the Marquis of *Pequero* to transport the whole warre vpon their estate, whereof they discerned already certaine preparations : and on the other side, they were not ignorant that in case the accord went through, the Emperour should with greater facility make himselfe absolute Lord of that Duchy, which being ioyned to so many estates, and so many other opportunities, they saw was the onely line to leade him to subdue them together with the residue of *Italy*; a matter which was continually declared to them by the Bishop of *Bayeux*; whom the Lady Regent had sent to sollicite an vnion with the Italians against the Emperour: for which purpose, in so great a doubt, and in so daungerous apparances, they made many assemblies, but without any resolution for the diuersity of opinions. And albeit to accept the accord, was a thing more conformable to their custome and maner of proceeding, for that it tooke them out of daungers present, as they might hope in the tract of times and benefite of occasions which common-weales may attend (who in comparison of Princes are immortall) yet it seemed to them a matter of too great importance, to suffer the Emperour confirmed in the estate of *Millan*, and to see the French remaine excluded from all hope of alliance in *Italy*: therefore after they had at last resolved to be bound to nothing, they made this answer to the Protonotary *Caraccioli*: that the forme of their actions past gaue faith to all the world, and he himselfe being present at the conclusion of the confederation, could well testifie, with what great affection they had alwayes desired the amity of the Emperour: with whom as they contracted a confederation in a time when if they had hearkned to the French, it had bene (as all the world knew) an operation of right great consequence, so they had preseuered and would for euer continue in the same disposition towards him: only the necessity of things kept them in suspence, both for that they saw in *Lombardy* many changes and innouations of great importance, and also for that they remembered that their confederation with the Emperour, together with so many mouings & stirs hapned that yeare in *Italy*, drew no other end or meaning, then to transerre *Francis Sforce* to the Duchy of *Millan* as the principall foundation of the liberty and suretie of *Italy*. In which regard they besought his

Maieſty, that maintaining in that caſe himſelfe, & deducing afore al the world his bounty, he wold remoue and make ceaſe ſo great an innouation, and eſtabliſh the tranquility of *Italy*: which he was in his power to do, being now the ſtarre that guided the whole firmament, ſo for their parts, he ſhould find them alwayes diſpoſed and prepared both with their authority and, with their forces, to follow ſo holy an inclination, and honor him beſides with all other ſort of office and humilitie, whether he wold extēd them generally, or apply them to his particular intereſts. This anſwer albeit it contained no hope of concluſion, yet it bred not for all that any ouerture or beginning of war: for that both the ſickneſſe of the Marquis of *Peſquero* which aggrauated dayly in worſe degrees, & the deſire to impatroniſe himſelfe firſt of the whole eſtate of *Millan*, and to eſtabliſh and aſſure that conqueſt, together with the inclination of the Emperour extending to put end and reſolution to ſo many other affaires which he had in hand, would not ſuffer him to giue beginning to an enterpriſe of ſo great conſequence.

The Duke of
Burbon in
Spaine.

About this time the Duke of *Burbon* was arriued in *Spaine*, and came to the Emperours Court the ſiſteenth day of Nouember: concerning whom it is not reaſonable I omit, here to touch by the way, that albeit the Emperour receiued him with all honors and demonſtrations of Court, embracing him with the title and grace of his brother in law, yet all the Lords and Nobles of the Court accuſtomed in all other things to follow the example of their Prince, abhorred him as a perſon infamous, & called him traitor to his king: ſuch was their hatred againſt him, that one of them being required in the Emperours name to ſuffer his houſe to be made ready for the Duke of *Burbon*, answered in the courage and ſtoutneſſe of a *Spaniard*, that as he would not deny the Emperour any thing he would demaund of him, ſo his Maieſty ſhould well vnderſtand, that aſſoone as *Burbon* was gone out of his houſe he would burne it as a pallace infected with the infamy of *Burbon* and vnworthy afterwards for the dwelling of men of honor. The graces and honors which the Emperour ſhewed to the Duke of *Burbon*, augmented greatly the diſtruſt of the Frenchmen, who, ſomewhat by that meane, but more for the returning of the Lady Regent without effect; began to haue cold hopes in the accord, notwithstanding it was continually negociated by men expreſſe remaining with the Emperour: in reſpect whereof, they labored as much as they could to aduance the league with the Pope: wherein did concur the perſwaſions and authority of the king of *England*, and the redoubled and vehement inſtances of the *Venetians*, together with this oportunitie not of the leaſt conſequence. The death of the Marquis of *Peſquero*, who about that time, which was the beginning of December, made his laſt end happily by the juſt ſentence of God, who wold not ſuffer him to enioy the fruit of that ſeede which he had ſowne with ſo great malignity: He was of the houſe of *Abalos* originally deriued from *Catalignia*, and his predeceſſor came into *Italy* with king *Alfonſo* of *Aragon*, he who the firſt of that houſe made conqueſt of the kingdome of *Naples*: he began to follow armes at the battell of *Rauenna*, where, being very yong he was taken priſoner: and afterwards aſpiring to a reputatiō of a Captaine, he followed all the wars which the *Spaniards* had in *Italy*: inſomuch as though he had hot paſt the age of xxxvj. yeares, yet for experience he was old, for inuention ſuttle, in counſell graue, in execution reſolute, wiſe to foreſee a danger, and quicke to auoyd a miſchiefe: he bare great authority and credit with the infantry of *Spaine*, ouer whom as he had bene of long Captaine generall: ſo both the victory of *Pania* and all other actions of merit executed by that army ſince certaine yeares, were principally ſucceeded by his counſell and by his vertue: he was aſſuredly a Captaine of great valor, but one that with art and diſſimulation, knew how to draw fauor and grace to his doings, being beſides, proud of mind, of wit deceitfull, of nature malicious, of counſell and action without ſincerity, and ſo ſingular in his owne weening, that oftentimes he hath bene heard ſay, that he was more worthy to haue *Spaine* for his countrey then *Italy*. His death as it kindled a great confuſion in the whole army with whom he ſtood in no litle grace and reputation, ſo alſo by his death the contrary ſide tooke occaſion to hope, that eaſily they might be able to bringe all the ſouldiers to ruine and oppreſſion, ſince there was taken from them a Captaine of ſo great authoritie and valour. And by this occaſion like as with the Pope were more vehement and importunate the inſtances of ſuch as ſolicited the proceeding of the league, ſo alſo the doubts which detayned him in ſuſpence were nothing leſſe, and that with good right, ſince on all parts he was touched with motions of right waightie reaſons, ſuch as might ſuffice to hold confuſed and ſuſpenced any man of right good action and counſell, and much more a Pope *Clement* to whom it was familiar to proceede alwayes in his affaires

The death of
the Marquis
of Peſquero.

affaires with slownesse and doubt. There was no further expectation of the Emperour for any way or deuise to assure the regions of *Italy*, and he was manifestly discerned to sollicite vehemently the taking of the Castell of *Millan*: in which action was layed a foundation to conuert many other patrimonies into apparant pray or spoyle, but specially the states of the Pope, who being reduced to a generall weakenesse, had his being planted betweene *Lumbardy* and the Realme of *Naples*. And if it were in the Emperours power to oppresse the Pope, there was no doubt that he would not execute it either for ambition which is almost naturally inuelted in Emperours against the Popes, or for his owne surety which wise men preferre afore all other regards, or lastly for reuenge, being drawne both to disdain and distrust for the conspiracies which he entertained with the Marquis of *Pesquero*: and if the necessity to provide for this danger, was great, the foundations and hopes to doe it seemed not light, for that if the remedy were not to succede by the meane of so mighty a league and vnion, it was to be thought desperate for euer. The Regent of *Fraunce* made promise of fise hundred launces, & to contribute for euery moneth so long as the warre should endure, forty thousand duckats, with the which it was intended to wage ten thousand *Swissers*: the Pope and the *Venetians* in one ioynt ayd, were to leuy eightene hundred men at armes, twenty thousand footemen, and two thousand light horsemen: the Frenchmen and the *Venetians* promised to take the sea, and with a great Navy to do inuasion vpon *Genes*, or the Realme of *Naples*: lastly the Lady Regent of *Fraunce* was bound to begin the war immediately with a strong army vpon the frontiers of *Spaine*, to the end to stop the Emperour for sending of men and mony to relecue the warre in *Italy*. The Emperours army that remained in *Lumbardy* was not great, neither for the numbers & quality of souldiers being much diminished, nor for the presence of Captaines of conduct and authority, seeing both the Marquis was dead, & the Duke of *Burbon* and the Viceroy of *Naples* abode as yet in *Spaine*: they were without meane to recouer mony for their payes, and had no plenty of victuals to serue them for foode: The generall inhabitants there, were enemies to them for the quarrell and desire of their Duke, and no lesse for the intollerable exactions imposed by the souldiers both in the City of *Millan* and elsewhere: the Castels of *Millan* and *Cremona* held good as yet for the Duke: and lastly the *Venetians* gaue hope that the Duke of *Ferrara* would also enter into his confederation, if the Pope would accord to him *Reggia*, which by one meanes or other he had alwayes possessed: these were the hopes of the confederates, which reduced to good manner of proceeding, caried their manifest reasons of happie issue: these were the foundations they layed against the ambition and puissance of the Emperour, shadowed neuerthelesse vnder the cloke and liuery to assure their proper liberties. But on the other side, the difficulties which they discerned, rested in the subtlety and vertue of the enemies, who had this by custome and property of condition, to temporise a long time with litle mony, and endure many necessities with much patience: they saw the townes which the enemies held, were well fortified, and no lesse facility to reduce them to better strength with ramparts, & other sort of fortification, for that they were townes whose situation was in the plaine or champion: by which oportunitie they were able to entertaine themselves together vntill there came from *Germany* a sufficient succor to draw and driue the whole warre to the fortune of a battell. Moreouer they saw that touching the souldiers of the league, they could not be but bodies raw & vntrained, in comparision of the others resolute and nourished in so many victories: besides they wanted the conduct and presence of a Captaine generall, for that in the Marquis of *Mantua* then Captaine of the Church, they reposed not sufficient ability to manage and beare out such a charge, neither could they with any surety commit themselves to the fidelity of the Duke of *Ferrara* nor the Duke of *Urbino*, whom they had so much offended, and much lesse would they rest contented with the greatnesse of the Pope, whom they enuied with no litle murmure and grudge of minde. Lastly they were not ignorant that naturally the armes and weapons of the Church had but dull edges and cut slowly, and no lesse inferiour was the valor of the *Venetians*, of whom if either of them apart and seuerally were weak and feeble, what opinion or expectation of their forces being accompanied and conioyned? This was also brought into consideration, that in the armies of leagues and confederates, was seldome seene a concurrancy of prouisions at conuenient time, and much lesse a correspondencie of willes and minds, for that amongst such a diuersitie of humors which draw with them diuersities of interestes and ends, are easily kindled disorders, disdain & distrusts, at the least there is seldome an vniuersall readines to follow resolutely the fauor

of fortune when it is offered, nor a ioynt disposition to resist with constancy those stormes and aduersities which either the disfaour of the time or malicious instrument may stirre vp in an army. But the matter that in this counsellor deliberation drew with it great feare and difficulty, was a suspition conceiued of the Frenchmen, that whensoever the Emperour should be constrained by the necessities of this warre to offer the deliuey of their king, that nation would not onely handon the league, but also ioyne in ayde with the Emperour against the Confederates. And albeit the king of *England* gaue for them his faith and word of a Prince, that they should not accept of such a renuntiation, and that there was deuise to giue assurance in *Rome*, in *Florence*, or in *Venice* for three moneths pay, yet all this sufficed not to assure such a suspition. For, as the Frenchmen had no other end nor intention then to recouer their king, and did manifestly professe to beare no inclination to the warre, but when they saw no hope to effect the accord: so it was a thing verie congruent and likely, that whensoever the Emperour should be disposed, they would preferre afore all other regards and interestes, to compound and accord with him, and like as they were not ignorant that by how much were great and mighty the preparations and forces of the league, by so much more readily would the Emperour be inclined to compound with the French king: euen so it seemed a matter full of perill, to enter a confederation to make a warre in the which the strong prouisions of the confederates might do as much hurt as helpe. With these reasons did the Embassadors and agents of Princes labour the Pope on all sides, and no lesse was he solicited by his owne officers & ministers, for that both the multitude of his Court, and the people peculiar of his counsell, were deuided: of whom euery one in particular fauored his proper inclination, with so much lesse regard, by how much greater was the authority they had gotten vpon him, who till that time was accustomed to suffer himselfe to be caried for the most part by the will of such as in reason ought to haue obeyed the twinkling of his eye, and to serue no other office then as ministers and executers of the direction and ordinance of their maister: for the better information whereof and of many other occurrences, it is necessary to set downe a more large and particular discourse.

Qualities of
Pope Leo and
Clement.

Leo was the first for the familie of *Medicis* that bare any Ecclesiasticall dignity, who in the state and authority of Cardinall, did so wel support both himselfe and his house, fallen from a wonderfull greatnesse into much declination, that it was reduced to respire and reexpect the returne of a great fortune: he was a man of great liberality, if such a name do worthily become him being of so excessiue expences as they passed all rate and measure. At such time as he was raised to the Popedom, he bore a presence of such magnificence and Maiesty, ioyned to a port and shew royall, that the representation he made might be thought wonderfull, euen in one that by long succession had descended of king and Emperours: he was not only prodigall of money and treasure, but also of all other graces and distributions belonging to the prerogative and power of a Pope. These he disposed in such immoderate liberality, that he made vile and base the authority spirituall, disordered the stile and course of the Court, and through his prodigall expenses, reduced himselfe to necessity to seeke mony alwayes by means extraordinary. This great facility was accompanied with a most deepe dissimulation, with the which he beguiled all the world in the beginning of his pontificacy: The thing that made him seeme a good Prince (I speake not of the goodnesse Apostolike, for that in those corrupted times, then is praised the bounty or goodnesse of the Pope, when it exceeds not the malignity of other men) was the opinion that was conceiued of his clemency, hauing a desire to do good to all men, and far estranged from inclination to offend any. Amongst his other felicities which were many & great, it was no litle happinesse to him to haue about him *Iulio de Medicis* his Cousin, whom notwithstanding he was not borne in lawfull mariage, yet he raised him to the estate of Cardinall, being before Knight of the order of *Rhodes*: for, *Iulio* being by nature graue to sound deeply into things, diligent in office and seruice, watchfull ouer affaires, not delighted in securitie and pleasure, but ordered and regulated in all things, & for his modesty hauing vnder his hands the administration of all the affaires of importance of the Popedom, did beare out and moderate many disorders which proceeded of his prodigall facility: yea such was his temperance and vertue working with a perpetuall care ouer the Pope, that forsaking the custome of all other cousins and bretheren of Popes, he preferred alwayes the honour and greatnesse of *Leo*, afore all friendships and foundations, which he might apply to his owne stability after the Popes death. And being withall no lesse obedient to him then faithfull, he seemed

seemed in all his behauiours to be a second himself to him by whom he had receiued so high confidence. For this cause the Pope raised him euery day, and pushed on by gratifications and benefites the mind that serued him with so great studie and fidelitie: he reposed him selfe more and more vpon him touching affaires of greatest consequence, which being managed by two natures so different, shewed how wel oftentimes doth agree together the mixture of two cōtraries, straitnesse with facilitie, watchfulnesse with securitie, measure with prodigalitie, grauitie of manners with pleasures and idlenesse. Which things and the gouernment of them, made many belecue that *Leo* was caried by *Iulio*, being not able of himselfe to rule so great a charge, and no disposition to hurt any one, together with a vehement desire to enioy the fruits & delights of the Popedom. But of the contrary, they interpreted *Iulio* to be of a spirit ambitious, stirring, & addicted to innovations: so that all the rigours, all the actions, and all the enterprises of *Leos* time, were by imputation heaped vpon *Iulio*, whom they reputed a man malicious, though he caried a mind of magnanimitie and courage: which opinion of his valour was confirmed and increased after the death of *Leo*, for that amid infinite contradictions and difficulties objected against him, he supported the estate and countenance of his affaires with such a dignitie as resembled the person & place of a Pope: yea he so conserued his authoritie with the Cardinals, that making his entrie into two Conclaues absolute commander of sixteene voyces, he was at last made Pope within two yeares after the death of *Leo*, notwithstanding the many obtrusions and emulations of the most auncient Cardinals: and he entred into his Popedom with such an expectation, that it was thought he would become the greatest Pope, and bring to passe greater matters then euer did any that til that day had sate in that supreme seate. But it was found out afterwards how farre men were abused in their iudgements, both concerning *Leo* and him, since in *Clement* were discerned many conditions farre different from that which men beleueed of him before: for, there was not in him either that ambition or thirst after innouations and chaunges, or that greatnesse of courage and inclination of mind to noble and high enterprises, which was supposed before; yea he was interpreted to be about *Leo*, rather an executer and minister of his plots and purposes, then a framer and introducer of his counsels and wils. And albeit he was of wit verie apt and capable, and had a deepe science and insight in all the affaires of the world, yet when it came to points of resolution and execution, that propertie of gift was not correspondent to himselfe, for that it was not onely hindered by a certaine timorousnesse of spirite which was not little in him, together with a desire of niggardnesse and sparing; an humour hurtfull in a minde raised to high things: but also he was followed with a certaine irresolution and perplexitie, which was so naturall in him, that for the most part it kept him contained in suspence and doubt, euen when he was at point to establish things which he had aforetime with great foresight considered, measured, and almost resolved. By which it happened, that as well in his deliberations, as in the execution of his counsels, every trifling regard rising of new in his conceite, and every light impediment that appeared, seemed sufficient to leade him into the same confusion wherein he was afore he deliberated, being alwayes perswaded that after he had consulted, that counsell was the best which he had reiecte: for, in that case, calling onely into reckening and representation those reasons which he had not esteemed before, he forbore to reduce into discourse the arguments which had moued him to make such election, which being conformed and compared with the contraries, would haue made weaker the force and strength of the others, neither did he take experience by the memory of his naturall timorousnesse, to beware to slide into the passion and humour of vaine feare. In which disposition intangled, and maner of dealing confused, he suffered himselfe oftentimes to be transported and gouerned by his officers, in which case he seemed rather caried then counselled by them: of whom, these bare most authoritie with him, *Nicholas Scombergh* a *Germane*, and *Mathew Gibert* a *Genouay*: the one almost reuerenced and feared of the Pope, and the other loued and fauored with a singular affection: *Scombergh* was a disciple of *Ierome Sauonarola*, and of the order of Frear preachers whilest he studied the lawes, but afterwarde leauing his religion and profession, he retained onely the habite and the name, and followed the vocation of secular affaires: *Gibert* had bene bestowed verie young in the function of religion, but afterwards he left that vocation by the priuie of his father, and notwithstanding he was not borne in lawfull mariage, yet he disclaimed both the habite and the name of his profession. They two were of one societie & agreement together whilst he was Cardinall, & also in the beginning & entrie to his Popedom, bearing

such a hand on him as they gouerned his thoughts, and drew his will to their wayes: but as amongst mortall men, there can be no perfect concord, where is no conformitie of conditions, beginning afterwards to disagree, either through ambition, or by the diuersitie of their natures, they brought ruine vpon him whom they had before supported, and led his affaires into greay confusion. For, Friar *Nicholas* either for that he was a *Germaine* of nation, which caried him to fauour immoderately the affaires of his countrey, or for some other regard mouing, bore great affection to the name of the Emperour, by which occasion, concurring also his obltinacie in his opinions which oftentimes were different from others, the Pope stood many wayes suspitious that he preferred more the profite of another, then was studious ouer the aduancements of his affaires. And touching the other, both by nature and all other respects of office, he was very deuout to the person of the Pope, whom he acknowledged alone for his Lord and maister, and simply caried verie carefull and studious impressions ouer his affaires. And albeit in the time of *Leo* he had bene a great enemy to the French, and fauored highly the affaires of the Emperour, yet after the death of that Pope he was conuerted into another humour and habite.

Thus these two principal ministers of the Pope being in manifest discord betweene themselves, neither proceeded in his affaires with soundnesse of counsell, nor for the honor of his person, with reuerence and regards agreeable; by which diuision, euery one knowing how irresolute and weake the Pope was of his owne condition, he was made contemptible and scorned to the world, by those men who ought with better modestie to haue couered his imperfections: insomuch as being priuie to his owne weakenesse, & by the propertie of his nature alwayes irresolute, he knew not what course to take in a deliberatiō so slippery & full of difficulties, seeing that those to whom it appertained to stay and resolue him, were the men that caried him into greatest confusion: so dangerous is it for Princes to haue faction and diuision in their counsels, which of all others haue the greatest facilitie to leade their persons and estates into perill of ruine and subuersion. Neuerthelesse at the last, more by necessitie to deliberate something, then by resolution or firme iudgement, and standing chiefly in these termes, that to deliberate nothing was in a kind to deliberate, he inclined to go through with the League, and in companie of the residue to begin the warre against the Emperour: wherein they fell to accord, and drew the capitulations into particulars, wanting no other thing then to giue his full perfection at such time as he receiued newes that the Commandator *Erraro* whom the Emperour sent to him, was arriued at *Rome*. He was thought to be sent in diligence with some good and gracious dispatch; in which respect the Pope determined to attend his comming, which droue the Embassadors to complaine, whom he had assured to passe the same day the confederation. The cause of his comming was; that the Emperour after he had sent such a commission to the Marquis of *Pesquero*, to retaine at the least in his power to impatronise him selfe vpon the estate of *Millan*, and fearing least by that occasion there were incensed some new stirres in *Italy*, did begin to debate more straitly and sincerely of the accord with the Legate *Saluatio*, so that there passed betweene them one capitulation (reseruing neuerthelesse the condition of the ratification by the Pope) wherein both he was satisfied touching the restitution of *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, & also the defence and conseruation of the Duke of *Millan* was comprehended in it; matters which the Pope did principally desire. Moreouer it was expressly set downe, that if the Duke should die, the Emperour neither should retaine that Dukedome, nor giue it to the Archduke his brother, but should inuest it in the Duke of *Burbon*, which the Pope very vndiscreetly by the setting on of the Archbishop of *Capua*, had accorded vnto, together with *George* of *Austria* brother to the Emperour *Maximilian*, at such time as the life of *Francis Sforce* was almost holden desperat. Assoone as the capitulation was made, the Legat not tarying for Pope *Clement* to giue it perfectiō, either could not or would not refuse to present the Emperour with the writ of dispensatiō for his mariage so much desired: which for that it was made before, only with mentiō of stop & impediment to the second degree without naming the king of *Portugals* daughter for offending the king of *England*, or because there was betweene the a double bond of affinity, there was no mentiō made but of the bond that was most strōg: it was thought necessary to make another, which with expresse mention of the persons, contained all the impediments. The Commandator *Erraro* departed from the Emperours Court with the dispatch of this cōfederation, about a day or two after the Emperour was aduertised of the imprisoning of *Moron*: & coming to the Popes court the vij. of Decēb. he was brought to his presence, where after he had presented

Pope Clement
the vij. makes
a League a-
gainst the Em-
perour.

presented to him many offers, with the like information of the good will of the Emperour, he delivered him the capitulations, in which albeit the articles touching the salt and matters of benefice within the realme of *Naples*, were contrarie to that which had bene solicited and resolved by the *Viceroy*: yet for that his principall end was to be assured of suspitions, he had allowed and accepted them, if he had found a sincere proceeding touching the Duchie of *Millan*. But seeing in the article concerning *Frauncis Sforce*, was contained no mention of the imputation made against him, neither promising to render the estate that was taken from him, nor to pardon his faults committed, their art and subtleties were easily discerned, the rather for that the Emperour in the conclusion made with the Legate, and in the instructions given to his Agent, seemed to take no knowledge of such things: for the confederation made to defend and preserve *Frauncis Sforce* in the Dukedome of *Millan*, deprived not the Emperour of power to proceed against him as against his vassall, and to declare the freehold to be confiscated for the conspiracie supposed vpon him, against his Maiestie: and *Burbon* suborned to be Duke in case of his death, was also to succcede in case of his priuation, for that by the lawes is considered the death naturall and the death ciuill, by which they iudge that man to die, who is condemned for such a crime. For this cause the Pope answered with verie graue speeches, that as he had no particular matter of discord with the Emperour, so touching all differences and contentions that might happen betweene them, he would for his part chuse no other arbitrator or iudge then his Maiestie: only he held it necessarie to establish so good an order for the publike affaires, as *Italy* might remaine assured, which could not be done vnlesse he restored to *Frauncis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*. Lastly he layed afore him reasons, prouing why a Capitulation so generall was not sufficient, concluding that it would bring no small grieffe to him to be driuen to that necessitie, to enter into new deliberations and counsels, and to be made estranged from the Emperour, with whom he had alwayes bene most firmly conioyned. To these the Duke of *Sessa* replied with reasons iustificatorie, that as the Emperour had alwayes a sincere and vpriight intention: so he assured that his Maiestie was well contented that notwithstanding the accidents happened and past, the Duchie of *Millan* should remaine to *Frauncis Sforce*: onely if the article especiall of that clause (through mistaking) were not set downe in sufficient and ample forme, it was referred to the Pope to reforme it according to his will and discretion, promising for the Emperour, to present to him within two moneths the ratification, so farre forth also as he would giue his word not to conclude during that time the League which was negociated with the gouernment of *Fraunce* and the *Venetians*. It was clearly discerned, that this offer had no other foundation then a desire to temporise and winne a respite or time of two moneths, to the ende to giue vnto the Emperour a better leisure to take good counsels, and leaue conuenient remedies against so strong a League. Neuerthelesse after many contentions and disputations, the discontentment of the Embassadors concurring, the Pope consented to that demaund, as well by desire and reason to enter as slowly as he could into expences and troubles, as also for this pollicie, that so long as the French king continued in the condition of a prisoner, all contracts and confederations made with the Regent of *Fraunce* would be fealous and dangerous, for that the Emperour would alwayes retaine a power to dissolue and breake them as often as he list. Also he iudged, that by this respite or delay interposed, the Emperour might with more facilitie obtaine his purpose, notwithstanding there was no great appa-
 rance of hope: and if by that were wrought the accord betweene the two kings, he made this deepe consideration (though many iudged against it) that it were better to passe in a time when the Emperour stood in least necessitie, for that by how much his affaires were aduanced or stood in good traine, by so much more rude would be the conditions he would offer to the French king, which being seuer and rigorous, he supposed the king wold not obserue them after he were possessed of his libertie. There was also added to that treatise, that during the said time there should be no new enterprise embraced, nor no action executed against the Castle of *Millan*, so far forth as *Frauncis Sforce* wold be bound not to do any molestation vpon those that lay without, which condition he would not accept.

The yeare of the natiuitie of the sonne of God 1525 being runne out in these actions more disposed to warre then to peace, there followed successiuelly the yeare 1526, which being replenished with great accidents, brought a face of wonderful troubles. In the beginning of this yeare the Commandator *Erraro* returned to the Emperour with letters subsigned & written with

the Popes owne hand, by the which he neither denied nor confessed the conspiracies practise against him, but laying the fault vpon the Marquis of *Pesquero*, he laboured to excuse *Frauncis Sforce*, whom he alleaged (if he had offended at all) to be abused by the counsels of *Ierome Alaron*, beseeching him with termes of great affection, that for the benefit and quiet of all *Chusterdome*, he would preferre his clemencie afore his iustice. At this time the Emperour expecting the answer of the Pope, held in suspence the negotiations and practises of all Princes, and albeit he had exercised great grace, fauour, and honor vpon the Duke of *Burbon*, promising with speed to aduance the consummation of the mariage betweene his sister & him, yet when *Burbon* vrged the accomplishing of his word and promise, he was answered with euasions and delays, such as made the matter doubtful and the Duke discontented. Neuerthelesse to satisfie him with some reasonable or apparant excuse, he was caried ouer with this, that the Emperour wold first giue perfection to his owne mariage with the infant of *Portugal*, who was expected from one day to another, but in true meaning that excuse drew this draught, to leaue alwayes in the power and will of the Emperour (notwithstanding his promise to the Duke of *Burbon*) to giue her to wife to the french king if the accord went on: such is the ordinarie humor of some Princes, to be caried rather with considerations of profit, then with care of honestie. Now after the Emperours mariage was consummated at *Seul* in *Spaine*, the commaundator *Erraro* arriued at the Court, with the breuiat of the article concerning *Frauncis Sforce*; which article the Pope had deduced at large in his fauor. So that the Emperour, being also assured that the Legate *Saluiario* had no commission to conclude any thing but according to that article, and his whole Counsell thinking it necessarie to stop and hinder the league that was in hand, & no lesse dangerous to haue to do at one time with so great a number of enemies, he saw himselfe reduced to these termes, either to content the Pope & the *Venetians* by restoring *Frauncis Sforce* to the Duchie of *Millan*, or else to compound with the French king, who for his part, after long arguing and disputation for the countrey of *Burgundie*, and finding that without the price of it, he could not hope for his deliuerie by the Emperour, offered to render it with all the apertenances and dependancies, and to renounce all titles and rights which he had to the kingdome of *Naples* and Duchie of *Millan*, and to assure the obseruation of his promise by the ostage of two of his sonnes. The disputations were great vpon the election of the one or the other way, wherein the *Viceroy* insisted more vehemently then euer, both for that he had the conduct of the French king into *Spaine*, & had nourished him with many braue hopes of his deliuerie vnder easie conditions. His authoritie was great with the Emperour, and his reputation nothing inferiour, both for that the Emperour reposed much in his fidelitie, and trusted him because he knew he loued him: but there opposed against him *Mercurio Gattinaro*, a man of base descending in the countrey of *Piedmont*, and by his vertue raised to the place of high Chauncellor to the Emperour, and for his experience and credit, had managed of long time all the affaires of the Court of most importance. One day the Emperour sitting really in counsell to resolve absolutely the matters that had bene discoursed so many moneths, these two were also present, of whom the Chauncellor tooke occasion to reason in this sort.

The Emperour
married to the
daughter of
Portugall.

Oration of the
Chauncellor.

I haue alwayes feared, least our too great greedinesse concurring with the immoderate endes we aspire vnto, would be the cause, that of so singular and honorable a victorie, we reaped in the end neither glorie nor profite: but I could neuer be induced by any argument or reason, that by your victorie. (ô gracious Emperour) either your estate or your reputation should fall into danger; a matter which now appeareth manifestly, since there is question to conclude an accord, by the which all the regions of *Italy* shall be reduced to a condition desperate, which can not but bring infamie to your name; and the French king deliuered vp to his libertie, but vnder so vnequal conditions, that he will continue a greater enemy to you then before, though not of will which haply he may restraine and temper, yet by necessitie, which is alwayes a mightie motion to moue men to reuenge. For my part, I could wish with as great shew of affection as others, that at one time and by one meane, your Maiestie might recouer *Burgundy*, and also establish foundations of your imperie in *Italy*: but vaine is the wit that aspieth to hold the thing which the hād is not able to gripe; and in the propertie of worldly things, there is nothing more full of error, then that ambition which goeth on working in the humor of weening only, and lookes not back to order and reason, which are the assured lines that lay out the infallible successe of euery mortal actiō. But this I know, that that Prince who suddenly embraceth many things, is in perill to effect nothing,

for

For that all those things are put to aduenture, that are guided by will and not by reason. That fire, that is mightily kindled hath much ado to be quenched, but when vpon one fire riseth manie flames, whose propertie is to flie with the wind into many places, it can not be that the burning will not be great, yea oftentimes extended to the consuming of him that first kindled it. I see no reason to induce vs to thinke, that the french king being deliuered, will obserue the articles of so great importance, since he is not ignorant, that in making you Lord of *Burgundy*, he layeth open such a gap to leade you into the bowels of *France*, that it will be alwayes in your electioⁿ to run vp to the gates of *Paris*: and he knoweth well enough, that when he hath once put into your hand the power to vex *France* in so many places, he hath left to him selfe no possibilitie to make resistance against you. Doth not he know & all the world see, that to consent that you go to *Rome* with an armie, is no other thing then to giue you a raine, with whose bridle you may checke all *Italy*, & authoritie to dispose according to your liking, of the estate spirituall and temporall of the Church, and by that meane your puissance being redoubled, you shal for alwayes after neuer want money nor forces to offend him? And who doubteth that of this greatnes he maketh this conclusion, that he shall be constrained to accept all such lawes as it shal please you to impose vpon him. Is it then reasonable to beleue, that he will obserue an accord by the which he is made your slaue and you his Lord? Where is feruitude hatefull, if not in the mind whom nature hath borne to so ueraigntie? and how can it be thought that he will liue vnder the yoke of subiection, whose ambition could not hitherunto be contained within the large limits of *France*. But be it, that in the king will be found no want of conscience to obserue the conditions of the contract, yet he may be ouercaried by a naturall compassion by the complaints and lamentations of his kingdome, and by the perswasions of the king of *England* accompanied with the incitation of all *Italy*. It may be that by the law of amitie that is betweene you two, he will repose confidence in you, or at least looke into the power you are of: but was there euer two Princes betweene whom haue bene greater causes of hatred and contention? There is not onely betweene you a recipocall ielousie of greatness; a matter apt to stirre vp one brother against another, but also your common emulation is pushed on by many ancient and great quarels begun in the times of your fathers and great grandfathers, many long warres betweene those two houses, many peaces and accords not obserued, many harmes done, and many iniuries receiued. There is no quarell more mortall then that which rakech his nouriture in tract and prescription of time, nor atie hatred so daungerous as that which lyeth smothered like fire couered with hote imbers, by whom the heate is preserued to a greater power of burning. To the minde that is iniured, there is nothing so sweete as the passion of reuenge; and by how much the offence is auncient and inueterate, by so much more incurable is the humour of reuenge, and more heauie the stroke where it lighteth. We may beleue that the Kings minde burneth with disdain, when he remembreth how manie moneths he hath bene your prisoner, with what seueritie he hath bene kept vnder straite and sure gard, and neuer was fauoured so much as to speake to you or see you. Besides, in this calamitie of imprisonment, he hath passed so many perplexities and perils as had almost brought him to the ende of his mortall life; causes not litle materiall to make him highly incensed, besides the despite of his other iniuries, sufficient to draw on his desire to be reuenged: and now he seeth we go about to deliuer him, not through magnanimitie or amitie, but by necessitie and feare of so great a confederation conspired against vs. Do we thinke that parentage made by necessitie, is more mightie, then so many vehement incitations? Do we not know how much Princes esteeme of such bonds? And who can yeeld a better testimonie then our selues, of the estimation and reckening of parentages? But it may haply seeme to some, that we shall be greatly assured by the faith he will giue to returne againe into prison. O weake foundations and full of frailtie! O hopes vnperfect and drawing more perill then suretie! O counsell vndiscreete, which hath no societie with wisdom and forecast! The grieve I haue to see vs disposed to take a course so hurtfull and daungerous, makes me burst out into this libertie of plaine speech. This boord is not ignorant, what reckoning is made of faith and word giuen, when there is question of interests of estate, neither are we to learne of what force are the promises of the Frenchmen, who though they be open and plaine in all other things, yet in this regard let vs thinke them Schoolemaisters most perfect in deceiuing and abusing. And for the King, he hath naturally a readie tongue to promise, and a slow hand to perfourme, and by custome is so much the more hard and sparing in effects, by how

" much he is plentifull and prodigall in wordes and speeches. Vpon which I gather this reasonable
 " conclusion, that neither the respect of good will betweene two Princes, who haue for an auncient
 " inheritance, iniuries and offences, nor the memory of benefites, which neuer was any, nor the con-
 " sideration of faith & promises, which in controuersie of matters of estate importeth nothing with
 " the Frenchmen, will haue any force to induce him to follow an accord, which listeth vpon his enemy
 " into heauen, and throweth his own person & his kingdome into manifest subiection: where it may
 " be objected that for feare of these things, & the better to assure your Maiestie, you demand two
 " of his children (of whom one to be the eldest) whose loue wil containe him more, then the price of
 " *Burgondie*: I answer that the loue of those children will rather cause the contrarie, specially when
 " the memorie of them shall moue in the cogitations of his minde, & consideration that to obserue
 " the accord, would be the beginning to make them your slaues: it is doubtfull that such a pawne
 " will not be sufficient, if he should be altogether desperate to recouer it in other sort: for that as it
 " is a thing that much importeth to put his Realme in daunger, which being once lost is hard to be
 " recouered: so neuertheless he may haue many hopes to redeeme his children either with the fa-
 " uour of time, or by the benefite of accord, or by the oportunitie of some other occasion, and yet
 " in respect of their base age the expectation wil not be grieuous to him. Besides, standing in termes
 " to draw into vnicie against you almost all the Princes of Christendome, who doubteth not but he
 " will confederate with them? who seeth not that he will seeke to moderate that accord by the
 " way of warre and armes? and who knoweth not that case, the gaine and profite which we shall
 " reape by this victorie, will bring vpon vs a most strong and daungerous warre, stirred vp by the
 " desperate hatred of the French King, by the burning ielousie of the King of *England*, and by the
 " generall necessitie of all the Potentates in *Italie*: against whom how shall we be able to defend
 " our selues, vnlesse God continue dayly to worke the same miracles for vs which he hath so often
 " done till this time, or vnlesse fortune for our sakes, chaunge her nature, and reduce her inconstan-
 " cie and lightnesse to an example of constancie and firmenesse contrary to all experience past? how
 " many monethes haue we concluded in our counsels, to do all that we could to let the *Italian*
 " for vnicing with the house of *Francke*: and now we throw our selues rashly into a deliberation
 " which takes away all difficulties that till this houre haue kept them in suspence: a matter which
 " multiplieth our daungers, and increaseth the forces of our enemies, since it is not to be doubted
 " that that league will be more strong and mightie which shall haue for a head, the French King
 " standing in his freedome and in his kingdome, then that which should be contracted with the
 " house of *Francke* and the King remaine your prisoner. There is no other thing which till this day
 " hath detained the Pope from entring confederation against you, then the feare he had that you
 " would alwayes separate the French from the residue, in offering to them the libertie of their king-
 " dom but lesse will be their feare of such a matter, when you shall haue the children who import not
 " much, and dismisse the father vpon whose person resteth the ballancing of all things: so that by
 " this meane, the medicine which we haue sought to apply to preuent our daunger, will become
 " without all comparison the chiefe poyson and instrument of our perill, and in place to breake this
 " vnion we shall be the meane to enforce it and make it more firme and puissant. But me thinkes I
 " see some ready to aske my aduise: and whether I will counsell your Maiestie to draw no profit
 " of so great a victorie, and to suffer you to dwell alwayes vpon these doubtles and perplexities; to
 " whom I answer & confirme eftsloones the similitude I haue spoken many times, that it is a matter
 " too hurtfull to receiue so much meate at one time as the stomacke can not beare: and that it is
 " necessarie, either by returning into amitie with *Italie*, which demaunds nothing of vs but to be
 " assured, to get of the French King both *Burgondie* and as much else as we can: or else to make a
 " composition with him (by the which *Italie* may remaine at our discretion) but so easie touching
 " his interests, as he may haue cause to obserue the conditions of it. In the election of the one of these
 " two wayes it appertaineth to your Maiestie in pollicie and forecast to preferre that which indeed
 " is most stable and iust, afore that which at the first shew may haply seeme most great and most
 " profitable. I confesse the Duchie of *Millan* is an estate more rich and more commodious for ma-
 " ny regards, then *Burgondie*, and that there can no amitie passe with *Italie*, vnlesse *Millan* be tra-
 " nsferred either to *Frauncis Sforca*; or to some other of the Popes liking: and yet I rather allow to
 " do this, then to accord with the Frenchmen, for that *Burgondie* appertaineth to you with better
 " equitie and iustice then *Millan*, & beareth more facilitie to be maintained then a countrey where

no person that willett you good . To seeke to get *Burgondie* your auncient inheritance , is an action of great worthinesse and prayse: but to aspire after *Milane* either to your owne vse, or for any other that dependeth wholly vpon you, can not be without manifest notes of ambition. The one calleth you to it by the honorable memorie of so many your predecessors, whose bones lying buried in captiuitie, call vpon you to be deliuered & redeemed by your vertue, whose compassion accompanied with their iust, pitifull, and holy desires, may haply moue God to be more fauorable to the action. Your Maiestie must consider that it is a more discret and easie counsell, to establish an amitie with him that vnwillingly becomes your enemy, then with one who in no time can be your friend: for there will neuer be in the French king but a perpetual hate and desire to oppose against your doings : where the Pope and the other Potentates of *Italie* being once assured of all suspicion by the reuoking of your armie that is in *Lombardie*, wil haue no occasion of controuersie with you, neither through ielousie wherein they will be satisfied, nor by feare which then will be resolved into assurance, and remaining your friends, you shall draw from them both now and alwayes a greater commoditie and profite : so that there are to leade your Maiesties inclination to this amitie , not onely the consideration of honour, which ought to be most familiar with great Princes, not only the regard of profite, which fashioneth haughtie mindes to reason and facilitie: not onely the respect of iuretie , which to Princes and peoples is the sweetest end and reward of their warres and contentions , but also the operation of necessitie , which about all other motions in the mindes of men, carrieth them violently to resolution and accord. For, be it that you compound with the King , and bind him to no other thing then to ayde you in the enterprises of *Italie*, yet it is not likely he will obserue it, since this will be his opinion, that in leauing you *Italie* for a pray, he should so much the more imbarke his owne Realme in perill and desperate danger: where on the other side, his hopes and oportunities will be great that by the compulsion of so mightie an vnion he shall be able to vex and trauell you, and in the end to reduce you to accord vnder easie conditions: so that of a king whom we hold prisoner, we shall not only giue him libertie, but also prepare him to be our enemy, & send home to the realme of *France*, a soueraigne chieftaine or leader, to the end that ioyning with the residue, he might raise war against vs, both with greater forces and with more profite. How much better were it to confederate with the *Italians*, who haue the same conformitie of reasons with vs? How much more necessary to contract a firme and true alliance with the Pope, who hath continually desired it? And how much assured to remoue from the French all hope to ioyne with the *Italians*, seeing that in that case not onely necessity or feare of new leagues, but also euen your owne will and quality of the conditions, will draw you to accord with the French. Then shal you see that their vniuersall necessity and dispaire of their common condition, will constrain them not onely to deliuer vp *Burgondie* into your handes, and to follow you with greater offers, but also to assure them with such obligations and ostages, that you shall not need to doubt the obseruation: for the which his children are not sufficient pawns so long as they hope to effect so great an vnion : and scarcely will suffice the townes of *Bayon* & *Narbona* if they put them into your hands, nor an army at sea. This is the way to draw of your victory a fruit plentiful, honorable, comely and sure: and otherwise (if I haue any insight in the matters of the world) by this accord you shall embark your estate into so great dangers, that I see no way to deliuer you, vnlesse the indiscretio of the french king may haply be greater than ours.

This oration, what with eloquence and good disposition of the matter, ioyned with the reputation and wisdom of the man, wrought much in the mindes of the greatest parte of the councell : but the *Viceroy* being of an other humor, pronounced a contrary opinion in this sorte:

If it be a fault blameable in such men as through the motion of worldly appetite and ambition, *Oration of the Viceroy.* seeke to embrace more then they are able to hold, the offence is no lesse in mine opinion, in others who eyther by too many suspitions or too much incredulity, do willingly deprive themselves of great occasions gotten with many difficulties and dangers: but if there be property of honour in both, obseruing the quality of the persons in whome they raigne, that which proceedeth of feare and abiection of mind, is more to be reprehended and condemned in a great prince, then that which moueth of an inclination heroicall and true greatnes of spirit and courage. And seeing it is to great things that the thoughts of great princes ought to be raised and dressed, it cannot but be more agreeable to their merite and vertue, to seeke to winne much with hazard and danger, then by avoiding of perill which is but casuall, to lose or corrupt such occa-

fions as very rarely happen to mortall men. This is the very course laid out to your Maieſty by the
 Lord Chauncellor, who doubting that by this accord *Burgundy* and *Millan* may not be obta-
 ned, (we muſt not think he is pulled on eyther with the loue of *Italy* which is his country, or
 with the benefit or good turne that he wiſheth to the Duke of *Millan*) hath made a reſolution
 of a way by the which as he ſaith, we ſhall get *Burgundy* and loſe *Millan*, an eſtate without com-
 pariſon of greater importance. But I feare that in following that deuife, as we ſhall not onely loſe
Millan and not winne *Burgundy*, ſo alſo where your Maieſty hath with great glory opened you
 a way to the imperie and iuriſdiction of all Chriſtendome, there will remaine no other fruite
 of it if you take your direction by his counſell, then great damage accompanied with perpetuall
 infamy; effects which in all reaſonable ſort your Maieſty is to auoid, leaſt through indiſcretion
 and ſiniſter counſell of one priuate man, you blemiſh the reputation and valour of ſo many
 princes and braue Captains, who vnder the felicity and fortune of your name fought for the vi-
 ctory which you now haue: ſo wil the world thinke you more apt to get then able to hold, & leſſe
 worthy of glory then meet to manage it. For my part much leſſe that I can diſcerne any ſurety
 in the counſell he hath giuen, ſeeing of the contrary it brings lurking vnder many tokens of
 manifeſt danger, and ſome apparances of a litle profite and yet eaſy to ſlide out of our hands,
 not without our ſhame, and your indignity: Where on the contrary, in compounding with the
 French king, your Maieſty ſhall reape glory, which eſpecially followeth the name of Emperours,
 it will bring you profit which is a ſweet reward of victories, and it will giue you a ſufficient affu-
 rance of your eſtates, which is the happieſt end and conſequence of warre and controuerſies be-
 tweene Princes. I aſke this queſtion of the Lord Chauncellor, vnder what reaſon, vnder what
 ſurety, and vnder what fidelity he doth warrant or promiſe that the Italians after we haue left
 them the Duchie of *Millan*, will obſerue the accord, and will not intermeddle with the affaires
 that ſhall paſſe betweene the French king and vs? Yea rather after they haue embaiſed our reputa-
 tion, after they haue corrupted the army that now holdeth them in bridle, and after they ſhall be
 aſſured that no new companies of Launceknights can come into *Italy*, becauſe there is no place
 of retrait for them, I aſke againe with what humor the Lord Chauncellor can answer for the Ita-
 lians, that they will not recontinue their practiſes, and threatening the kingdome of *Naples* which
 will almoſt remaine at their diſcretion, they will not riſe and force vs to deliuer the French king?
 If it be good to prouide that a miſchiefe happen not, it is better not to looſe the oportunity of the
 remedy that is proper for it, ſince there can be no great danger to defend the harme that
 ſtandes in feare of a remedy to reſiſt it. It is farre from reaſon for my Lord Chauncellor to repoſe
 confidence in *Francis Sforce*, to acknowledge the benefites that your Maieſty ſhall do to him,
 ſeeing he hath already ſo ill obſerued your honorable liberalities, and with treaſons hath recom-
 penced the fauours you haue vſed to him. But what expectation of conſpiracie and worſe dea-
 ling, when he ſeeth a deſire to call him to iuſtice, and to puniſh by ſentence of the law, the vn-
 thankfulnes he hath pretended with ſo great iniquity: and what feare will he haue of your pu-
 niſhment, when he expecteth his ſafety by the deliuerance of your enemies? He will not care to
 offend you, that feareth not your puniſhment: and that puniſhment will he not hold grieuous,
 which either he ſuppoſeth to ſuffer for innocencie, or is aſſured of his meane of deliuerie. And
 leſſe reaſon is there to induce you to haue confidence in the *Venetians*, for that beeing by nature
 enemies auncient to the Crowne of the Empire and the houſe of *Austria*, cannot yet but trem-
 ble vnder the memorie of *Maximilian* your grandfather, who tooke from them manie of thoſe
 townes which they poſſeſſe at this daie. The mind poſſeſſed with iniurie and wrong, can neuer
 be made aſſured: and where the remembrance of the harmes done remaineth without recom-
 pence or conciliation, there is nothing leſſe certaine then fidelitie, and nothing more fraile then
 the freindſhips they profeſſe. Touching Pope *Clement*, there is no reaſon of confidence, either
 in his vertue, or in his inclination to the Emperour, ſince the firſt alliance that Pope *Leo* made
 with him after he had attempted manie things againſt vs, was, for deſire either to be reuenged,
 or to be aſſured againſt the frenchmen, and for ambition to occupie *Ferrara*: and after him,
 the Pope raigning being hated of the one moitie of the world, continued by neceſſitie (after the
 death of *Leo*) in your amitie, but beeing become Pope, he returned immediatlie to the nature
 of Popes, which is both to feare and hate the Emperours, and for his part he hath nothing in
 more horror then the name of the Emperour. I confeſſe theſe reaſons may be answered with
 excuſes,

excuses, and it may be alleged that their complots and enterprises tooke no proceeding of hatred or ambition, but only of suspition and ieaousy of your greatnesse, which being ceased, all their conspirations will take ende. But it may be answered, that either this is not true, or if at the beginning it hath bene true, it hath now by necessitie taken other roote, and become an other humor, for that it is a thing naturall that hatred followeth suspition, and offences and vexations come after hatred, and after offences men draw to alliance and amity with the enemies of him whom they haue offended, labouring to raise practises not onely for their proper suretie, but also to make their profite of him whom they haue offended. Nature hath sowne in man seeds of hatred and reuenge, and though the lawes hold it more iust to reuenge an iniurie then to do it, yet kind and nature sheweth that both the one and the other proceede of one imbecillity. Besides, the remembrance of wrongs is farre greater and more stirring in the mind of him that doth them, then in him that receiue them: so that where in the beginning suspition onely would set them vp and make them to moue, the same would be also the cause to make them become our enemies, to cary them both in inclination and in hope to the French part, and then to beginne to cantonize and make a diuident of the Realme of *Naples*, as they haue done in all contracts past. And now let vs giue them what surety we will, and inferre what accord we can, we shall find kindled in their stomackes the same hatred and feare that before, with mindes not disposed to repose confidence in that, which to their seeming we shall do through necessity. In so much as vnder an opinion they may haue the more easily to raunge vs to their wils, and fearing least in the end there runne betweene the French king and vs a new appointment semblable to that which was made at *Cambray*, and lastly desiring according to their owne phrases to deliuer *Italy* of strangers, they will not stick to presume to rise vp to giue you lawes, and to demand at your hands the deliuey of the French king; a matter which if your Maiesty refuse, I see not how you can defend against them the kingdome of *Naples*, and in according that, you lose all the fruits of your victory, besides a manifest dishonor and reiectiō that will stand vpon your name for euer. But let vs lay the case that *Italy* will performe and obserue the accord, and necessity constrainē you either to leaue *Millean* or not to recouer *Burgundy*, yet in iust comparisō there is great difference betwene the one and the other: *Burgundy* is a countrey of litle circuit, of small reuenue, and nothing answering the commodities that are perswaded to be there: where the Duchie of *Millean*, both for the riches and reputation of so many Cities; for the number and noblenes of subiects, for the liberall and plentifull reuenues, and for the oportunitie and sufficiencie to nourish all the armies of the world, carieth more value and price then many kingdomes: and yet besides the amplitude and puissance of it, you haue to make a greater reckening of the commodities that may reuert to you by conquering it, then of the simple accompt and valuation of it selfe: for *Millean* and *Naples* being at your deuotion, it followeth by congruent necessity that the Popes, as aunciently they are wont, must depend vpon the authoritie of Emperours: That all the region of *Tuscane*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua* must be your subiects: and the *Venetians* being enuironed with *Lombardy* and *Germany*, stand in case to accept lawes at your hand: and so not with force & armes displaid, but with a glorious reputation of your name, with the only summons of a Herald, & with the enseignes of the empire, you shall comand absolutely ouer all *Italy*. Lift but vp your Maiesties mind to the consideratiō of *Italy*, & you shall find it with great right esteemed the supreme seate of all other prouinces, both for the oportunitie of situation, for temperature of aire and Climate, for the excellency of wits enclined to all honorable enterprises, for the fertility of all things necessary to the life of man, for the stately representatiō of so many noble Cities, for the soueraigne seat of religion, and for the ancient glory of the empire. To which praises as I may aptly adioine the comodity of imperry which it brings, extending so far in your person, that if you comand ouer it, the sound of your name and authority runneth fearful in the eares of other Princes: so it can not but belong to your greatnes and to your glory, to raise your thoughts to this which is an actiō more agreable to the bones of your elders (seeing they are brought into counsell) who for their bounty and piety, we are not to belieue do desire any other thing then what is most couenient & agreeable to the glory of your name: so that, according to the counsell of the Lord Chauncellor, we shall lose a matter of great price and value, for a thing of right small conquest, & yet wrapt in many vncertainties, wherein we ought to stand warned by that which was like to happen certaine moneths past. Do we not remember the great greife that fell amongst vs when

" the French king lay in danger of death, which griefe proceeded of no other humor then a know-
 " ledge we had that with his life we should lose the fruit we hoped for by the victorie. And who can
 " now assure vs that the like accident will no more reuert vpon him: yea who feareth not the relapse
 " with more facilitie, both for that the reliques of his malady do yet possesse him, and also the hope
 " which till now hath supported him, being taken away, who doubteth not but his griued mind
 " will heape vpon him greater fits of sorrow and discontentment, the only cause of his sicknesse, es-
 " specially new condicions and assurances being interposed, it can not be that for their hardnesse
 " they make not the negociation long and tedious; a matter subiect to the former accident and
 " haply to others both more great and dangerous. We are not ignorant, that nothing hath so long
 " retained the gouernment and counsell of *France*, as an opinion they haue had of the speedy de-
 " liuery of their king. In which humor of expectation the Nobles and Chieftaines of that Realme,
 " haue remained peaceable & conformable to the Lady Regent: but when they find the foundati-
 " ons of this hope to faile, who doubteth not that the Barons of that Realme will not easily enter-
 " to minds of despite and reuenge, and with an vniuersall conformity, change the course of the go-
 " uernment: strong is the operation of ambition, and no lesse violent the passion and thirst after im-
 " pery and soueraignty, specially where is seene no meane to make resistance against so mighty mo-
 " tions: which I allude to the disposition of *France*, where, if the greatnes of the kingdome get once
 " the bridle in their hand, much lesse that they will be carefull ouer the deliuary of their king, see-
 " ing of the contrary their ambition will cary them to maintaine an estate of liberty, and aspiring to
 " establish supremacy in them selues, what will it offend them to suffer the captiuitie of their king?
 " and so in place to get *Burgundy* and so many other great conquests, what other thing do we re-
 " taine, then a desperate hope both by his imprisonment, and by his deliuary? But this further que-
 " stion may be asked of the Lord Chauncellor, whether the Emperour in this resolution ought to
 " regard the reckening and reputation of his dignity and his maiesty: then what greater infamy, or
 " what more diminution of his honor, can he receiue then to haue his clemency forced, and con-
 " strained to pardon *Francis Sforce*, he who lately being half dead, detected of manifest rebellion,
 " and a singular example of ingratitude, not coming to humility nor imploring your mercy, but run-
 " ning betweene the armes of your enemies to seeke to force you to render to him the estate which
 " so iustly hath bene taken from him, and compell you to take lawes of him, who by equity of con-
 " demnation ought to beare subiection to your imperiall name. It were better for your Maiesty,
 " more agreeable to the dignity of the Empire, and more worthy your greatnes and puissance, to lay
 " out your selfe to a new fortune, and to referre estoones all things to hazard and danger, then in
 " blemishing the authority of the Prince soueraigne ouer all Princes, and the name of the Emperour,
 " and hauing so oftentimes vanquished so mighty a king, to receiue at the hands of Priests and Mar-
 " chants, such condicions, as if you had bene ouerthrowne there could not haue bene offered to
 " you either more vnjust or more vnworthy. Honor and dignity are the gifts of god, which by how
 " much they are basely esteemed of those to whome they are transferred, by so much more is highly
 " offended the eternall goodnes that gaue them, who will estoones reuokethem with no small indig-
 " nation. That man can not be accompted worthy of honor, that declareth him self not able to vie
 " it, since honor is a reward or effect of vertue, who enableth to honor and dignity those persons to
 " whome her selfe is conioined. So that, most gracious Emperour, calling estoones into considera-
 " tion all these reasons, both how litle profit may resort to you by the accord with the Italians, and
 " by how many accidents it may easily slide out of your hands, how litle assurance or shew of fide-
 " lity is in them, and how vnworthy a thing it is to leaue the estate of *Milan*. And lastly that it is
 " necessary for vs to sort at last to a resolution, and that the imprisonment of the king profiteth vs
 " not but in regard of the fruits that may be drawne of his deliuary. I stand firme & conclude vpon
 " this aduise, that we compound rather with the king then accord with the Italians; a matter which
 " can not be denied to be more glorious, more reasonable, and more profitable, so farre forth as
 " we may be assured of the obseruation. Wherin I discern some good foundation in this, that for a
 " more thankfull acknowledging of your benefite, he offereth to take to wife your sister, a Lady for
 " her vertue and staied condition, very well able and conuenient to entertaine you in amity. Besides
 " the oblation of two of his sons, of whom one to be the eldest, which is such a property of pawne
 " and ostage, as amongst worldly men & to assure worldly things, there can not be offered nor recei-
 " ued a more worthy nor more important. And seeing our necessitie driueth vs to determine
 some

For some thing, it is more reasonable we repose confidence in a French king vnder such nature of ostages, then in a nation of Italians of no lesse infidelity then without gage: and rather to trust the word and faith of so great a king, then to be caried with the immoderate couetousnes of priests and suspicious basenesse and bartring of Marchants: & lastly, according to the exāple of our ancestors, we may with more facility keepe amity for a time with the Crowne of *France*, honorable for his proper dignity, then with a cōfused people of *Italians* our naturall & perpetuall enemies. Taking this course, I do not only discern a greater hope of obseruancy and due keeping of faith, but also a lesse estate of danger in case of promise breaking: seeing if the king refuse to render to vs *Burgundy*, at least he will not dare (his childrē remaining ostages) to rise vp to offend vs againe, but will labour by solicitation and sute to moderate the rigour of the accord: and being but as it were yesterday vanquished by you, he will retaine a working feare of your forces and armes, and being likewise this day deliuered out of prison, he will not be so hardy to make a new prooofe of your fortune. And if he take no armes against you, you need not to doubt of the mouing of others, since vpon his exāple dependeth ordinarily the valor of the residue. By which mean you shal haue good oportunitie to conquer the Castle of *Millan*, and so to establish your surety in that estate, that hereafter you shal not need to feare the malice of any man. But if you come now to accord with the *Italians*, and they in their infidelity come to double with you, I see remaining no bridle able to retaine them, and as their power increaseth to vex you, so looke that their will will likewise rise greater to conspire, and their hands more free to execute: so that I can not but interpret it to timorousnes and want of counsell, that for an humor of too great suspition and incredulity, we should loose the benefit of an accord so full of glory and many aduantages, and no lesse accompanied with sufficient surety, following in place of it a resolution no lesse dangerous in the effect and substance, then iealousie in all his partes and circumstances.

This oration of the *Viceroy* drew the residue of the councill into diuersity of opinion: It seemed to such as were of iudgement sound and vpright, that to accord with the French king according to the maner declared, could not be but full of danger: and yet such was the partiality of the *Flemings* desiring to recouer againe *Burgundy* the auncient patrimony & title of their Princes, that their affection would not suffer them to discern the truth. Besides, it was said that the gifts and great promises made by the French men wrought not a litle to corrupt and carry many: but the Emperour about all the residue, either for that such was his first inclination, or for that the authority of the *Viceroy* could do much with him, hauing concurrancy with the opinion of the Count *Nausan*, or haply because he held it too great indignitie, to pardon by compulsion *Francis Sforce*, who had offended him by so great malice, seemed to heare with ready and willing eares all such as counselled him to compound with the French king. So that after he had caused to be sounded againe the Legat *Saluiatio*, to know if he would consent that the estate of *Millan* should be transported to the person of the Duke of *Burbon*, and that the Legate had certified him that he had no commission to allow that drift, and therewithall had made offer to him of the Popes amity, he determined to go on with the accord with the French king, with whome things hauing already past many disputations and acts, he grew in very few daies to conclusion, not respecting at all the community or interposing of the Popes Legat: and for the better perfection and stability of the accord, the Emperour had obtained before the Duke of *Burbons* consent to giue in mariage to the French king, his sister whome he had promised to him. The Duke was driuen to passe this consent, not so much for a desire he had to cary the Duchy of *Millan*, which was promised him contrary to the authority of the Chancellor and *Viceroy*, vnder obligation notwithstanding to pay a great summe of money: as for the necessity of his affaires which were reduced to those tearmes, that neither hauing nor could haue any other piller or stay then the Emperour, he was constrained to accommodate his condition to the Emperours will: and as soone as he had in all things accomplished this consent, to take him out of the presence of the Court in a time so vnconuenient, he departed forthwith by the Emperours order, taking his way by *Barfeloma*, whither was appointed to be sent to him necessary prouisions to passe into *Italy*, which for want of mony and lacke of vessels, had slow proceeding, for that in *Spain* were but three gallies at that time.

The solicitation of the peace which was resolved the xliii. of February 1526. contained these covenants: That betweene the Emperour and the French king should be a peace perpetuall, in which should be cōprehēded all such as should be named by their cōmon cōsent: That the French

*The treatie of
Madrill touching the delivery of the French king.*

king by the sixt day of the next moneth of March, should be set at libertie vpon the marches of the coast of *Fontarabie*: That within sixe weekes after hee should consign to the Emperour the Duchie of *Burgondy*, the Countie of *Charrolois*, the iurisdiction of *Noyers*, the Castle of *Chinon* dependancies of the said Duchie, the Vicountie of *Aussone*, the resort of *S. Laurens* & *la Roche* a dependant of *Franch* County, together with all the apertenaunces as well of the said Duchie as Vicountie, all which for hereafter should be seperate and exempted from the soveraignty of the Realme of *Fraunce*: That at the same and very instant that the king should be deliuered, there should be put into the Emperours hands the *Daulphin* of *Fraunce*, and with him either the Duke of *Orleanse* the kings second sonne, or else xij principall Lords of *Fraunce*, whom the Emperour did name: it was left to the election of the Lady Regent, either to deliuer the kings second son, or the xij. Barons, and they to remaine as ostages vntill restitution were made of the lands and places aforesaid, and the peace sworne and ratified together with all the articles by the estates generall of *France*, and inregistred in all the Courts of Parliament of the kingdome with forme and solemnities necessary: for the accomplishing whereof there was set downe a terme of foure moneths: at which time returning the ostages, there should be put into the Emperours hands, the Duke d' *Angoulesme* the kings third sonne, to the end to traine him vp with the Emperour the better to entertaine and assure the peace: That the French king should renounce and giue vp to the Emperour all his rights to the Realme of *Naples*, together with all such titles and preheeminences as were to come to him by the inuestiture of the Church: That he should do the like touching his interestes in the estate of *Millan*, of *Genes*, of *Ast*, and likewise of *Arras*, *Tournay*, of the Ile, and of *Doway*: That he should render vp the towne and castle of *Hedin* as a member of the county of *Artois*, with all the munitiōs, artilleries, and mouables that were in it when it was last taken: that he should disclaime and yeeld vp all soueraigntie in *Flaunders* and *Artois*, & all other places or peeces which the Emperor possessed: and that on the other side, the emperour should resigne & giue vp to him all the right, title and quarell which he pretended to any place possessed by the French men, and especially the townes and Castledomes of *Perone*, *Chandeler*, *Roye*, the Counties of *Bullaine*, *Guines*, and *Pomhieu*, with other townes standing vpon the one & other shore of the riuer of *Somme*: That there should be betweene them a league & consideration perpetuall for the defence of their estates, with obligation to aide one another when need required, with 500 men at armes, and 10000 footmen: That the Emperour should promise to giue in mariage to the king the Lady *Eleoner* his sister, whom as soone as the dispensatiō shold be obtained from the Pope, he should contract or handfast with words obligatory for the present, & afterwards she shold be led into *France* to consummate the mariage at the same time that according to the capitulatiōs the ostages were to be deliuered: That she should haue for her portio 200000 crownes, with Iewels according to her estate, the one moiety of the monie to be paid within 16 moneths, & the other halfe in one yere after: That a mariage should be made betweene the *Daulphin* and the daughter of the king of *Portugall*, daughter to the Lady *Eleoner*, at such time as their age would suffer: That the French king should do all that he could to induce the auncient king of *Nauarre* to giue vp to the emperour the rights of that kingdome, which in case he would not performe, then the king not to aide him with any succors: That the Duke of *Guelbres* and the Count of *Zurphen* & the principall towns of those estates, shold promise with sufficient securitie, to giue themselues to the emperour, after his death: That the king should giue no succours to the Duke of *Wittenberg*, nor likewise to *Robert de la March*: That he should furnish and rigge for the emperour, both when he should passe into *Italy*, and two moneths after heeing so required, twelue gallies, foure shippes, & foure gallions, all well munitioned and appointed, except men of warre, and the said vessellsto be rendred 3 moneths alter accompting from the day of his embarking: That in placē of the armie by land which the king offred for *Italy*, he should pay him two hundred thousand crownes in mony, the one halfe within sixteene moneths, and the other halfe within a yere after: And that at the time when the ostages should be deliuered, he should be bound to giue bills of exchange for the pay of fixe thousand footmen for fixe moneths immediately after the emperours arriual in *Italy*: That he should also furnish for his seruice five hundred Launces payd, with a band of artillerie: That he should saue harmelesse the emperour of his promise made to the king of *England* by pensions which the French king should pay to him, the arerages wherof amounted to 500000 crownes, or else to deliuer so much in ready money

to the Emperour: That they should both ioyne to beseech the Pope to call a generall Councell with all speede, to the end to consult vpon an vniuersall peace amongst Christians, to aduance an enterprise against the infidels and heretikes, and to graunt to all the Croisade for three yeares: That within sixe weekes the king should restore the Duke of *Burbon* in most ample forme, into all his estates, goods, mooueable and vnmoueable, and fruits and teuenues receiued: not to molest him for any thing past, nor constraîne him to dwell or go to the realme of *Fraunce*: That it should be lawfull to the sayd Duke of *Burbon* to demand by the way of law and iustice, the Earledome of *Prouence*: That in like sort all those that had followed him should reenter in safety into their goods and states, and namely the Bishop of *Autun* and *Monsieur de Saint Valier*: That the prisoners taken in the warre should be deliuered on both parts within fifteene dayes: That there should be restitution made to the Lady *Margaret* of *Austrich* of all that she possessed afore the war: That the Prince of *Orange* should be set at liberty with restauration to the principality of *Orange*, and all that he possessed by the death of his father which had bene taken from him for following the faction of the Emperour: That the like should be done to other Barons: That there should be made restitution to the Marquis of *Salusse* of his estate: That the king as soone as he arriued in the first towne of his realme, should ratifie this capitulation, & be bound to procure the *Daulphin* to ratifie it when he should come to the age of foureteene yeares. Many were named by common consent, & chiefly the *Swissers*: but there was not one of the Potentates of *Italy*, except the Pope, whom they named as conseruator of this accord, and that more for manner sake and ceremony, then in effect and true meaning. Lastly it was expressed in the sayd capitulation that in case the king for any occasion, would not accomplish these matters promised, he should returne true prisoner.

This accord, for the parts it contayned, brought no small astonishment to all Christendome: for when it was vnderstood that the first execution thereof consisted in the deliury of the king, all mens opinions were, that being in his liberty, he would not deliuer vp *Burgundy*, as being a member of too great importance for the Realme of *Fraunce*: and except a few who had counsell'd the Emperour to it, all his Court had the same iudgement, and namely the Chancelles, who reprehended and detested the matter with so great vehemency, that notwithstanding he was commanded to signe the capitulation according to the office of chiefe Chauncellors, yet he refused to do it, alleaging that in such matters daungerous and hurtfull as that was, he ought not to vse the authoritie that was giuen him: neither could he be altered from this opinion notwithstanding the Emperour was angrie with him: who seeing him so resolute in his opinion, signed it himselfe, and within few dayes after went to *Madriill* to confirme the alliance and make a foundation of amity and good-will with the king, whom he entertayned in familiar and priuate sorte. Great were the ceremonies and demonstrations of amitie betweene them: oftentimes they shewed themselues together in places publike: and as often did they passe in secrete familiar discourses: they went together in one coach to a Castell not halfe a dayes iourney from thence, where was Queene *Eleonor* whom the king married: and yet in all these great signes of peace and amity, he was obserued with as carefull and strait gard as before, without any aduantage of libertie: so that he was embraced as a brother, and garded as a prisoner; a matter which made manifest to the world, that it was an accord full of discord, an alliance without amitie, and that vpon euerie occasion their antient ielousies and passions would be stronger in them, then the regard of that alliance made more by force then friendship.

Many dayes were spent in these offices and ceremonies of amitie, when was brought from the Lady Regent the ratification, together with the declaration, that with the *Daulphin* of *Fraunce*, they would rather giue in ostage the kings second sonne, then the twelue Barons. Then the king departed from *Madriill*, taking his way to the frontier of his Realme, where was to be exchanged his person for his sonnes who bare very small age. There was sent to accompany him the *Viceroy* the worker and author of his deliuerie, to whom the Emperour had giuen the Citie of *Ast*, with other estates in *Flanders* and in the kingdome of *Naples*. At this time the Emperour wrote to the Pope a letter of Court, wherein he certified him, that in regard to haue peace, and for the common benefit of Christendome, he had subdued all passions of injuries and emulation, and restoring the French king to libertie, he had confirmed the league of

The French king marieth the Emperours sister.

The Emperour writeth to the Pope touching the French kings deliury.

amity betweene them with the mariage of his sister, and seeking to continue alwayes his obedient sonne, he had chosen him for conseruer of the peace. Not many dayes after he wrote to him another letter of his owne hand, which he sent by the same Commandator *Erraro*, who brought him the Popes letter written with his owne hand. This was a letter responsum indifferently tempered with words mild and gracious, and matter hard and rigorous, wherein he concluded that if *Francis Sforce* were not found guilty of the action of his accusation, he will render to him the Duchie of *Millan*, and touching the triall of the cause, he referred it to the arbitration of the lawes vnder such Iudges as himselfe would appoint as his superiour: but in case his innocencie were found insufficient, he could do no lesse then in that state to inuest the Duke of *Burbon*, to whom the Pope was the cause that he had promised it, aduising him thereupon that *Francis Sforce* lay sicke. He added further in this letter to the Pope, that as well to satisfie him, as to assure all *Italy*, he would neither retaine that Dukedome for himselfe, nor passe it by donation to his owne brother, vnder which testimonie he assured the Pope vpon his faith that such was his simple intention, the which he desired him to allow and approue, offering to him alwayes his authoritie and his forces as a sonne obedient to the sea Apostolike. By the same *Erraro* was sent also the aunswere to the particulars of the Article which had bene set downe at length by the Pope in fauour of *Francis Sforce*, which the Emperour continuig in his first resolution, would not allow. The Emperour sent also by him to the Duke of *Sesse* the forme of the accord as he was determined to do the last time, with authoritie and power to contract if the Pope would accept it: in which was expressed that *Francis Sforce* should be comprehended in the confederation, so farrefoorth as he were not found guiltie in the crime of treason: but in case of his death or deprivation, the Duke of *Burbon* should take place in the confederation, and receiue of him the inuestiture for the Duchie of *Millan*. The obligation was confirmed which the *Viceroy* had made for restitution of the townes holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*, but vnder condition that the Pope should be bound to passe to him the inuestiture of *Ferrara*, and forgiue him the article of contrauention; a matter contrary to the Popes driftes, who had determined to exact a paine of an hundred thousand duckats, to make payment of the fine of an hundred thousand which he had promised to the Emperour, in case that restitution went on. He did not admit the estate of *Millan* to make prouision of salt of the Church, and touching the collation of benefices in the realme of *Naples*, he would not be referred to the tenour of the inuestitures, but to the custome and vsage of the kings afore, who in many cases had contemned the rights and authority of the sea Apostolike. And because a treaty had bin made with the Legate, that to remoue the army out of *Lumbardey* which was a great charge to all *Italy*, the Pope and he as king of *Naples*, and the other potentates of *Italy*, should pay an hundred and fifty thousand duckats, and then the sayd army to retire to *Naples*, or into some such place out of *Italie* as should seeme good to the Emperour, who sayd he would transport it into *Barbarie*: yea it was added that because there was more due to the army then at that time, there should be exacted a pay of two hundred thousand duckats. A copie of these Articles was presented to the Pope by the Duke of *Sesse* and the Commandator *Erraro*, with protestation that it was not in their power to alter or chaunge one filable: and yet all other difficulties had easily taken forme, if the Duchie of *Millan* had bene so disposed as the Pope with the residue had had no cause to enter into suspition. But in the consideration of the Duke of *Burbon* and the minde he bare, they made this iudgement of him, that he was so implacable an enemy to the French king, that either for his surety or for a desire to enter *Fraunce*, he would be alwayes most deuout and subiect to the Emperour, and retaine in himselfe nothing lesse then humours of ambition and desire to be great. They thought that Article to remoue the army out of *Lumbardey* (so greatly desired of all, and for the which they would haue bene brought to haue aduanced any summes of money) would be to litle purpose, so long as there remained at *Millan* a Duke, who not only vpon euery gracious offer or motion of the Emperour, would be ready to accept the gift of it, but also for his particular interest, would ambitiously aspire and thirst after it. In these regards, the Pope, who for that in the accord which the Emperour had made with the French king, was made no particular mention of him, nor the surety of the states of *Italy*, stood more and more confirmed in his former opinion, that the ambition and greatnesse of the Emperour would in the end be his seruitude and thraldome: and therefore he determined not to accept the accord in the maner it was offered to him, but to reserue himselfe free

until he were assured what course the French would take touching the obseruation of the peace. In which resolution he stood so much the more firme, by how much besides the apparance and likelihoodes of it, he had heard by the relation of certaine speeches deliuered by the king asore his liberty, and spread abroad by some that were familiar in counsell with him, that the king had a mind altogether estranged from performing the things he had promised to the Emperour: and the better to confirme the king in that deliberation (his owne surety also depending vpon it) he sent in post into *Fraunce*, *Paule Vittorio* a *Florentine* Captaine of his Gallies: his charge was to be at the Court at the same time the king should arriue, vsing that diligence not only to know his intention as soone as might be, but also the king hauing a ready hope to be able to draw into league against the Emperour the Pope & the *Venetians*, he might take occasion the sooner to resolute himselfe. It was enioyned also to the expedition of *Paule*, to congratulate in the Popes name the kings deliury, and to discourse with him at large what he had done to that end, and how much did induce the Emperours inclination to his liberty, the practises of confederation that were enttayned with the Lady Regent. Lastly that he should impart with the king the Popes vehement desire to haue an vniuersall peace in Christendome, and that the Emperour and he would performe together the enterprise against the Turke, who was reported to make mighty preparations to inuade that yeare the realme of *Hungary*. These were his Commissions apparant & knowne, but this was his direction most substantiall & secret, that about all things he should sound throughly the kings inclination, who if he found resolute to obserue the resolution of *Madrid*, then to passe no further, least vainely he should make his case more desperate with the Emperour then before, but if he found him to haue other thoughts, & to hang in doubt, that he should labor to confirme him in that disposition & seruing his turne of all occasions, he should specially compel him to take that course, giuing him knowledge of the Popes desire to ioine with him for the common benefit. He dispatched in like sort into *England* the Pronotory *Gambaro*, to manage the like office with that king, & to the same end. Besides, he procured the *Venetians* to send into *Fraunce* their Secretary *Andrew Rosse*, with semblable commissions. As *Paule* past by *Florence* vpon his voyage, he fell sicke and died, by reason of which accident the Pope sent to performe the legation in his place, *Capui de Mantua*, taking it to an ill prediction, that now the second time the ministers which he had sent into *Fraunce* to aduance those practises, were in the way intercepted by death. In the meane while making no omission of time nor oportunities, he together with the *Venetians*, did all that they could to keepe in courage the Duke of *Millan*, and to entertaine him in hopes, least the peace of *Madrid* led him not both with feare and rashnesse to make some accord with the Emperour.

By this time the French king was come vpon the confines of *Fontaraby*, a towne appertaining to the Emperour, standing vpon the Ocean sea, and is a frontier betweene *Biskay* and the Duchy of *Guyen*: and on the other side, the Lady Regent was arriued with the children of *Fraunce* at *Bayon* not many leagues from *Fontaraby*: the torments of the gout tooke her by the way, which was the cause that she had lingred some time longer then the day appointed of permutation: but at last, the eighteenth day of March, the French king accompanied with the *Viceroy* and Captaine *Alarcon* with fifty horse, was presented vpon the shore of the riuer that deuideth the realme of *Fraunce* from the kingdome of *Spaine*. And on the other side, vpon the shore opposite appeared *Monsieur Lawtrech* with the kings children and like number of horse: there was in the midst of the riuer a great barke made fast with ankers, in which was no person: the king was rowed neare to this barke, in a litle boate wherein he was accompanied with the *Viceroy*, Captaine *Alarcon*, and eight others, all armed with short weapons. And on the other side of the barke were likewise brought in a litle boate, *Monsieur Lawtrech* with the ostages and eight others weaponed according to the others: After this the *Viceroy* went into the barke with the person of the king, and all his company: and also *Monsieur Lawtrech* with his eight that accompanied him, so that they were within the barke a like number of both parts, *Alarcon* and his eight being with the *Viceroy*, and *Lawtrech* and the others, with the person of the king: and when they were all thus within the barke, *Lawtrech* fetched out of the boate into the barke, the *Daulphin*, who being giuen to the *Viceroy* and by him committed to Captaine *Alarcon*, was forthwith bestowed in their boate, and after him followed the litle Duke of *Orleans*, who was no sooner entred the barke, then the French king leaped out of the barke into his boate, which he did with such quickenesse and celerity, that the exchange or permutation was thought to be done at one selfe instant. As

The manner of
the deliury of
the French
king.

soone as the king was on the other side of the shore, his new liberty making him fearful of ambush, he mounted vpon a Turkish horse of a wonderfull swiftnesse, which was prepared for the purpose: and running betweene feare and gladnesse vpon the spurre, he neuer staid till he came to *Saint Iohn de Lus*, a towne of his obedience foure leagues from the place, and being there diligently relieved with a fresh horse, he ran with the same swiftnesse to *Bayon*, where, after he had past ouer the offices of Court done to him by his people, he dispatched with a great diligence a gentleman, to the king of *England*, to whom he wrote with his owne hand letters of his delivery, charging the messenger vnder very louing commissions, to tell the king of *England*, that as he acknowledged the effect of his liberty to be wrought wholly by him and his operations, so, in recompence, he offered to remaine to him a perpetuall and assured friend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his counsell: and afterwards he sent another solemne Embassage into *England* to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him, as one that reposed a very great foundation in the amity of that king.

The end of the sixteenth booke.



THE SEVENTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Pope and the French king, the Venetians, and the Duke of Millan, draw into league against the Emperour. The Duke of Burbon comes to Millan. The armie of the league breaks from before Millan. The Castell of Millan rendered to the Imperials. Many enterprises are devised against the Pope. The confederates send their armies by sea to Genes. Rome is surprised by the Cononnois, the Pope makes truce with the Imperials, which hurteth the denises of Lumberay. The Duke of Ferrara confederates with the Emperour.



Notwithstanding the pledge of the two children of *Fraunce* (of whom the eldest being heire apparant to so great a succession, was one) was added to the oath and faith that passed betweene the Emperour and the French king, for confirmation of the accord solemnely made at *Madriill*, and notwithstanding for the full perfection of the assurance, the king had contracted the Emperours sister in his owne person: yet, by his deliuey, both straunge for the manner, and seuer for the assurance and pawns that were enforced, all the Princes of Christendome drew into no small expectation what would be the issue of things. And as during his captivity, the eyes of men stood fixed vpon the Emperour, to behold vnder what raunsome he would restore him to liberty, so being deliuered, they began now to turne all their thoughts and contemplations vpon the king, for that they discerned sundry and great effects, depending vpon his deliberation, either to obserue or not obserue the capitulation of *Madriill*: for, as in obseruing the contract they saw a destiny of present seruitude to hang ouer the regions of *Italy*, both for the authority and greatnesse of the Emperour, which went encreasing, and for the imbecility of the prouinces to whom was left neither fortune nor vertue, to make head against so great a course of victory. So in not performing the articles of the accord, they saw the Emperour would be driuen, either to put vp in forgetfulnesse the conspiracies and enterprises dressed against him by the Duke of *Millan*, and to restore to him that Duchy, least the Pope and *Venetians* tooke occasion to conioyne with the French king, by which meane he should stand in hazard

to loose the great profits he hoped to reape by his victory : or else (making his indignation against the Duke of *Millan* more mighty, together with his desire to haue no impediment of the French in *Italy*) he should be compelled to assure the accord made with the king, conuerting into certaine payments of mony, all his obligations and promises to restore *Burgundy* : or lastly, neither yeelding to the one nor the other, he would be driuen to suffer to be brought against him by so many enemies a war very grieuous almost by his owne confession, since to auoyd it, he was reduced to this strait, to let the king go with so great a danger.

But the world stood not long in doubt of the will and intention of the French king : for that as soone as he was got into *Bayon*, being required by a gentleman of the *Viceroyes*, to ratifie the accord according to the obligation of his word, being come into a place free and assured, he deferred it from one day to another interposing reasons and excuses generall : wherein to the end to hold still the Emperor in hope, he sent to aduertise him by a man especiall, that he forbore for the present to accomplish the ratification, nor by omission or willing negligence, but vpon this necessity, that before he proceeded really to such an act, he was to labour to reapease and reduce the minds of his subiects ill contented with the obligations he had made, tending to the diminution of the Crowne of *Fraunce* : neuerthelesse he would in his time resolue all difficulties, and obserue with fidelity all that he had promised to him, both in substance and circumstance. By this dealing, no lesse doubtfull for the maner, then dangerous in meaning, might easily be comprehended, what were his intentions, the same being more manifestly detected at the arriual of the messengers sent to him not many dayes after by the Pope and *Venetians*, in whom was no great neede of industry or labour, to sound out the plaine course of his inclination : for, after he had receiued them with many demonstrations and offices of Court, he entertayned them seuerally and apart with sundry speeches of compassion, such as tended to manifest complaints against the inhumanitie of the Emperor: who he sayd did neuer administer to him during his captiuitie, any one office appertaining to the ranke of a Prince, nor at any time shewed himselfe touched with that affectio and compassion which one Prince ought to expresse vpon the calamities of another : and much lesse would vse any course of common comfort, either to relieue the heauinesse of his conditio with any property of apt consolation, or once to enter into consideration, that the same accident that had fallen vpon him, might also be as heauily heaped vpon his owne head. In this complaint, he alleaged the example of *Edward* king of *England*, called of some *Edward Long-shankes* : to whom when was presented as prisoner *John* king of the Frenchmen, taken by the Prince of *Wales* his sonne in the battell of *Poytiers*, he did not onely receiue him with great comfort and compassion of his afflicted case, but also, all the time of his imprisonment within the Realme of *England*, he let him go at liberty vnder a free gard, he had daily familiar conuersation with him, he would oftentimes haue him to accompany him on hunting to communicate in the open ayre and solace of the field, and was not curious to call him to eate with him at his table : and by these humanities much lesse that he lost his prisoner, or raunged him to an accord lesse fauorable, but of the contrary, by the operation of those graces and good offices, there grew betweene them such a familiarity and confidence, that the French king, after he had continued many yeares in *Fraunce*, made a voluntary voyage into *England*, to honor and gratifie vnder that property of office the liberalitie and frankenesse of the king: He alleaged, that as there was onely remembrance of two kings of *Fraunce* that had bene taken prisoners in battell, king *John* and himselfe : so the diuersity of the examples was also worthy of singular memorie, seeing vpon the one was exercised all facility and mildnesse of the victor, and to the other were ministred all those rigours and severities which tyrants in the height and pride of their fortune are wont to vse : That much lesse that he bore towards others a dispositio either more peaceable or better qualified, seeing he gathered by the construction of his speeches vsed at *Madryll*, that following the humor of his ambition, he employed his thoughts most, how to subdue vnder seruitude the imperie of the Church, the potentacies of *Italy*, and all other Princes of Christendome. In which regard he wished the Pope and *Venetians* to provide for their proper safety, wherein he offered himselfe with great affection to be concurrant with them in the quarrell of their common safety, and to establish against the Emperour a strait alliance, not that he intended to reconquer to himselfe the estate of *Millan*, or otherwise to encrease his puissance, but onely that by the meane of warre he might make recouerie of his children, and reasssure the libertie of *Italy*, seeing the too grea couetousnesse of

The French king complains vpon the Emperour.

the Emperour had taken from him all colour and reason of bondes to obserue the articles of the capitulation : a liberty which he insisted the rather for that at the first whilest he was in the Castle of *Psiqueton*, & afterwards in *Madrill*, he had oftentimes protested to the Emperour for the iniquity of his demands, that if through necessity he were driuen to compound vnder conditions vnequall or such as were not in his power to performe: that much lesse that he would obserue them, but of the contrary, taking the aduantage of the iniury in constraining him to make promises reasonable and vnpossible, he would omit no occasion wherein opportunity were offered, to be reuenged : and that he had not forborne to tell him that which of themselues they might know. & which he beleeued was obserued in other realmes. That it was not in the power of a king of *France*, to bind himselfe to the alienation of any thing depending vpon the Crowne, without the consent of the estates generall of the realme: That the lawes of Christians did not beare, that a Prince made prisoner by the accident of war, should be detayned in perpetuall prison, a punishment proper for malefactors, but not rigorously executed against such as had bene persecuted, with the cruelty of fortune: That no man doubted, that all obligations made by constraint in prison, were of no value, & that as such capitulations were of no force, so likewise the faith which was but the accidents, & the confirmatiō of the same, could not be bound: That the oathes which he had made at *Rhimes*, where the kings of *France* are consecrated with so great ceremony & with the sacred oyle, were first, by the which he was bound according to the presidēt & custome of all other kings of *France*, not to make alienatiō of the patrimony of the Crowne: That for these reasons he was no lesse free then ready to moderate the insolency of the Emperour, & rise vp against his ambitio : wherein the kings mother made apparant the same desire, together with his sister, who taking vpon her in vaine a long iorney to go into *Spaine*, complained grieuouly against the rigour of the Emperour, and the seuerity of his Court, and namely such as were most familiar with him in Councell: for end, the king affirmed that if commissions and directions were once addressed from the Pope and *Venetians*, it should not be long ere the league were accomplished, which he sayd were best to be negotiated in *France*, to the end to draw in with more facility the king of *England*, in whom they shewed to haue a great hope.

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This was the discourse of the speeches which the king held with them, being in like sort assured and confirmed by the vniuersall inclination of those that gouerned him : but in secret, his thoughts were farre others : for, albeit he had no disposition to deliuer vp *Burgundy* to the Emperour, yet he bore a mind farre estranged to moue warre against him, vnlesse he were compelled by great necessity: only he hoped, that in laboring to be confederate with the *Italians*, the Emperour, to auoyd so great a gulf of difficulties, would be induced to conuert into obligation of mony, the article of the restitution of *Burgundy*: in which case, not one regard touching the matters of *Italy*, should stay him from couenāting with him, for the desire he had to retire & reuoke his children. These Agents of the Pope and *Venetians*, made speedie relation of the hopes and good inclination which they found in the French king, and that at a time, when were much increased in *Italy*, both the necessity and occasion to confederate against the Emperour: this was the necessity. The Duke of *Millan* in the beginning of the siege, partly by the fault of his officers, and partly for the shortnesse of time, had bestowed within the Castell, a very small proportion of victuals, and yet the store he had prouided was more immoderately expended, then men reduced to so hard tearmes, are wont to do, for which cause (hauing notwithstanding the straitnesse of the siege, good meane to write out of the Castell) he gaue knowledge of his wats, which if they were not remedied by the next moneth of Iune, he should be constrained to giue himselfe vp to the discretion of the Emperour: And albeit it was beleeued that (according to the custome of such as are besieged) the Duke set downe a greater want and scarcety of victuals then in deede there was, yet there were many reasons to perswade that the store could not be sufficient for any long time: and to suffer the Castell to fall into the hands of the Emperour, was a matter that made more hard the recouering of that state, besides that it would increase not a litle the reputation of the Emperour. But it seemed not that the occasion was the lesse increased, seeing the people were reduced to the last dispaire: for, as the Emperour sent no money to the army, to the which many payes were due, and lesse meane to leaue any in any other place: so the Captaines to stop as well as they could all course of mutinie amongst the souldiers, had bestowed all the regiments of the men at armes and light horsemen, in seuerall places of the countrey, taxing euerie towne ratelike with

with bands and numbers, and compelled the townes to compound for mony with the Captaines and with the souldiers; a taxation executed with such excesse, that it was assured by the credible information of many that had priuity with the affaires of that state, that the Duchy of *Millan* payd every day to the Emperours souldiers, five thousand duckets, of which came to the priuate purtie of *Anthony de Lena*, thirty duckets dayly. By the example of the horfmen, the bands of footmen that were disperfed in feuerall lodgings within *Millan* and other townes, were insolent vpon the owners of the houses wherein they lay, whom they constrained not only to make prouision of all things which they thought meet for their feeding and clothing, but also many of them being lodged in one house, enforced the seruice of the good man for the prouision of them all; and such houses as had not meane to feede them, were compelled to compound with them for money at their owne rate: & as it often fell out, that one only souldier had to himfelfe a whole house with absolute commandement of all, so he taxed to furnish him of money all the residue, except him whom he vsed in the prouision of his diet. This miserable condition exercised with so great crueltie, made desperate the whole inhabitants of that Duchie, and namely the townesmen of the Citie of *Millan*, to whom had bene neither custome nor president, before the entrie of the Marquis of *Pejquero*, to be charged either with victuals or contribution for the lodging of souldiers: their custome in times of warre before, running in a course of greater humanity and facilitie, made the yoke of this innouation more heauy to them; in which respect looking into their owne estate, both to be mightie in numbers and armes, and remembering the law and obligation of their freedome and libertie, they began to murmure, as men not able any longer to endure so great insolencie and most grievous exactions: and therefore to make some honest way to be deliuered, or at least to reduce them to some comely moderation, the towne of *Millan* sent Embassadors to the Emperour, who brought from him no other expedition then words generall, and that without any remedy to their afflictions: the towne of *Millan* principally and ouer, and besides all the other townes of the Duchie, being charged according to his proportion with a greater number of souldiers then the other townes, was also taxed to prouide money for expence publike, such as were set downe by the Captaines for the conseruation of the Emperours things: the ministers of which exaction proceeded with no lesse rigour and seuerity then the others: for remedie of which aggreeuances, since by solicitation they could neither be eased nor pitied, the people pushed on with the impressions of men in a desperate state, determined to resist with their weapons in hand those fore exactions which the iniquity of the war had laid vpon them, to eate them vp. They gaue order, that whosoever were oppressed by the crueltie of the exactors, should call vpon his neighbors to come to his defence; who, together with the vniuersal multitude of all the residue should run at the commandement of certaine Chieftaines assigned in many parts of the citie, to resist the furie of the officers and repress the insolency of the souldiers that should rise in their fauour. After this order and direction was established amongst them, the first experience fell vpon a Marchant of retaile, who being vexed by the Collectours of the exactions, stirred vp for his defence his neighbours, who calling to the alarme a great part of the populars, the whole towne was forthwith in a tumult; which, by the diligence of *Antho. de Lena*, and the good office of the Marquis of *Gnaft*, and other of the principall Gentlemen of *Millan*, was eftsorones reapeased: but vnder this condition & promise that the Captaines had assured the people to rest contented with the publike reuenues, and would not lay vpon them other impositions, nor bring into the towne other bands of souldiers. This was an accord but for a verie short time, since it endured no longer then till the day following: for the people hauing aduertisemēt that new regiments of souldiers approached neere the towne, they fell againe into armes, but both in a greater tumult, and better gouerned, and with a greater assistance of the people then the day before: yea, what with the rage of the populars, which in their furie is dangerous, and what with their well ordering of the vprore, being taught by the example of the day before: the Captaines feareng not to be able to resist so great a furie, were vpon the point to go out of the towne with their bands: a matter which indeed the humour of their feare had drawne them to do, if the people with a settled resolution had marched on to be reuenged of them and their souldiers: but as in tumults and popular vprores there is alwayes something of imperfection, and that aswell by the property of the action which holdeth of disobedience and rebellion, as by the ignorance of the leaders, who for the most part haue more passion then reason: so first of all they went without

The inhabitants of Millan rise vp against the Imperials.

all order or skill to sacke the old Court, a place where lay the Captaine of criminall justice with certaine bands of footmen, making their beginning with that which should haue bene the last act of their execution; a matter which gaue no litle life and aduantage to the Imperiall Captaine, who in that oportunitie omitted not to fortifie their straights and places of access, and reuelling from the siege the most part of the footmen that kept the Castle enuironed, they assembled all into one strength, to make head against the people, if they offered to inuade them. By that occasion the besieged within the Castle made a sally out to set vpon the ramparts cast on that side within: but when they saw the people made not on to their succours, they retired eistsoones into the Castle, leauing vnperfect the enterprise, which with due execution would haue done much to haue established their libertie: the people, partly for want of experience in actions of warre, and partly for the care of the pillage they had made at the old Court, did not onely omit to do that which appertained, but also began to breake and separate themselves, euery one being more mindfull to preferue the pray he had made, then to follow further the victorie which their fortune offered to them: by which occasion the Captaines of the armie, concurring the aide of certaine Gentlemen of the towne, reappeared eistsoones this tumult, with promise to leade out of the towne and countrey of *Millan* all the souldiers, except those bands of Launceknights which held the Castle besieged. In this sort the Captaines and men of warre, by their pollicie and industrie quenched a daungerous fire, which the furie of the people had kindled in their rashnesse, and rightly scorned their disorders and ignorance to manage armes and weapons; errors which familiarly do follow a communitie drawne into mutiny, hauing no leaders of experience and valor: but by these appeasements and accords all intelligences were not broken, and much lesse laid downe the armes of the people, but retaining still many tokens of a disposition to stir vp a greater emotion, it seemed that whosoever would take vpon him to trouble the affaires of the Emperour, need not want a fit occasion, considering principally both the small forces and other great difficulties which the Imperials had, and also that in the last wars, the wonderfull valour of the people of *Millan* and of other townes expressed in their sauour, had bene a great foundation for the defence of that estate.

These were the termes and estate of the affaires of *Italy*, when were brought out of *France* the reports of the ready disposition and offers of the king; together with his request for the sending of Commissions: and at the sametime the Embassadors of the king of *England* resident with the Pope, laboured to induce him by reasons and perswasions to deuise how to moderate the greatnesse of the Emperour, and to encourage the French king not to obserue the capitulation: by reason of which inducements, accompanied with the authority and inclinations of their Princes, not onely the *Venetians*, who in all times and in farre lesser occasions had giuen counsell to take armes, but also the Pope notwithstanding his hard disposition to enter into that trauell, iudged now that by necessity he was to reduce and gather together the summe of all those discourses, and no more deferre to take some deliberation: the reasons which in the moneths before had made him inclined to the war, were not only the selfe same in nature and propertie, but also were more mightie and of greater consideration: for as the Emperour for his part, by how much the practises and treatises had bene holden out in tract and longnesse of time, was apt and able to discover what intentions the Pope bare against his greatnesse: so the Pope tooke occasion by the contents of the accord which the Emperour had made with the French king, to enter into a iust suspicion not to be able to obtaine of him any reasonable conditions, and that he had a secret resolution to proceed to oppresse the residue of *Italy*: wherein the daunger was more apparant then euer, for that the Castle of *Millan* being not able to hold out any long time, stood almost vpon the point of rendering: he was also prouoked with the consideration of new iniuries redoubled by the Imperiall Captaines, who since the capitulation of *Madril*, had sent to be forried vpon the territories of *Plaisance* and *Parma*, certaine Ensignes of *Italian* footmen, such as executed vpon the places many insolencies and domages: and when the Pope complained of their oppressions, they made him answer, that they were drawne thither of their proper authority, for that there was no pay distributed in the army. He was likewise incensed with matters haply more light and fraile, but taken in the worse part, as often cometh to passe in suspitions and quarrels, which haue this in propertie, to take nothing in good that is not agreeable to the humor of their will and liking, and to turne all things to blame that haue no correspondencie with their owne intentions and

and meanings: for as the Emperour had published in *Spain*, certaine edicts pragmatike against the authoritie of the Sea Apostolike, by vertue whereof his subjects were forbidden to treat of causes of benefices within his realmes: so vnder that warrant a Spanishe Notarie tooke boldnesse to be in the Court of *Rome*, and in the Chamber of audience, to commaund certaine men in the Emperours name, to desist to pleade anie more in that Auditorie: and also it did not only seeme that by the deliuerie of the French king, the knot was vnfastened which had bound euery man in doubt, that the French men to haue againe their king would not sticke to abandon the league: and withall it was well discerned, that the society and preface of the kings person was of farre greater importance for the enterprise, then the fellowship of his mother & the generall gouernment: but also there were scene other farre greater occasions: for as the commotion of the commons of *Millan* seemed to draw with it a matter of great consequence, so by the penurie of victuals that passed generally ouer all that estate, it was thought it could not be but a great aduantage to set vpon the Imperials, before they fell into the oportunitie of the haruest to reuietuell and returnish their strong places; and before necessity compelled the Castle of *Millan* to yeeld, and before the Emperour had time to send into *Italy* new supplies of men, or releuee them with prouisions of money. Moreouer, there fell into consideration, that the French king, in whom for the memory of things past, was great likelihood of distrust against the Pope, and now finding not in him a zeale and forwardnesse to make war, would estioons resolute to obserue the accord made at *Madriill*, or else to reconfirm it of new: and it was not doubted, that so great forces both by sea & land being conioyned in one, together with sufficient means to continue for long time the expences of the war, that the conditions of the Emperor standing both abandoned of all other Princes, & made naked of all store of mony, wold be far inferior in the war: only there was one scruple to the contrarie, caused by a feare, that the French king to redeeme his children, would leaue abandoned the other cōfederats, according to the doubt that was had of the gouernmēt of *Fraunce* at such time as the king was prisoner: & yet there was esteemed great difference, for that in taking armes against the Emperour with so many good occasions, there was so great hope to recouer them by force, & the action to succeed with so great a reputation of the king, that he would haue no reason to open his eares to any accord particular, which would not only bring infamy to him, but also would be preiudiciall to his affaires, though not for the present, at least in time to come: for that it could not but be a matter most dangerous for the realme of *Fraunce*, to suffer the Emperour to dispose of *Italy* according to his owne arbitration. Of which reason did likewise follow, that he wold not faile to make sharpe warre vpon him, since it could not be but a naked Counsell in confederating against the Emperour, to depriue himself of the recouering of his children by the obseruation of the accord: and yet on the other side, to lay apart all things by the which he might hope to redeeme them gloriously by armes, such as made their discourtes in this sort, considered haply more that which reasonably he ought to do, then they looked with iudgement into the nature of the Frenchmen; a fault wherein men do oftentimes fall, in matters of deliberations and iudgements that are made of the disposition and will of others: perhaps also they did not sufficiently consider, how much Princes that are culpable, who of their proper inclination do oftentimes preferre vility afore fidelitie, are easily perswaded the semblable of other Princes: and that therefore the French king suspecting least the Pope and the *Venetians* wold become negligent and carelesse of his interests, when by the conquest of the Duchie of *Millan* they should stand assured of the power of the Emperour, would iudge that the longnesse of the warre would be more profitable to him then the victorie, as a meane more easie to induce the Emperour to restore his children vpon some new composition, being already made weary of the long trauels and expences of warres. So that partly by the reasons afore rehearsed, making deepe impression in the mind of the Pope, but more for repentance that he had stood an idle beholder of the issue of the battell of *Pavia*, and somewhat for that, he was reproched by euery one of timorousnesse, & lastly, for the common murmure of all his Court, and of all *Italy*, who cast in his teeth, that by his fault the Sea Apostolike, together with the whole estate of *Italy* were reduced into so great dangers: he derermined in the end, not onely to enter confederation with the French king and the residue against the Emperour, but also by his labour and sollicitation, to aduaunce and pursue to speedy conclusion: in which good inclination, he was pushed on partly for the other regards, but principally for this, that in time might be aduaunced the prouisions for the reliefe of the

Castle of *Millan*, before the extremitie of famine compelled them to repose more in the mercie of the enemies, then in the remedie of their friends: that necessitie was the cause of all the aduersities which followed: for that otherwise the Pope proceeding more slowly (vpon whose auctoritie the *Venetians* depended much in this action) had expected if the Emperour being moued with the inobseruation of the French king, would not propound for a common surety, those conditions which had bene set downe before, specially when he should see himselfe constrained to take armes: and being not compelled to shew to the French king so great a necessity, he had easily obtained of him as well for himselfe as for the *Venetians* better conditions: and it had bene without doubt that thereby the articles of the confederation had bene better set downe and particularized, together with more assurance of the obseruation, and that the warre had not begun but that the *Swissers* had stirred, and all the prouisions necessarie had bene ready: and lastly, the king of *England* might haply haue bene drawne into the confederation, with whom for the distance of places, there was no leisure to negotiate. But for that by the danger of the Castle of *Millan*, the Pope and the *Venetians* saw that celeritie was of great importance, they dispatched with speed (but secretly) commissions to their seuerall Agents, to go thorough with the confederation, wherein they were enioyned to follow almost all those articles which had bene debated before with the Lady Regent of *Fraunce*, the more to hasten the expedition. There were sent dayly aduertisements of the necessity of the Castle, which made the Pope enter into consideration, that whereas it was necessarie, for that the high way from *Rome* to the Court of *Fraunce* was stopped, to send his messenger and curriers by a long circuit of way through *Switzerland*, and where he thought that in the action of capitulation might fall out some difficultie, which necessarily might draw some intermission and tract of time, it might happen that they might stand so long vpon the conclusion of the confederation, that if till then the Castle were deferred to be rescued, there were daunger least the succours would come too late: for which consideration, importing almost the effect and substance of the whole, he called to consult of the present perill the *Venetians*, by whose counsell, together with the importunate sollicitation of the Agents of the Duke of *Millan* resident at *Rome* and at *Venice*, and concurring also the counsell of manie others of his faction, they resolved to prepare a sufficient force to giue rescue to the Castle, to the end to be ready to employ them as soone as the conclusion of the league were come out of *Fraunce*, and in the meane while to giue hope to the people of *Millan*, and to nourish many practises, which they entertained in the townes of state: they made then a resolute conclusion, that the *Venetians* should send the Duke of *Vrbino* to their frontiers towards the riuer of *Adda*, accompanied with their men at armes, and sixe thousand footmen *Italians*, and the Pope to send to *Plaisance* the Count *Guido Rangon* with sixe thousand footmen: and for that it was necessarie to so great a war to haue many numbers of the *Swissers*, of which nation the Duke of *Vrbino* counselled to leaue twelue thousand for the assured obtaining of the victorie, who also aduised the Pope and the *Venetians*, that not to disclose themselves so much against the Emperour, so long as they were not assured that the league was made, it were not good to send out their Agents to leaue the *Swissers*. They gaue care to *Iohn la. de Medicis* of *Millan*, who of a Captaine of the Rocke of *Mun*, had made himself Lord of the place, partly by a knowledge he had of the situation and fortresse, and partly by the occasion and fauour of the time running: he told them that many moneths before he had practised to that effect with many of the *Swissers*-Captaines, and did offer vnder an imprest of sixe thousand duckets, to make discend an armie of sixe thousand *Swissers*, which should not be leauied by the decree of the Cantons, but particularly, and then to proceed to furnish their pay, as soone as they were discended into the Duchy of *Millan*: so that as it often hapneth in enterprises which of the one side are esteemed easie, and on the other side are pressed with the shortnesse of time, the offer of this man was accepted by the Pope and the *Venetians*, being also approved by the Agents of the Duke of *Millan*, and by *Ennia* Bishop of *Verula*, in whom the Pope reposed wholly for matters of the *Swissers*, for that he had long time followed the sollicitation of those affaires in the name of the Church, & in that action had lyen many moneths at *Bressia* by his directiō, & was at that time with the Agent of the *Venetians*, where he treated continually with manie of that nation. In like sort they harkened at *Venice* to *Oetanian Fregosa* Bishop of *Loda*, who offering to make an easie leaue of many numbers of that nation, had immediatly his expedition (without communicating with the Pope) for *Switzerland* to wage sixe thousand, in the sea

and at the same rate of payes: of which deuises, both ill vnderstood and worse ordered, was bred: (as shall be recited in his place) a beginning to put to confusion the enterprife, which was dressed with so great hope.

Whilest these preparations were in hand in *Italy*, the Emperour beginning to enter into suspicion for the delays that were interposed to the ratification, dispatched into *Fraunce* the *Viceroy* of *Naples* & Captaine *Alarcon*, to be fully informed of the kings intention, who was now gone from *Bayon* to *Cognac*: the *Viceroy* had stayed all that while in the towne of *Victoria*, hauing with him the ostages and the Queene *Eleoner*, to the end to present them to the king assoone as he had accomplished the contents of the capitulation: and albeit the *Viceroy* was receiued with verie great honour, both for that he was Embassadour from the Emperour, and also the king acknowledged in him and his working, a great part of his deliuerie, yet he found the king wholly estranged & far off to leaue *Burgundy*, sometimes taking his excuse vpon obstinacy of the estates of the realme whose consent he could not obtain: & sometimes alleaging that willingly he neuer passed a promise, which for that it was verie preiudiciall to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, it was impossible for him to obserue: only in respect of his great desire to entertaine the league of amitie begun with the Emperour, and to giue perfection to the mariage promised, he said he was contented, obseruing all other couenants betweene them, to pay vnto him two millions of crownes, in place of the resignation of *Burgundy*: to which excuses he added, that no other thing induced him to confirme with this moderation the accord made at *Madrid*, then an inclination he had to continue in good intelligence and correspondencie with the Emperour, the rather for that he wanted not the working of offers and motions from the Pope, the king of *England*, and the *Venetians*, to incense him to the warre: which answer comprehending his last resolution, the *Viceroy* signified to the Emperour the message, being accompanied with one of the kings Secretaries, to confirme the same. By this it hapned, that notwithstanding the commissions from the Pope and *Venetians* so much desired before, were now come to the Court, yet the king bearing a more inclination to haue agreement with the Emperour, and in that regard had determined to expect his answer vpon the new offer, wherein the *Viceroy* had giuen him some hope, began openly to defer the conclusion of the confederation, not altogether dissembling (since it was impossible to hide it) that he solicited a new accord with the Emperour, which being propounded by the *Viceroy*, it was a matter which could no way do hurt to be vnderstood. Besides, he assured the (notwithstanding he had other intentions) that he would neuer make any conclusion which should not containe the restoring of his children, the release of the Duchy of *Millan*, & vsayned prouision for the surety of all *Italy*: an alteration of it selfe sufficient to consume the Pope, if for his impressions of suspicion & feare, he had not iudged that the only remedy for his affaires, was to confederate himselfe with the French king. But it is not to be doubted with what discontentment and perturbation of mind the Emperour receiued the newes of the *Viceroyes* aduertisements, confirmed by the relation of the Secretarie of the French king: for, as it brought no litle grieffe to him to fall from the hope he had to recouer *Burgundy*, a matter which he vehemently desired, as well for the augmentation of his glorie, as for the oportunitie of that Prouince: so his indignation seemed redoubled, for that the French king by finding euasions to shift off his promises and faith giuen, made manifest declaration to all the world, that he reiected and despised to performe the thing he had promised: but the thing that bred most torment in his mind, was a certaine shame and reprouing of himselfe, for that both contrarie to the counsell of all his Nobles, and against the vniuersall iudgement of all his Court, and also contrarie to the prediction or foresheewing of the countie of *Flaunders* related to him by the Lady *Margaret* his Aunt, and by all his agents and officers in *Italy*, he did not measure with better reasons and more maturity of counsell, the importance and condition of affaires, but lulled simply in the humor of affection, perswaded himselfe that the French king would obserue the accord. And as amid these impressions and variety of thoughts, he had diligently considered that which concerned his dignity, and foreseee in what termes of daunger and difficulties his affaires would stand at all assayes, he determined to alter no one iote of that article or chapter which spake of the restoring of *Burgundy*: no he rather resolved to accord with the Pope, and to consent to the reintegration of *Frauncis Sforce*, as though it had bene more agreeable or comely for him to pardon a Princelesse then himselfe, then by yielding to the will of a king ambitious and puissant, and enuious of his greatnesse, to make as it

The Emperour
ill contented.

were a voluntarie confession of feare : wherein his passion caried him into this resolution, to
rather a most dangerous war with euerie one, then to remit the iniury receiued of the French king :
for he feared least the Pope seeing his amity contemned, was wholly estranged in mind from him,
wherein his suspicion was augmented by the aduertisement he receiued, that besides the Pope
had sent into *Fraunce* a particular messenger to congratulate with the king, he had also sent pub-
likely an Enibassadour : but much more did he suspect, for that he had newly taken into his pay
vnder colour to assure against the *Moore*s the sea shoares of the Church, *Andrew Dore* with eight
Galleis vnder the pay of thirtie thousand duckets for entertainment, and pensions for euery yeare:
a matter which both for the quality of the man, and for that neuer heretofore the Pope had any
thought to make himselfe strong vpon the sea, and also because *Andrew Dore* had bene many
yeares in the pay of the French king: made him enter into suspicion least that practise were subor-
ned of intention to trouble the estate of *Genes*. For these reasons he prepared himselfe to endure
all accidents, and leauied at the same time many prouisions of warre, both to offend and defend:
he solicited the passing of the Duke of *Burbon* into *Italy*, who made but slow preparation to that
expedition, before he gaue order to that end, that the seuen Gallies which lay at *Monaco* in *Italy*,
should be brought about to *Barcelona* to be ioyned with the residue, & that there should be sent
to releue the necessities of *Italy*, an hundred thousand duckets, for that without them the go-
ing of the Duke of *Burbon* would serue to nothing : he dispatched to the Pope *Don Hugo de*
Moncado, with commission (as he said) to satisfie him : but his directions were to passe first by
the Court of *Fraunce*: to the end that learning of the *Viceroy* if there were any hope that the king
would obserue, that either he should passe no further, or if he did, that he should chaunge his
instructions and commissions according to the estate and necessitie of affaires. But to euerie good
counsell that was giuen to the Pope, was opposed the daunger of the Castle of *Millan*, which be-
ing almost consumed with want of victuals, he had great feare least it would be rendered to the
enemy : he was also timorous that by some meane were contracted a new accord betweene the
French king and the Emperour : he was vncertaine of that which might be wrought by the
comming of *Don Hugo*, whose legation was made so much the more suspicious, by how much
he was to passe first by the Court of *Fraunce* : and he was iealous of the dissimulations and cun-
nings that would be vsed when he should be passed into *Italy*. In which regard, the Pope, together
with the *Venetians*, soliciting with great instance the conclusion of the confederation, the king at
last began to hearken with better inclination to the resolution of the league: whereunto he was in-
duced partly for that he did vnderstand by the comming of *Don Hugo*, that the Emperour wold
alter nothing of the articles of the capitulation, and partly through feare, that if he should deferre
further the action of confederation, the Pope would be caried into new counsels : he iudged also
that by this confederation his affaires should stand in better estate of reputation with the Empe-
rour, in whom feare might haply plie or moderate the rigour of his mind : and lastly, he wanted
not the incitations of the king of *England*, who more with perswasions and reasons then with ef-
fects and sound meanings, seemed to fauour that conclusion. This league was concluded the
tenth day of May in the yeare a thousand siue hundred and sixe, at *Cognac*, betweene the kings
Councell, deputies for the king, on the one part, and the Agents of the Pope and *Venetians* on
the other part : That betweenthe Pope, the French king, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Mil-
lan* (for whom the Pope and the *Venetians* assured the ratification) should be a league and con-
federation perpetuall, to the end to repoesse *Frauncis Sforce* freely of the Duchie of *Millan*,
and restore to libertie the French kings children : That the league should be signified to the Em-
perour, to whom was graunted power to enter into it within three moneths, vpon condition to
redeliuer the kings children, receiuing a competent ranfome, such as should be arbitrated by the
king of *England* : which condition also was extended to leaue wholly the Duchie of *Millan* to
Frauncis Sforce, and the other potentates and estates of *Italy*, as they were afore the last warre be-
gan : That for the deliuerie of *Frauncis Sforce*, now besieged within the Castle of *Millan*, and
for the recouerie of that estate, a present warre should be made with eight hundred men at armes,
seuen hundred light horsemen, and eight thousand footmen for the Popes part : and for the *Vene-
tians*, the warre to be furnished with eight hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen,
and eight thousand footmen : for the Duke of *Millan* foure hundred men at armes, three hun-
dred light horsemen, and foure thousand footmen : this proportion to be furnished as soone as

The Pope, the
French king,
& Venetians
make league
together.

should be able, and in the meane time the Pope and *Venetians* to accomplish for him: The French king to send immediatly into *Italy* five hundred Launces, and so long as the warre should endure, to pay to the Pope and to the *Venetians* fourtie thousand crownes monethly which money was to be employed in the leaue of bands of *Swissers*: That the French king should immediatly open the warre against the Emperour beyond the Mounts on what side he should thinke most conuenient, and that with an armie of two thousand Launces, and tenne thousand footmen, with sufficient numbers of artilleries: That the French king should arme xij. light Gallies, and the *Venetians* thirteene, at their proper expences: That the Pope should ioyne to those Gallies that proportion of Nauie, with the which he had entertained into his pay *Andrew Dore*: That the charges should run in common touching necessary ships for the said armie by sea, with the which they should addresse their course to *Genes*: That after the Emperours army in *Lombardy* were either vanquished or weakened, they should mightily inuade the kingdome of *Naples* aswell by land as sea, which being once conquered, the possession and inuestiture should be transferred to which of the confederates it pleased the Pope: and yet in an article separate was set downe, that the Pope could not dispose of it without the consent of the confederates, only there was reseruatiō made of the tributes and contributions which anciently were vsed to be paid to the Sea Apostolike, together with one singular estate of fourtie thousand duckets of reuenue, to gratifie whom it pleased the Pope: That to the end the French king were certaine, that by the victorie to be obtained in *Italy* and the conquest of *Naples*, might be made easie the deliuerie of his children: That if the Emperour in that case would within foure moneths after the losse of that kingdome, enter into the confederation vnder the conditions aforesaid, the kingdome should be rendred to him; but if he would not accept that power to reenter into the league, then the French king should take and enioy the yearely and perpetuall rent of that realme: That the French king should not at anie nor time, for any cause, molest *Francois Sforce* for the Duchie of *Millan*, but should be bound together with the others, to defend him against all men, and to do what he could to introduce betweene him and the *Swissers* a new confederation: only the king should receiue of him yearely a perpetuall tribute, such as should be set downe by the arbitration of the Pope and *Venetians*, and that not to be lesse then fiftie thousand duckets: That *Francois Sforce* should take to wife such a Ladie of the blood of *Fraunce*, as it should please the king to provide for him, and should be bound to entertaine, as appertained, his brother *Maximilian*, in place of the yearly pension which he receiued of the king: That the king should reenter into the Earldome of *Ast*: That if *Genes* were recouered, the king to retaine the same estate of superioritie which he was wont to do in times past: and that if *Anth. Adorne*, who then was Duke there, wold compound with the League, he should be receiued so farre forth as he would acknowledge the French king for superiour, in the same sort and maner as *Ottavian Fregosa* had done a few yeares before: That all the confederates should demand of the Emperour the deliuerie of the children of *Fraunce*, and if he refused to restore them, that it should be denounced to him in the name of them all, that the League would do all that they could to haue them againe: That as soone as the warres of *Italy* were finished, or at least the realme of *Naples* taken, and the Emperours armie so weakened as there was no feare of it, all the confederates should be bound to aide the French king against the Emperour beyond the Mounts with a thousand men at armes, a thousand five hundred light horsemen, and ten thousand footemen, or else with money in place of men at the kings choise: That not one of the confederates without the consent of the others, might not contract with the Emperour, to whom it should be permitted, in case he would enter into the confederation, to go to *Rome* to take the Imperiall Crowne with such a traine of men as should not be feared, the same to be rated by the Pope and *Venetians*: That though any one of the confederates were taken away by death, yet the League should stand good and absolute: That the king of *England* should be protector and defender of the League, to whom was left power to enter into it: And in case he wold enter, there should be giuen to him in the realme of *Naples* an estate of thirty thousand duckets of reuenue, and another of ten thousand to the Cardinall of *York*, and that to be leauied either in the same realme, or in some other part of *Italy*. The Pope would not suffer the Duke of *Ferrara* to be comprehended within the confederation, notwithstanding the French king and the *Venetians* did greatly sollicite it: yea he procured that the confederation should beare (though vnder generall words) that the confederates should be bound to aide

him to recouer those places; for the which the said Duke was in contention with the Church. Touching the *Florentines*, there was no doubt that they were not effectually comprehended in the confederation, for that the Pope made his reckening not only to serue his turne with their men at armes and their forces, but also to reduce them concurrat with him, yea euen to make them sustain the greatest burthen of the expences of the warre: but, not to hinder the traffike and intercourse which that nation had with the subjects of the Emperour, as also not to put in danger their Marchants and factors, they were not named vnder the title of confederates: one it was set downe that they should enioy all the exemptions, priuiledges, and benefites of the confederation, as if they had bene expressly comprehended, the Pope assuring for them that they should be in no sort against the league. There was no prouision or nomination of the Captaine generall of this armie and warre, for that by the shortnesse of the time they had no leasure to bring into counsell and election vppon whose shoulders they should lay so great a burthen, both for the authoritie and qualitie of the man, and the confidence that euerie one had in him: neither was it easie to finde out such a man, in whose person were concurrant so worthe conditions.

The League being thus contracted, the French king, who had not as yet altogether withdrawn his minde from the practises which he entertained with *Viceroy of Naples*, both deferred to ratifie it, and to begin to make to march his companies of men at armes, and also to send the fortie thousand duckets for the first moneth; vntill the ratification of the Pope and the *Venetians* were accomplished: and albeit such an intermission was not a litle troublesome to them; yet being pressed by their necessities to pursue their purpose, they dispatched the ratification, and entred immediatly to giue beginning to the warre, vnder the title that they would rescue the Castle of *Milan*. In which action the Pope, who had before sent to *Plaisance*, *Guido Rangon* General of the Church armie, with his companies of men at armes, and a strength of fise thousand footmen, sent thither of new with other regiments of footmen, and the men at armes of *Florence*, *Virella Virelli* their Captaine and Gouvernour, together with *John de Medicis* Commaunder ouer the Italian Infanterie: he created *Frauncis Guicciardin* at that time President of *Romagnia*, his Lieutenant generall ouer the armie, and ouer the whole iurisdiction, enduing him with most ample and almost absolute power. The *Venetians* on their side increased their army, which remained at *Chiura* in the countrie of *Bressa*, ouer the which was constituted Captaine generall the Duke of *Fribin*, and for their treasurer was appointed *Peter Pezero*: both the one and other armie had one direction, which was to endamage the Imperials, and to inuade them without deferring or suffering for any respect. In this meane while was arriued at *Milan* *Don Hugo de Mécade*, who albeit the League was still kept from the knowledge of the *Viceroy* and him, yet distrusting by the kings answers, that matters could not be reduced to the contentment of the Emperour, he had followed his way into *Italy*; and there carying with him into the Castle of *Milan* the Pronotarie *Caraccioll*, he laboured to assure the Duke of the facility and clemency of the Emperour, seeking to perswade him to referre himselfe to his will; but the Duke made answer, that in regard of the iniuries which the Emperours Captaines had done to him, he was driuen to haue recourse to the Pope and *Venetians*, without whose priuity and participation he could not dispose of himselfe. *Don Hugo* put him in hope that the Emperours intencion was, that the crimes that were charged against him, should be summarily viewed & examined by the Pronotary *Caraccioll*, who was a Prelate of great confidence with the Duke; a course which he said the Emperour tooke, rather to restore vnto him his estate with a better conseruation of the Emperours reputation, then for any other occasion, & yet he wold not consent that the siege might be first leauied, nor promise to innouate any thing according to the instance of the Duke. It was beleueed that the authority & power which the Emperour gaue to *Don Hugo* was very ample & large, the same extending not only to enable him to contract with the Pope according to the reintegration of the Duke of *Milan*, but also his commission bare to compound with the Duke alone, taking assurace, that being restored to his estate, he should do no act prejudicial to the affaires of the Emperour: only this commission was vnder limitation according to the traine of times & necessity, so that *Don Hugo* considering into what extremity was reduced the castle, & that to compound with the Duke profited nothing the affaires of the Emperour, but instrumentally, or as a meane to establish the accord with the Pope & the *Venetians*, judged it wold be a matter vnprofitable to contract with him alone. Afterwards *Don Hugo* &

the Pronotary caused to be brought frō *Monce*, *Moron*, kept prisoner within the rocke of *Trezzo* the same being for this cause, that the Pronotary who was to be iudge of the cause, should take his information of him. Immediately after this, *Don Hugo* tooke his way from *Millan* to *Rome*, having first written to *Venice*, that they should send sufficient authority to their Ambassador at *Rome* to negotiate & debate of the affaires occurrent: being come to *Rome*, he was brought to the presence of the Pope, together with the Duke of *Sesso*, to whom he declared with braue words, that it was in his electiō to accept either peace or war, for that the Emperour, notwithstanding by his good intention & inclinatio was not estranged frō peace, yet he was neuerthelesse both in courage & in preparation ready disposed both to the one & to the other. Wherunto the Pope answered generally, and complained that what for the hard termes which the Emperours officers had vsed to him, & the very late arriual of *Don Hugo*, he stood now bound to others, where afore he was in his owne libertie: they returned to him the next day, signifying that the Emperours intention was to leaue wholly the Duchy of *Millan* to *Frauncis Sforce*, so far forth as the castle might be consigned into the hands of the Pronotarie *Carraccioll*, vntill for the Emperours honor there were examination made of the cause, though not to the bottome & substance, yet in apparance & by ceremony: that also the Emperours intentiō was to put end to the quarrels between him & the *Venetians*, by some reasonable & comely mean, & to withdraw his army out of *Lōbardy* with the payes which had bene treated vpon at other times: and that in counterchange & recōpence of all these, he demanded no other thing of the Pope, then that he would forbear to interpose betweene him and the French king. To these propositions the Pope answered, that he doubted not that all the world had taken sufficient knowledge, how carefully he had alwayes desired to keep amity with the Emperour, and that he had neuer demanded greater thing, then those which the Emperour himselfe did willingly offer him: matters which could not be more to his contentment, for that his desire was alwayes greater to the common benefite, then for his profite: that still he continued in the same inclination, though there were giuen to him many occasions to fall from it: neuerthelesse that he heard now with a greater griefe of mind the matters which were offered to him by accord, then he had heard them at such time as they were denied him; an alteration which had not proceeded of his fault, but of the slownesse of the Emperour deferring so long to resolute by which occasion, ioyning also that there was neuer brought vnto him any hope of the assurance of the common affaires of *Italy*, and seeing in the meane while the perill of the castle of *Millan*, he had bene constrained for his owne safety & for the cōmon interest of others, to ioyne confederation with the French king, without whom he had no power to determine any thing. This was the constancie of the Pope, verified with many other replications and circumstances tending to assure his faith giuen: against the which, after *Don Hugo* had in vaine obiected his reasons and inducements, he departed from *Rome* ill contented with the Popes answers: by whose example also all the Imperiall Captaines fell to murmure, for that the hopes of peace being cut off, they saw things tend to manifest warre; which both for the might and power of the league, and for their owne extremities and disorders, they supposed it would be verie heauy for them to sustaine.

About this time the Popes Lieutenant surprised a packet of letters, written by *Ant. de Lena* to the Duke of *Sesso*, by the which he gaue him aduertisement of the ill disposition of the people of *Millan*, and touching their affaires, there was no other remedy then the grace of God: he also intercepted letters written from him & the Marquis of *Gualf* to *Don Hugo* after he was gone from *Millan*, wherein making earnest solicitation to aduance the peace, they insisted greatly to know forthwith what would ensue of the negotiation, not failing with words of great compassion to recommend vnto the danger wherein their liues stood, & the perillous condition of the Emperours armie: but there was not so great assurance in the minds of those that were to dispose of the forces of the league, as the feare was great ioyned with incertaintie of resolution amongst the Imperiall Captaines: for the Duke of *Vrbino*, who for the title he had of Captaine generall ouer the *Venetian* army, & also for his singularity of estate, authoritie, & reputation aboue the others, managed in effect the absolute gouernment of the whole armie: he esteemed haply more then was conuenient, of the valour of the *Spaniards* & *Launceknights*, & doubted no lesse of the vertue of the *Italian* souldiers: in which distrust he had resolved in his mind, not to passe the riuer of *Adda*, if he had not at the least in the armie a strength of 5000 *Swissers*: & fearing also least the Imperials would passe *Adda* & set vpon him, if onely with the cōpanies of the *Venetians* he passed the riuer of *Oglio*, he

made instance that the armie of the Church which was then at *Plaisance*, passing over the riuer of *Paw* beneath *Cremona*, might march to ioyne with the *Venetians*, & so in one maine strength draw neare the riuer of *Adda*, & vpon the shores of the same in some place of strength to auoid the coming of the *Swissers*: who contrary to their custome & nature were slow to defend, being then with many impediments & difficulties, the rather for that the charge to leaue the was vndiscreetly committed to Captaine *Mus* & the Bishop of *Loda*: of whom, as the Bishop being a man full of humors of vanitie & lightnesse, was not apt to manage that businesse as appertained; so Captaine *Mus* according to his couetousnesse sought chiefly to possesse himself of one part of the mony that was sent to distribute in imprest to the souldiers: & for other respects neither of them both caried such authoritie with that nation, as vnder so small a quantity of money to make leauy of so great a number, and that with that speed which the necessity of the seruice required. Besides, the expedition was corrupted by the imperfection of the parties, the one being caried with ambition, and the other with vanity, and they both more disposed to respect their interests particular, then to obserue the generall cause of the seruice. Against this action also the French agents that lay in the countrey of *Swisserland* opposed some difficulties, for that they neither knew what wil & inclination their king bare to it, nor whether it was contrary or conformable to his intentions: for not by omission or forgetfulnesse, but willingly & expressly they had sayled to aduertise the king of that expedition, following haply those counsels which oftentimes seeming very discreet and well ranged, are found in the end very suttile and fallible: for *Albert Pio* the kings Embassadour resident with the Pope, had signified to them, that if the king vnderstood before the conclusion of the League, of the direction giuen to make a leaue of *Swissers*, there would be danger least he would defer longer to conclude, for that seemed to him euerie way that the warre against the Emperour had bene begunne without him by the Pope and *Venetians*. Thus for the long tarying of the *Swissers*, was foreflowed one of the most principall and most mightie foundations laid for the rescue of the castle of *Millan*, notwithstanding both the Bishop & Captaine *Mus* gaue dayly most certaine & present hopes that they would be speedily at the campe. But when the Captaines Imperiall saw that the war was prepared openly, and that their former doubts & secret coniectures were now resolued and turned to manifest assurance, they determined, least at one time they were trauelled with enemies both within & without, to stand assured of the people of *Millan*, who rising euerie day more insolent, did not only deny to answer all those prouisions that were demanded vpon them, but also accompanying their disobedience with fiercenesse & bloud, they failed not to make slaughter of the souldiers in the city, when they found any single or separate from his fellowes: so that the Captaines Imperiall taking occasion of the disorders that were done in the towne, required that certaine heads & chieftaines of the populars shold depart the citie of *Millan*: which demand could not so easily be digested, but that the commons beginning to draw into tumult, there was a new slaughter made of certaine *Spaniards* going alone in the streets: & to meete with that mischief before it proceeded to greater degrees, *A. de Lena* & the Marquis of *Quast* after they had secretly drawne neare to *Millan* their forces, & denounced to the people that they were now no more bound to the accord made certaine dayes before, they gaue the alarme to the tumult, by killing in their presence foure of the commons, who wold do no reuerence to them in passing by the: & then issuing out of their lodgings with a troupe of Launceknights, they gaue occasio to the commons to sound their alarme: But as in all popular comotions there are many errors, & the people for the most part more rude & obstinate, the skilful to order a fight, run in their ignorance to their owne destruction with cries & showtes: so notwithstanding in their first fury they had forced the old Court & the gresstower of the Bishoprike, garded by manie *Italians*, yet partly by their owne disorders, and partly by the importunity of certaine shot bestowed in places of aduantage, which the *Spaniards* had furnished before, many of them fighting in their wilfull humor of libertie, found wretchedly at one instat the priuation of their life & liberty together: insomuch as their disorders & feare increasing by equal degrees, & their latest perils hastning with a desperate swiftnesse, for that the Launceknights were vpon point to put fire into the next houses, besides the calling into the citie the regiments of *Spaniards*, attending the token or signe to be giuen by the Captains. The commons in their last feares offered to parley with the Imperials, wherein they agreed that their leaders & many other persons of suspect shold go out of *Millan*, & that the popular multitude shold depose armes and submit themselves to the obedience of the Captaines Imperiall: who

for their parts receiving the conditions, made haste to reappease and cease the tumult before the Regiments of Spanish footmen entred within the towne, fearing least both parts being in armes, it would be hard for them to gouerne or bridle the furie of warre, or to restraine the souldiers in their readinesse, from sackinge the towne; a matter which they doubted, & yet were loth it should happen, as well for feare least the armie being made rich with so great a bootie, would grow into corruption and great diminution, as also considering what want of money and other difficulties they might suffer in the warre, they iudged it a pollicy more profitable to preserue the citie, in which they might long nourish the armie, then in one day, and in one furie to consume the force & liuely spirit which it had. Thus it seemed that the affaires of the league proceeded not with that prosperity, which men in their imaginations had promised in the beginning. both for that there were manie difficulties in the descending of the *Swissers*, and also the foundation of the people of *Millan* was shaken and quailed: But as there is no estate or condition of worldly things, which is not full of vncertainties and casualties, so by a new accident that hapned, both their reputation was estoones restored, and the facility of victory made both more great, and more apparant then before. In so great a discontentment, or rather a last despaire of the Duchie of *Millan*, there was entertained for certaine moneths by the working of many persons, sundrie intelligences and practises of innouation, almost with all the townes of the Duchie: amongst the which, one succeeded to good effect in the Citie of *Loda*, being managed by the Duke of *Vrbino* and Treasurer of *Venice*, with *Lodowike Vistarin*, a Gentleman of the same City: who, what with the impression that he had bene an ancient seruant to the house of the *Sforces*, & with the inducement of compassion ouer the calamities of his countrey, being no lesse rudely dealt withall by *Fabricio Maramo* Colonell of xv. hundred footmen Neapolitanis, then *Millan* was by the Spaniards & Launceknights, deternined to helpe into the towne the *Venetian* regiments, notwithstanding he was in the pay of the Imperials: but he assured, & the Duke confirmed it, that he had before both demaunded and obtained his leaue to go away, taking his excuse vpon this reason, that he was no longer able to maintaine without money the bands of souldiers which were committed to his charge. This was the order & direction of the enterprise: that vpon the xxiiij. day of Iune by night, *Malatesta Babilon* with three or foure thousand footmen of the *Venetians*, should about the vanishing of the day, *Loda* surprised by the *Venetians* approach the wals of the citie on that side where was a certaine bastillion, to the end to be receiued in by *Vistarin*, who a litle before, with two others that accompanied him, being come neare the bastillion, which fixe souldiers garded, as it were to search, & being followed with some others of his faction, who he had hidden within certaine houses thereby, he leaped vpon the bastillion, and began to fight with the souldiers that garded it: for albeit he had pronounced before the watchword, according to the custome of warre, yet the souldiers being doubtfull of treason, were come to handstrokes with him, when others running by the brute of the alarme that was made, the bastillion was in great danger to be recovered by the furie of the fray, wherein *Lodowike* was hurt: but as he was almost reduced to the last necessity, *Malatesta* arriued with his bands, and scaling the bastillion by the help of their ladders, they entred the towne, which they had so long desired: by which entry both by force and intelligence, the alarme running through the towne, *Fabricio Maramo* prepared himselfe to go to the wals with a great part of his souldiers, but comming too late to the rescue of that which was already lost, he was constrained for his safety to retire into the castle. Thus the towne was surprised, & the most part of the souldiers that were lodged in sundry places of the city were stripped & made prisoners. A litle after the Duke of *Vrbino* arriued with one part of his regiments, who to make his approaches the better, was marched the day before to lodge at *Oragno*, vpon the riuer of *Oglia*, which he passed the same night by the fauor of a bridge made in haste, & vnderstanding of the entry of *Malatesta* within *Loda*, he passed also vpon a like bridge the riuer of *Adda*: & after he had bestowed a greater garrison within *Loda*, for the better defence, in case succors shold be ministred by the meane of the castle, he returned immediatly to the armie. But as soone as the knowledge of this accident was come to *Millan*, the Marquis of *Gnast* with certaine troupes of light horsemen, & a strength of 3000 Spanish footmen, amongst whom was *Iohn* of *Vrbino*, made with great celerity to *Loda*, & hauing without impediment bestowed his bands of footmen within the castle, by the benefit of whose situation he might enter with safety by a way naturally couered & defended, without danger to be annoyed with shot coming from the flanks of the city: he made a sodaine irruption into the citie by the Castle, and got to the market place,

where the forces that *Malatesta* brought with him, & the succors that came afterwards, had made their strength or place of defence, & put diuerse houses vnder gard, together with the street, that led to the gate by the which they were entred, to the end they might be able to retire & issue with safety, if it had hapned that the Imperials became maistrs. The fight was valiantly performed, at the beginning, which valour if it had continued in the *Spaniards*, the iudgemēt ran that they had recouered *Loda*, for that the *Venetian* souldiers declined no lesse to cowardise thē to wearneesse: but as in surprises, when the enterprise cometh to an execution, distrust is for the most part greater then confidence, & feare far aboue resolution and assurance: so the Marquis of *Gnast*, either for that he found a greater number of souldiers then he had esteemed in the beginning, or for that he had a conceit that the *Venetian* armie was at hand, retired presently from the fight, & returned to *Millan* after he had furnished the Castle with a garrison. Immediately after this skirmish the Duke of *Vrbino* came againe to *Loda*, making no litle glorie, that without staying he had passed his armie ouer two great riuers by the benefite of bridges: and the better to assure the victorie, he resupplied the regiments that were within *Loda*, to the end to make the better resistance, in case the enemies would returne to recouer the thing from the which they had bene repulsed: he caused artilleries to be planted round about the castle, the better to assure the siege, and cut off the rescues that might be sent. Neuerthelesse the defendants both for their small expectation of succours, the means of their reliefe being cut off, and lesse ability to defend the castle, which for his small circuit was not capable of many men, left the castle abandoned the night following, being receiued by certaine horsmen sent fro *Millan* for that purpose. This conquest of *Loda* hapned very conueniently, & gaue great reputation to the affaires of the league, both for that the Citie was well fortified, & bare a name to be one of those which it was thought the Imperials would defend to the last. From *Loda* the victors might march without impediment, euen to the gates of *Millan* & *Pania*, for that those cities bearing a situation in triangle, are twenty miles one fro another, for which cause the Imperials dispatched with great expedition 1500 Launceknights to *Pania*. Moreover the League had won the passage of *Adda*, which before was supposed to be very troublesome: all impediments were remoued that might hinder all the armies of the league to ioyn together: all means take away to succor *Cremona*, in which citie lay in garrison Captaine *Conradin* with 1500 Launceknights, & the enemies depriued of place apt to trauell & vex the state of the Church & the *Venetians*. Insomuch as the comon opinion of the whole army was, that if they aduanced with speed according to their fortune, the Imperials could not but be reduced into great perplexity & confusion: but the Duke of *Vrbino* was of another iudgemēt, holding it an enterprise of great perill to draw neare to *Millan* without a great strength of *Swissers*: and yet for that he would not discouer to others that which he retained in his secret opiniō, he was contented to seeme to do the thing he intended not, & in that resolution marching slowly, & reposing alwayes one day at the least in euery lodging, he determined neuerthelesse to giue time to the descending of the *Swissers*, hoping that within few dayes they would be with the armie: yea he had so great expectation of their coming (notwithstanding by the experience of their long tract and deferring there was great doubt) and reposed such assurance in their valour, that vnlesse they came, he contemned all motions and inducements to action and enterprise, what reason or property of likelihood soeuer they bare. After the conquest of *Loda*, the Church armie marching to *S. Martin*, within three miles of *Loda*, it was resolved there by common counsell, that after the two Armies, that is to say, the Ecclesiastikes and the *Venetians*, had sojourned there one day, they should draw the next day towards old *Loda*, about five miles from *Loda*, where it is written that *Pompey* builded *Loda*, and so taking the high way that leadeth to *Pania*, they pretended vnder that marching to threaten *Millan* & *Pania*; a deuise to hold the Imperials in greater feare & suspence. The same day the armies Ecclesiastike & *Venetian* ioyned together in the field as they marched, being almost equall in numbers of footmen, & containing in all few lesse then xx. thousand: only the *Venetians* exceeded thē in nūbers of men at armes & light horsmen, & in prouisions of artilleries, munitions with all other necessary furnitures of warre. The day following they reposed at old *Loda*, where the Captaines taking counsell for the disposing of their marching, determined that hereafter the armies should keep along the high way, the better to auoid the incommodities of the countrey, which out of the high way is ful of ditches & risings, & other impedimēt to marching: one reason also of following that way, was the facilitie to giue succours to the castle by the opportunity of the way

Way that leadeth towards the gate of *Coma*, rather then by the way of *Landriano* which turneth to the gate of *Verceil*, by the which was greater difficulty to leade the army in regard of the quality & disposition of the countrey: and lastly, by the benefit of that way, there was a more safe recourse & traffike for victuals to follow the armies, & more easy for the discending & receiuing the *Swissers* who were alwayes to second the & backe the: with this resolution the army being gathered into one main strength, arriued the last day of Iune at *Marignan*: where being drawn into counsel touching the further directiō & disposing of the war, the Duke of *Vrbino* perswaded vehemently to abide the coming of the *Swissers*, of whose descending he had haply some more assured information the before: he considered that without such a strength & firme back, it could not but be dangerous to draw neare *Millan* with regiments of souldiers vntrained & leuiued in haste, not withstanding there was within the towne of enemies but a very slender strength of horlmen, 3000 Laice-knights, & but 5 or 6 thousand *Spaniards* footmen, to whose small numbers of bodies were adioyned many discommodities and wants, as lacke of money which maketh the souldiers vnwilling, and very litle prouision of victuals which weakeneth him for the fight, with other impediments much hindring the action expected in souldiers. But the other Captaines were not of his opinion, for that they iudged that marching in order, and alwayes vsing good scouts to discouer their camping places for the day before, there could be no danger to approach *Millan*, the rather for that the parts of the countrey were euery way so strong & defensible, that without difficulties the army might alwayes incampe in places of surety. They reasoned that it was not likely, that the Imperials would issue out into the field to inuade the, for that leauing necessarily the castell besieged, & by that occasion, being not to leade their whole forces out of the towne for suspitiō of the commons of *Millan*, their numbers wold be too few to set vpō so great an army, which albeit was dressed & composed of bodies new and raw, yet was gouerned by the best experienced Captaines in *Italy*, hauing withall dispersed in seuerall bands of the army; many troupes of footemen well disciplined and of good traineur in war. Besides, albeit they could not make their approches to *Millan* without danger, yet to draw neare it, was not without hope to cary the victory, for that the suburbs of *Millan* being not fortified, but by negligence left open in many parts, it seemed not credible that the Imperials would stand to defend so great a circuit of place. Of this were discerned many manifest tokens, for that the Imperials vsing small care to reenforce the suburbs, had turned all their industry to the fortificatiō of the towne: Insomuch that if they once abandoned the suburbs & gaue place to the army to lodge there, it could not be reasonable that the towne could long hold out: not so much for the want of victuals & mony which afflicted their whole army, as for that *Prosper Colonne* with the other Captaines of knowledge and iudgement, had bin alwaies of this opiniō, that with great difficulty could the towne of *Millan* be kept against an army that was Lord of the suburbs, both for that the city is very weake in wals (the houses of certaine particulars seruing for want of wall in many places) as for that the suburbs haue a great aduantage & comandement ouer the City. To these reasons lastly was added, that they had the castel at deuotion: but not only the estate of this direction or deliberatiō, but also the absolute resolution of the whole body of the war depended chiefly vpō the Duke of *Vrbino*: for that albeit he was but only Captaine ouer the *Venetians*, yet the Ecclesiastikes to auoyd contentions, had determined to referre theselues ouer to him as to the Captaine generall of the army. Neuerthelesse though these reasons had no power to stir him to aduance and passe further, nor the vehement instances, in which (by order from their superiors) the Popes Lieutenant & the treasurer of *Venice* vrged, with whom did concur many other Captaines, yet in the end, he considered that if he made any long abode in that place without a better certaintie of the coming of the *Swissers*, it would not be but to his great infamy & challenge: therefore after the army had rested two daies at *Marignan*, he remoued it the third of Iune to *S. Donato* within fife miles of *Millan*, frō whence he determined to passe further, though more to satisfie the desire & iudgement of others, then of his proper inclination or counsels: & he reserued to himselfe this order & intention, to put alwayes one day betweene the remouing of the campe, to the end to giue time to the coming of the *Swissers*, of whom a thousand discending by *Bergama*, were arriued at the armie, and for the others (according to their custome) they sent euery day messengers to entertaine the expectation of their coming, and to signifie that their absence should not be long.

In this sort the fift of Iuly, the army passing from *S. Martin* which is out of the high way on the

right hand, marched on to intampe within iij. miles of *Millan*, in a place of good strength & security: where the same day was executed some light action of warre against certaine harquebuziers of the *Spaniards* who were fortified within a house, & the day following, the campe being at the same place, executed some other small exploit of war, & immediatly after arriued at the campe of a hundred *Swissers* led by *Cesar Gaulois*: here the Captaines fell againe to counsell of the army of passing further, & albeit the first intentiō was to march directly to succor the castel of *Millā*, whose trenches that were cut round about without, were not so strong but that there was great hope to win them: yet, by the authority of the Duke of *Vrbis* whose aduice was at last approued of all the others, not altogether for the sufficiency & soundnesse, but partly for the priuiledge & prerogative of his place, which caried him to expresse his opinion in counsell, & either not to attend the answers of others, or at least in their answers the Captaines durst not impugne his reasons. The army tooke the way that leadeth directly to the suburbs of *Millan*, and he alleaged, that for the making plaine of the wayes, which of necessity must be done by reason of the naturall impediments of the countrey, it would be a labor long & not without danger of some disorder, to leade the army out of the high way to the rescue of the castell, both for that they were to shew themselves too neare in flanke to the enemies, & also it was to giue the enemy meane to make a greater resistance, because they wold range all their forces on that side towards the castel: where otherwise they shold be constrained to remaine deuided for the better resistance of the enemies: & not to abandon the gard of the Castell, & drawing to the gate of *Rome*, it would be alwayes in the power of the Captaines of the league, to turne easily on what side they wold according as occasiōs called the. According to this counsell it was resolued, that the sequenth day the campe shold lodge at *Vnsaletto* & *Pillastrello*, which are crookings or turnings alōg the high way within shot of cannon, & there to take that course which occasiō & proceeding of the enemies shold minister. Many were of opiniō that the enemies whē they shold see the campe so neare the, would not (specially in the night) embrace the hazard to defend the suburbs, both for that the ditches were filled vp in many places, & the ramparts cast downe & made plaine, & in some places so open & discovered, that very hardly could they preferue their bodies which they brought to defend the place. But the night before the day wherein the army was to aduance, the Duke of *Burbon*, being arriued a few dayes before at *Genes* with six gallies, and bringing bills of exchange for an hundred thousand duckats, entred into *Millan* accompanied with 800 Spanish footmen, whom he had brought with him: his coming in such a time of perill, & after so long expectatiō for succor, gaue a new corage to the soldiers that so desperatly lay exposed to the danger of their liues. By his cōming, being vehemently solicited by the Marquis of *Guaft* & *Anth. de Lena*, may be easily cōprehended the affected negligence or rather cold dispositiō which the French king had to the war: for, where the Pope in the beginning whē he entertayned into his pay *Andrea Dore*, had cōsulted with him, with what forces & preparations the enterprise of *Genes* should be executed, he told him it wold be an action very easie so far forth as it were put to execution at the time that the war should be begun in the Duchy of *Mil-lan*, & that to his eight gallies should be ioyned the kings gallies riding in the port of *Marfeille*, or at least that they might be employed to stop the coming of the gallies of the Duke of *Burbon*: wherein his reason was, that remaining in that sort Lord of the sea with his eight gallies, the City of *Genes*, hauing the sea shut vp, could not maintaine it selfe lōg, both for the restraint of marchā-dize, for the impedimēt of exercises, & for the cutting off access of victuals. And notwithstanding the French king protested to stop the cōming of the Duke of *Burbon*, yet it was a promise vaine & ill assured, both for that his vessels were not in order, which hindred the expedition, and also the Captaines of his gallies, partly for want of mony, & partly through negligence, and haply of purpose, were very slowly furnished to accomplish the seruice. The same fault or negligence was also vsed in aduancing the men at armes appointed to his portion.

The army of
the league be-
fore *Millan*.

But the arriual of the Duke of *Burbon* being vnknowne to the army of the league that was without, the resolution that had bin set downe to aduance forward, was peruerted by the Duke of *Vrbis*, & that either by some aduertisements which he had receiued from *Millan*, or by the report of some spy: for, leauing the distrust which he had retayned til that day, he assured the Popes Lieutenant in the presence of the *Venetian* treasurer, that he made an assured reckening that the day following would be a day of prosperity & happy successe: seeing saith he, if the enemies issue out to fight (which he could not belecue) they could not but be ouerthrowne & broken: & in case they

did

did not issue out, he was certaine that either they would abandon *Millan* the same day & retire into *Pavia*, or at least abandoning the defence of the suburbs, they would gather themselves into the City, which they had no meane to defend after the suburbs were lost: insomuch as he warranted that any of these three accidents was sufficient to make them remaine victors & maisters of the war. I therefore ioyning diligence to the oportunity that offered, the day following being the sequenth of Iuly, they left the lodging appointed for the day before, hoping to win the suburbs without resistance: wherein rising in a glorie to surprize them by assault in marching, certaine troupes of souldiers ran in their insolency, to giue a charge vpon the gates of *Rome* & *Tosa*: where, notwithstanding the aduertisements they had the day before & redoubled the same day, that the *Spaniards* would breake vp & go away, yet they found vaine those relations, for that the *Spaniards* affronted them & made head orderly against their disordered charge, not that they meant to make a continuall resistance, but like men of war shewing their faces to the enemies, to retire in order to *Millan*, rather then to leaue to the enemy that aduantage, to say that they found the suburbs cowardly abandoned. Moreouer by making that resistance, they did not only preserue the reputation of their army, retayning still in their power to make their retrait alwayes into the city without disorder, but also in the action might happen some occasion to take hart & perseuere in the defence of the suburbs; a matter of right importance: for that, to make their retire into the towne, was an election to be followed rather by necessity then of will, seeing that besides many other reasons if they should restraine themselves into a circuit of place so strait & litle, it would be so much the more easie to the armies of the league to stop the entry of victuals into *Millan*, without which kind of reliefe they could not long hold out, for that the prouisiōs of new corne were not yet come in. Thus certaine bands of harquebuziers being presented to the defence of the two gates, where also the other *Spaniards* ceased not to labor & fortify continually, the Duke whose opinion was beguiled in that resistance, caused three cannons of battery to be drawne within a crosbow shot of *Rome* gate, and hauing planted them brauely, he began to execute vpon the gates: in which battery he labored to leuie or dismount a Falconet, and so made descend certaine bands of souldiers to giue the assault, and gaue direction to bring on the scaling ladders: but altering immediatly his purpose to giue the assault, the matter was turned into light skirmishes of shot betweene those that were without and the defendantes that were vpon the ramparts, who fighting at great aduantage, shue about fortie of the confederates, and hurt many. In this meane while the gate had felt many blowes of the cannon, though with very small damage, for that the cannons being planted farre off, the bullet lost much of his force by the farre distance of the place, insomuch as no benefit rising by the executions of the cannons, and no aduantage gotten by the skirmish of the shot, the Duke considering it would be very late to lodge the campe, would not suffer the assault to be performed, but gaue order to bestow and forrie the campe in that place, which was not done without confusion, for the shortnesse of the time. There was left a reasonable gard for the three Caunons, and the residue of the campe were bestowed almost full vpon the right hand of the way, euerie one hauing great hope of the victory, both for that by many aduertisements and by the relation of prisoners taken, they had certaine information that the Imperials trusted baggage, and prepared rather to depart, then to defend the place. To this hope was ioyned also this good hap, that in good time the same euening, there came to the campe fixe cannons of the *Venetians*, a reliefe much helping on the comfort and hope of the victory: But as in worldly things there is no assurance till the end be knowne, and all mortall men and their actions are put vnder an estate of incertainty and error, according to their constitution, be full of frailty and imperfection: so, not long after, that hope and the glorious imagination of the victory, did not onely change, but also the whole estate of the affaires varied and altered, for that certaine bands of Spanish footemen issuing out almost vpon the beginning of the night to set vpon the artillerie, were repulsed and beaten in by the footemen that had the gard of the same notwithstanding the Duke of *Urbino* sayd that they were driuen in in disorder: insomuch as after two or three houres of the night were past, he determined without counsell to dislodge and retire the army, taking his reason for so sudden alteration vpon the matter of his hope which he saw abused, for that he found resistance at the gates, and defendants vpon the ramparts of the suburbs: and also the feare he had conceiued before of the infantry of the enemies, was in this rashnesse of some consideration with him. And proceeding in his sudden passion to execute the matter he had resolved without

counsell or consent of others, he gaue order to the artilleries & munitions to march away, & commanded the regiments of the *Venetians*, to prepare to depart. Lastly he sent to the treasurer and Lieutenant, & other Captaines of the Church, to signifie more in speede then with reason, the resolution he had set downe, perswading the to do the like without tract or deferring; a matter of such astonishment & confusion to either of them, both for the suddennesse being against all order & course of war, and for the newnesse seeming to containe some mystery, for that it was contrary to the expectation of all men, they went to him to vnderstand more particularly his inductions and reasons of this alteration, & to labor with words and arguments to bring him backe againe to his former resolution: but he insisted still vpon the removing of the campe, wherein with speeches cleare & resolute, he complained manifestly that contrary to his aduise & onely to satisfie the humors of others, he was compelled to approach so neare *Millan*: which since it was an offence, he told the, it belonged to wisdom & good counsell rather to correct the fault in time, then by suffering, to let it run out of all cure & remedy: he knew that both for that the army the day before for the shortnesse of the time, had bin lodged confusedly, & for the cowardise of the Italian footmē in the same euening that the artilleries were assailed, if the campe lay there till the day following, it would not only be the destruction of the enterprise, but the ruine of all the state of the league: for, he stood so assured that they would be defeated and broken, that he held it not reasonable to stand to dispute with any man, seeing that the Imperials the same euening had planted a Sacre betweene *Rome* gate and the gate of *Fofo*, which executed in flanke vpon that quarter, where lay the *Venetian* footemen: That the same night they would go on in that oportunitie to plant other peeces of artilleries, and the day following would sound the alarme, for which cause the army being constrained to fall into order, should be so annoyed in the flanke by the artilleries, that they would be driuen into disorder, and so vpon the sally of the Imperials out of the towne, the whole campe full of passions of feare and disorder would be easily ouerthrowne: That he was fory that both by the shortnesse of the time, & the impediments of the munitions and artilleries which were farre greater in his army then in the army Ecclesiastike, he was compelled to leauy and breake vp afore he had communicated with them: but he told them that in elections done by necessity, it was a labor superfluous to alleage excuses: That he had aduentured a greater matter, then euer had done any Captaine, offering as it were in marching to giue an assault to *Millan*, and that now he would take vp and vse discretion, and dispaire nothing of the victory of the enterprise for the retraite. That *Prosper Colomno*, haply with lesse iust causes, leuied his siege from before *Parma* when it was halfe taken, and yet not long after he gloriously conquered the whole Duchie of *Millan*: he aduised them for end to beleue his counsell and follow it, and not in other weenings to deferre their departings, since he eftsfoones assured them with a new vehemency of words, that if they stayed there till the rising of the Sunne, their destruction was more certaine then the remedie, and therefore to the end to fly from the storme before the cloude brake, he willed them alwayes with one constancy to returne to their lodgings at *Saint Martin*. These speeches borne vp more by the authority of the man the by any reason they brought, were not a litle grievous to the residue of the Captaines that haply bare another courage to the war, and reasonably saw further into the facility of the victory, and therefore were of a contrary opinion: amongst whom the Popes Lieutenant assaying by words and reasons to make him constant whom feare caried into so many variations, made him aunswere, that albeit there was none amongst them who thought northat his resolutions were made with great forecast and wisdom, yet the Captaines in their experience and traditions of warre, saw no manifest cause to constrain him to breake vp so suddenly: he reduced to his memorie the dispayre of the Duke of *Millan*, beholding in his calamity the going away of such as he hoped would haue succoured him, and dispayring to be rescued, what could stay him from doing the thing from the which the hope to be succored by them, had holden him: how much it would discourage the Pope and *Venetians*, and what impressions are wont to stirre and moue in the mindes of Princes when enterprises begin to succede ill, especially in their beginnings. Lastly that if the place of their campe, and the ill disposing of it, was the cause of so great a daunger as he pretended, it was easie without depriuing the armie of so great a reputation, to remedie it both in bestowing it in some other place with better order, and also in removing it with such aduantage, that the sackers planted by the enemies should haue no meane to annoy them. But the Duke confirmed of new his first conclusion, and added with vehement

vehement termes that according to the reason of warre, they could not take any other deliberation: and lastly he knit vp that he would take vpon himselfe all the fault, & to lay himselfe downe to all opinions and imputations that the world would heape against him for being the Author of the action. And so aduising them not to consume vainely, in words and reasons, the time which they should employ for their safety, he told them that if they were not dislodged before the end of the night, it would be too late to apply the medicine when the ill was past cure. With this conclusion he dismissed euery one, who returning to their seuerall quarters, euery one prepared to dislodge and make to depart their charge & companies; amongst whom such bands as lay before, brake vp with such astonishment, that many going almost with demonstrations to be broken and defeated, many bands of footmen and horsemien of the *Venetians* disbanded themselves; some of them not looking behind them till they came to *Loda*; & the artilleries of the *Venetians* passed beyond *Marignan*, but being reuoked, they were stayed there: the residue of the bands, but principally the *reare* marched away in order: and *Iohn de Medicis*, who with the footmen of the Church was in the last part of the army, would not stirre till it was high day, esteeming it not agreeable to his honour, in place of the victorie so much hoped for, to cary away infamie and imputation of flying away by night; a matter which his experience induced him that he had no neede to do, because he saw none of the Imperials issue out of their ramparts to charge vpon the tayle of the armie: onely when they within the towne saw by the benefite of the Sunne and clearenesse of the day, how the campe was dislodged in maner of a tumult, they stood wondering at the going away of those, whom if they had taried they could not but haue stood in feare of: and yet in the interpretation of souldiers and martiall doings, they could not imagine the cause of so sudden alteration. The infamie of this retraite was also augmented by this, that notwithstanding the Duke had giuen order that the campe should stay at *Saint Martin*, yet he sent out a new direction without communicating it, that the campe-masters of the *Venetians* should leade their men to *Marignan*, wherein he feared that either the enemies would issue out to assaile him in his lodging at *Saint Martin*, or at least that the Castell of *Millan*, seeing to retire the forces that were come, to rescue it (a matter more then all other that terrifieth those that are besieged), would sue for composition, and resigne by that vile compulsion the hold they had kept so long with their valour. In which case because he durst not abide at *S. Martin*, he iudged it lesse dishonorable to retire once for all, then to make two retraites in so litle time. And in that humour, he caused the artilleries, the baggage, and the foremost regiment of the *Venetian* army to hold onto *Marignan* without staying at *S. Martin*: of which alteration when the Popes Lieutenant demanded the cause, the Duke answered that touching their suretie he put no difference betweene the one and the other place, esteeming *S. Martin* as tenable and defensible against the enemies as *Marignan*, but the cause why he marched further, was, for that the bands of souldiers being made weary with the actions of the dayes before, might with good commodity repose and refresh themselves without receiuing any impediments or vexations of the enemies. And as the Lieutenant replied touching the equall surety of the one and other place, that if the campe retired as farre as *Marignan*, the hope of succors would be more desperate to those that were besieged in the Castell of *Millan*, then if the armies stayed at *S. Martin*: so the Duke returned vpon him with words vehement, that so long as he carried in his hands the staffe of commaundement ouer the *Venetians*, he would not suffer any other to entermedle with his authority. In which obstinacy both the one and other army with the great dishonor and clamor of all the souldiers, went to incampe at *Marignan*, exclaiming contrary to the saying of *Cesar*, *veni, vidi, fugi*, we are come, we haue seene, & we are run away. The Duke determined to remayne at *Marignan*, vntil not only the campe were possessed of the number of fise thousand *Swissers*, whereunto were restrayned the promises of Captaine *Mus* and the Bishop of *Loda*, who at the same time that the campe brake vp came thither with fise hundred, but also till he were furnished of so many other of that nation as would make vp the full number of twelue thousand strong of those regions: and that for an opinion he had, that because there could be made no more foundation of the Castell of *Millan*, it would be impossible to force the towne, or to reduce it to a necessitie to yeeld for want of victuals and other reliefes necessarie, without the action of two armies, and either of them so mightie, that of it selfe it might suffice to defend it selfe against all the forces of the enemies vnited together.

The army of
the league broke
up from before
Milan.

Thus the eight day of Iulie, did retire from the wals of *Milán*, the two armies, of the league, a matter of no small astonishment to many men, and no lesse concurring the infelicity of the prediction, for that the same day, with the common consent of the whole confederates, the league was published at *Rome*, at *Venice*, and in *Fraunce* with ceremonies and solemnities accustomed. In the iudgement of all men of obseruation or skill, it seemed to hold so little of necessity to take a course so infamous, that many doubted least the Duke of *Vrbín* were not caried into that deliberation by some secret order and direction from the Senate of *Venice*, who for some end vnkowne to others might desire to haue the warre protracted. And others were of opinion that the Duke, by the memory of iniuries receiued of *Leo*, together with the wrongs which the Pope raising had done to him when he was Cardinall, and fearing withall least the greatnesse of the Pope would put his estate in danger, could not brooke so sudden a victory of the warre, being inherently caried both with the passion of hatred which is much, and the humor of ieaousie, which is more. Wherein one thing that gaue him so iust a cause to doubt and feare the Pope, was that the *Florentins* held *Saint Leo* with all the countrey of *Montefelso*, and that the only daughter of *Lawrence de Medicis* being as yet very yong, retayned alwaies the name of Duchesse of *Vrbín*. And the thelesse the Popes Lieutenant was aduertised by very special messengers that the *Venetians* were not a litle discontented with that maner of retiring, & that they had alwaies solicited that the army might approach to *Milán* in hope that the towne might be easily caried. And withall, seeing it was not likely that the Duke, if he had hoped to take *Milán*, would haue depriued himselfe of a glory, by so much more great about the merit of any other Generall in times past, by how much was greater the reputation and renowne of the Imperiall army about all others which had bin in *Italy* many years before, of which glory followed almost by necessity the surety of his estate, seeing the Pope, either to auoyd so great an infamy, or not to offend so much the *Venetians*, would not dare to inuade him: and considering also with diligence the action of all those dayes there, the Lieutenant iudged it more likely (wherein many others were concurrant with him in that opinio) that the Duke fallen from the hope which two dayes before had nourished him, that the Imperials at least wold abandon the suburbs, was returned in that vehemency to his first opinion, wherein he shewed himselfe to haue a greater feare of the *Spaniards* & distrust of the *Italian* footemen, then any of the other Captaines had: and by that meane entring into impressions of deeper feare, he embraced rashly and confusedly that deliberation.

Katherine de
Medici.

The Pope in
great astonish-
ment.

This retreat astonished not a litle the Pope and *Venetians*, and made them so much the more altered and confused, by how much they were entred into hope and expectation to heare newes euery day of the taking of *Milán*. But principally the perplexity of this accident touched the Pope, who neither with money which was farre from him, nor with constancy of mind which was suppressed by his frailty, was not prepared to endure the traite and longnesse of the warre. Besides that aswell at *Rome*, as in other quarters of his estate, many emotions and difficulties were disclosed: for, a regiment of three hundred footemen and certaine cornets of horsemen lying in garrison within *Carpy*, began to make incursions and very hurtfull actions vpon all the confines that appertained to the Church, obiecing by that meane many impediments to the passage of curiers and money sent to the army from *Rome* and *Florence*: an aduersity which could not be met withall but by bestowing strong garrisons within the townes. And the Pope, who was entred into the warre with very litle store of money, and deeply imbarcked into great expences, could hardly, both with the money of his owne store, and with the contributions brought to him continually from *Florence* to furnish the charges of the warre, make sufficient prouisions to stoppe them, being withall troubled with a new enterprize in *Tuscane*, and constrained to stand vpon his guard about *Rome*: for, after *Don Hugo* and the Duke of *Sessa* had taken leaue of the Pope & had deposed themselues from the action of their embassage, *Askanius* & *Vespasian Colorno* being then reduced within the small boroughs of the *Colonnais*, which are neare to *Rome*, made many demonstrations to stirre vp some emotion on that side, many of their factioners and adherents being drawne to a strength within *Alagno*. And the Pope was driuen to keepe a diligent eye vpon their doings and stirres, aswell for the regard of the *Gebelin* faction in *Rome*, as for that not many dayes before, were discovered against him many signes of the ill disposition of the Commons: the reason was, for that when he tooke into his pay *Andrew Dore*, and for the better furnishing of that charge, had raysed and improued certaine impostes vnder colour to assure the seas of *Rome* against the foystes of

of the *Moors* by whom the traffike and wealth of the City was greatly hindred, the butchers refused to pay their part of the taxation, assembling in manner of a tumult afore the lodging of the Duke of *Sessa* nor as yet departed from *Rome*, and by their example all the *Spaniards* that were within the towne, ran thither in armes: neuerthelesse this tumult was easily appeased. About this time, the Pope stood in doubt if he should enforce the enterprise to alter the state of *Sienna*, for that the counsels of such as were about him differed and were of diuerse humors: for, some reposing confidence no lesse in the great number of the exiles, then in the confusion of the great gouernment popular, perswaded by many reasons that the innouation and change of the state would be an action of great facility, wherein they led him on in this property of well liking, that in that time it would be a matter of great importance to assure himselfe of that state: for that in all accidents that might happen, the entry which the enemies might make that way, might be very daungerous for the affaires of *Rome* and *Florence*: but others induced him, that it were farre better for him to adresse all his forces into one place onely, then to intangle himselfe with so many enterprises with a very little or none at all alteration or diuersion of principall effects: for that in the ende such as remayned maisters in *Lumbar dy*, would become Commanders in euery place. Lastly they told him he was not to lay such a foundation of confidence vpon the forces and trayne of the exiles, whose hopes in the end would be found vayne, as to set vpon the mutation of that state without making of mighty and strong prouisions, such as was very hard for him to accomplish, as well for the greatnesse of the expences which in enterprises draweth the deepest care, as for the want of principal Captaines, whom he had already sent to the warre of *Lumbar dy*. It may be these last perswasions had peruailed more with him, if those that gouerned within *Sienna* had proceeded with that moderation which in affaires of small importance the inferiors ought to vse towards their superiors, hauing more regard to necessity then to a iust discontentment: for, thus it hapned: There was one *Iohn Baptista Palmier* Captaine within *Sienna* of an hundred footmen for the City, who hauing of long time before giuen hope to the Pope, that in sending his bands of souldiers to the towne, he would put them within by a sluice or gutter that passed vnderneath the wall neare to a bastillion: and by his direction the Pope hauing sent to him two footmen men of assurance and credit, to one of the which *Iohn Baptista* gaue his Ensigne to beare, the Magistrates of the city with whose priuie he entertayned this practise and abused the Pope, caused these two footmen to be apprehended, against whom after they had proceeded by way of accusation, and iudicially condemned them with publication of the conspiracy, they passed them to the execution of manifest death, to the end to slander the Pope as much as they could. Moreouer they sent certaine bands of their souldiers to besiege *Iohn Martinozze* one of the exiles dwelling in the countrey about *Sienna*: all which things done as it were in despite of the Pope, incensed him with the fury of a mind iniured, to aduenture to restore all the exiles within *Sienna* with his owne forces and the strength of the *Florentins*. But as the generall prouisions were more weake then appertayned to the action of such an enterprise, & especially the numbers of footmen: so also the valor and authority of the Captaines recompenced nothing the weakenesse of the army, ouer the which he instituted as chiefe commanders *Virginio Vrsin* Count of *Languillaro*, *Lodowik* Count of *Petillane* & *Iohn Fran.* his son, *Gentill Baillon* & *Iohn Sassatello*: who making their muster at *Centina* and drawing along the riuer of *Arbira*, so much renowned for the worthy victory of the *Gebelins* against the *Guelfes* of *Florence*, approched the wals of *Sienna* about the xvij. of Iuly with nine peeces of artilleries, twelue hundred horse, and more then eight thousand footmen, almost all leuied in the state of the Church & *Florentins*, or at least all sent without mony to the exiles by their friends, from *Perouza* & other places. And at the same time *Andrea Dore* with his gallies & a thousand footme sent to him in supply, made inuasion vpon the haven of the *Siemois*. But in this, their hope was deceiued, that when the forces approched neare the wals of *Sienna*, they within made no signe of tumult, by which disappointment they were constrained to settle in campe & besiege the towne, in which was a strength of sixe hundred horsemen and three hundred footmen forreyners. And as the enemies made their approches to the gate of *Camollia*, & began on that side to batter the wall with their artilleries: so, the city being strong by situation, and well fortified with ramparts, and for the circuit so great, that the army enuironed but the lesse part of it, they found the inhabitants disposed with firme resolution to defend the gouernement that then ran, wherein their hatred against the Pope and *Florentins* caried them more

vehemently, then the affection they bare to the exiles: and of the contrary in the army that besieged them, the souldiers hauing no pay made to them, were litle profitable to the seruice, & the Capitaines hauing no reputation in armes, were also in ciuill diuision amongst themselves, together with the exiles, who varied not only vpon the prouisions & dayly counsels, but also considered for the forme of the future gouernment, seeking to impart and deuide being without the thing which could not be established but by such as were within: for which conditions after they had made a vaine batty vpon the wall, and had no harts to go to the assault, they began vnder those signes of dissolute dealing, to haue a very slender hope of the victory.

In these times the difficulties of the confederates increased in *Lumbardy*: for, notwithstanding the regiments of fise thousand *Swissers* leuied by Capitaine *Mus* and the Bishop of *Loda*, were last come to the army, yet for that the Duke of *Vrbino* held them not a number sufficient to execute the enterprise of *Millan*, there was expectation of another proportion of that nation, which they had sent to require of the Cantons in the name of the French king. They hoped the Cantons would not be hard to accord those leuies, though not for other hope, at least to deface the ignominy of the battell of *Pavia*, and that for the same reasons the bands of souldiers wold agree to go to the war with a ready corage, specially in so great a hope of the victory. But as in that nation who not many yeres before for their valor & for the authority they had won, had no small opportunities to get a very large dominion or iurisdiction, there was now no more neither the same desire of glory, nor any care of the interests of the comon-weale: so, of the contrary, hauing their minds ouercaried with incredible couetousnesse and appetites of gaine, they gaue themselves ouer as to the chiefeft end & honor of the exercise of war, to returne to their houses loden with mony & booty. In which humors, the generall Cantons hearkning to the solicitations of war, as marchants do in bargaines & marting, either publickly seruing their turnes of the necessity of others for their owne profit, or else hauing amongst them men whose minds were vendible & corrupted, they did either accord or refuse to depart with souldiers according to the working of those ends: and by their example the chiefe and speciall Capitaines, being labored to be entertayned into pay, did rise so much the higher, and made their demaunds so much the more intollerable, by how much they saw that Princes and comon-weales had neede of their seruice. In regard of these reasons, the French king summoning the Cantons according to the articles of the contract, to ayde him with men, who by common consent were to be paid with the forty thousand duckats which the king deliuered out of his treasure, the generall Cantons after many counsels and deliberations, made him aunswere according to their custome, that they would not agree to any leuies or muster of souldiers, vnlesse the king made them first contented of all the arrerages of their pensions which he was bound to pay by yearely reuenuue: which summes being great, and hard to be satisfied in a litle time, the kings agents were constrained to entertaine Capitaines particular and yet not without leaue and authority of the Cantons, who granted such power not without great difficulty; a course which besides the long tract and consuming of time which could not be but dangerous for the present estate of affaires, did neuerthelessse not succeed neither with that effect nor that reputation, which it would haue done if the consent and authority of the Lords of the Cantons had concurred. Vnder this occasion no lesse slanderous to the Duke of *Vrbino*, then hurtfull to the generall proceeding of the warre, the Imperials who in this meane while were dispensed with from all vexation of the enemies lying idly at *Marignan*, turned all their diligence to fortify *Millan*, not the body of the city as they did in the beginning of the war, but the ramparts & bastillions of the suburbs, which they did no more distrust to be able to defend, for that by how much the reputation of the enemies was diminished, by so much was their hope reconfirmed & their corage redoubled. And because they had take from all the inhabitants of *Millan* their armes & weapons, & had thrust out of the towne all persons suspected, much lesse that the Capitaines had now so great a feare or ieaousie as before, seeing they established their owne assurance by reducing the towne to so cruell a seruitude, that they stood carelesse to make payes to the soldiers: and lodging the bards by their tyranny in the houses of the inhabitants, they did not only compel the maisters & owners of houses to minister dayly food to the soldiers both plentifully & delicatly, but also to furnish them with mony for all other things which in their vanities & fancies they would desire, not forgetting to impose vpon them as much as the rigor of tyranny could deuise: which dealings were so intollerable to the Citizens, that they had no other remedy then, by stealth & secret wayes to fly from the

The inhabitants
of *Millan* ill
handed by the
Spaniards.

the place where were layd vp the monuments of their natiuities, the effect of their delights, and the rewards of all the pleasures and solace of their life: neither durst they seeke this miserable safety openly or manifestly, for that the eyes of those that oppressed them kept a seuerer espiall upon them. And the better to assure the souldiers of those rates and taxations imposed vpon euerie houtholder but especially the *Spaniards*, for in the Launceknights was a great modestie and fauour, the Captaines kept bound and in chaynes in their owne houses certaine principall houtholders with their wiues and little children, not omitting to expose euerie sexe and age to their abominable lust. By reason of this tyranny all the shops of *Millan* were shut in, and euery man sought to hide as secretly as he could, his goods and Jewels of most value, making also the same conueiance and bestowing of their riches and ornaments of Churches, which for all that were not altogether in surety: for that the souldiers vnder colour to search for armour and weapons, tooke liberty to ransacke all the corners of the towne, and in that insolent authoritie forced the seruants to disclose the goods of their maisters, which when they found, they imparted to the owners portions not according to equitie or conscience, but such as in their licentiousnesse they thought good. The face and vniuersall apparence of that Citie was made miserable, to behold the auncient inhabitants and glorie of the same reduced to an estate of extreame oppression; a matter worthie of great commiseration, and an incredible example of the mutation of fortune to such as had seene it few yeares before, most populous and rich in Citizens; plentiful in Marchants and Artificers, proud in pompes, and very sumptuous in ornaments for men and women, naturally addicted to feastings and pleasures, and not only full of reioycing and solace, but also most happy in all other nature of comfort and contentment for the life of man: where now it stood lamentably depriued of inhabitants, what by the stroke of the plague that raged there, & for the continuall euasions of such as fled from the violation of tyrants. Miserable was the apparence of men and women being most wretched in pouerty and nakednesse: no entercourse of Marchants or trade, which before was wont to enrich the Citie: and the chearfulnesse and spirits of men were wholly conuerted into a state of languishing dolor and feare. No, no other thing remayned of the glorious apparence of that City, then the foundations of houses and Churches, and yet euen in them was discerned a lamentable spectacle, in regard of the former memory of them. Neuerthelesse as there is no sorrow without his comfort, nor no mischiefe without his remedy, so their afflictions & heauinesse tooke some consolation for the coming of the Duke of *Burbon*, for that the bruit went he brought some reliefe to the army: and also in their misery they made this last perswasion, that for the retrait of the campe of the confederates, their necessities and dangers would somewhat diminish: and they hoped that the Duke to whom it was sayd the Emperour had giuen the Duchy of *Millan*, would for his owne interests, and the better to preserue the reuenues and estate of the City, take order against so licentious oppressions of the *Spaniards*. This was a naked hope without any stay or foundation, for that they knew by relation of their Embassadors whom they had sent to the Emperour, that there was no further expectation of remedy from him, either for that by his farre distance he could not apply necessary prouisions for their safety, or else (which they iudged by many experiences) the compassion of the oppressions and miseries of the people was far colder in him, then his desire for the interests of his estate to minister to the army & maintaine it: to the which because payments were not made in times due, neither his authority which was far off, nor the lawes of his Captaines ioyned to their presence, could not contayne the souldiers from insolencies and iniuries: neither did the Captaines, to insinuate and win the harts of the soldiers, & sharing also in the profit of so vniuersal a spoyle, labor much to restrain this licence of war, the rather for that vnder their complaints and excuses of want of payes, they cloked what so euer was done in insolency and oppression. In so much as the chiefeest within *Millan* about the residue, assembling in one great number, and expressing in their face, their attire, and whole apparence, the miserable estate of their countrey including also their owne wretched condition, went with many teares and complaints to seeke the Duke of *Burbon*, afore whose feete that spectacle of Citizens fell prostrate, and one of them deliuered the complaints of their grieve in this sorte.

Were it not that the heauy oppressions of this Citie, for their nature more bitter, and for their time more intollerable then euer raged ouer any city or countrey within the age or memory of me, did not hinder the due offices & humilities which in so generall inclination of the whole countrey

The inhabitants of *Millan* implore the compassion of the Duke of *Burbon*.

to haue a Prince proper and peculiar, our affections would offer & prefer, your coming (oh gra-
 cious Duke) had bene embraced with ceremonies and apparances agreeable to the glad-
 we receiue in the aspect of your gracious and honourable presence . For as to men liuing vnder a
 cloud of obscurity & darknesse, nothing is so sweet as the desire of light, & nothing more re-
 rable thē the vse & benefit of the same: so to the city of *Millan* so long restrained vnder the yoke of
 seruitude & oppression, no worldly thing could be offered of more felicity or comfort, thē to behold
 in your face the effect of our long expectatiō, & to receiue of the hand of the Emperour, a Prince of
 right noble discending, and in whom, in many actions and at sundry times, we haue experierced
 your wisdom, your iustice, your valor, your clemency, and your liberality: but our seuerer fortune,
 vnder whose lawes we are without all moderation subdued, constraineth vs (expecting our re-
 medy of none other thē of you) to powre out afore you our miseries, being greater without compari-
 son then those that any townes taken by assault did euer endure, by the fury, by the ambition, or
 lust of any tyrants that conquered them . Which things of themselues intollerable, yet made
 more grievous to vs by the cōtinual reproches heaped against vs, that they are made vs for
 punishmēt of our infidelity to the Emperour: as though the late tumults proceeded by publike con-
 sent, and not by the incitation of certaine yongmen sedicious, who in their rashnesse drew to their
 faction the commons, who by their pouerty were assured to loose nothing, and by their nature
 liue alwayes desirous of innouation: and therefore are a kind of people that with so much the more
 facility are allured to commotion, by how much they are compounded of humours replenished
 with errors & vaine perswasions, stirring at the appetite of euery thing that moueth thē, euen as the
 waues of the sea are caried with euery light wind that bloweth. And touching the accusations that
 are heaped against vs, we seeke not either for our excuse, or to make lesse the quality of the crime,
 to reduce into reckening the merits of the people of *Millan* (from the highest to the lowest) in the
 seruice of the Emperour in the yeares before: first when the whole city for the auncient deuotion
 to the name of the Emperour, rose against the gouernors and against the French king; an expe-
 rience reasonably inducing with what property of affection we sought to introduce the stabi-
 lity and supremacy of the Empire: Secondly when with so great constancy we bare out two most
 strait and hard besiegings, submitting willingly our victuals, houses and our mony to the commo-
 dity of the souldiers, & with thē chearefully exposed our persons to euery watch and ward, to all
 dangers, and to all actions of warre; an example of sufficient credit to iustify our faith & loyalty
 to the sacred name of the Emperour: And thirdly when at the battell of *Bicocque* the inhabitants
 of our towne defended with so braue resolution, the bridge, the onely passage by the which the
 French were to pierce euen into the bowels of the Imperiall army; a confirmation without resi-
 stance, that we preferred the defence of the Emperours cause before the safety of our owne liues.
 Then was our faith recommended, then was our valor reputed to vs for good, & then was our con-
 stancy lifted vp to the third heauen, both by *Prosper Colonne*, the Marquis of *Pesquiere*, and the
 other Captaines. And in these actiōs we may truly call vpo the testimony of your Excellency, since
 being present in the war which the Admirall *Bonniuet* made, your eyes saw, your tongue comen-
 ded, & your hart did oftē maruell at so great fidelity, and so assured disposition: but it agreeth not
 with our condition to insist vpon the memory of these things, nor to counterpeise merits with of-
 fences, since our misery present offreth to stand against all operatiōs of merits or seruices past. And
 if now there can be found in the people of *Millan*, any humor, any vaine, or any inclination of ill
 affection against the Emperour, we lay our selues downe to what penalties shall be determined
 vpon vs, yea much lesse that we wil speake in our iustification, seeing we will more willingly sub-
 mit our neckes to the blocke, then hold for vniust the sentence that condemneth vs: only we loued
 not a litle *Francis Sforce*, as a Prince giuen vnto vs by the Emperour, and as one in whose father,
 grandfather, & brother had bin inuested a cōmandement and gouernment ouer vs: and we could
 do no lesse then honor him for the peculiar expectatiō that euery one had of his vertue. For which
 causes it brought no litle grieue vnto vs to see him so suddenly deuested & dispoyled without in-
 formatiō of the cause, yea we were not certified that he had cōspired any thing against the Empe-
 ror, but of the cōtrary, both he & others assured vs, that it proceeded rather of the ambitiō of him
 that gouerned the army, then of any cōmission from the Emperour: and yet the whole city passed
 an oath of fidelity to the Emperour, & submitted thēselues to the obedience of his Captaines. Such
 was the resolutiō of the city, such was the vniuersal cōsel of the Magistrates, such was the publike
 consent

content of the inhabitants, and such was the forwardnesse & fidelity of the nobility, whom to persecute thus for faults particular, there is neither law of reason, iustice, nor example. But euen in the very dayes of the tumults our faith was shewed according to the quality of the places that we held, for both in the beginning of the stir, & in the heat & fury thereof, we sayled not to labor with our authority & positions to make them leaue armes: and in the last day of the tumult there were none others then we that induced the chieffaines & seditious yongmen to go out of the city, and perswaded the commons to submit to the obedience of the Emperours Captaines. But both the commemoration of our actions and merits, and our iustifications against the infamies heaped against vs, might haply be necessary or conuenient, if there were any correspondency betweene the punishments we endure, and the faults we haue committed, or at least if our afflictions did not farre exceede our offences: but there is great difference betweene the one and the other, for we may boldly say (and we say it in our owne trueth) that if all the calamities, all the cruelties, all the inhumanities (without speaking for our honour of filthy lust or violation) which at any time within the memory of men haue bene endured by any City, any people, or any congregation of inhabitants, were gathered together and reduced into one presence, they would make but a little part of those miseries which we wretchedly do suffer, not for a moment, not for an houre, not a day, but continually and without intermission: seeing that in one instant we are dispoyled of all our substance, free men liue tormented with bondage, our wiues are imprisoned in their houses, and kept chayned by the souldiers, who with a perpetuall rage runne vpon vs for vituals, for money, for armour, for all their wants; and in their licentiousnesse will not be vsed as belongeth to men of war, but as best liketh their insolent fancies. If we be not able to furnish them daily with fresh supplies of money, they driue vs to seeke to do that which is impossible to our estate, and in their cruelty they constraine vs with threatens, with iniuries, with beatings, and with all sorts of outrages: so that there is not one of vs which interpreteth not to a singular grace and felicity to abandon to pray and spoyle all our goods, and for the sauing of our wretched liues, to fly barefoote out of *Millan*, and for euer to loose the solace of our countrey, which for euer hath preserved vs still this accursed day. In the time of our auncestors *Federike Barberosso* made desolate this City, and executed no small cruelties against the inhabitants, against the buildings, and against the wals: but alas the miseries of that time hold no comparision with the calamities of vs wretches, not only for that the tyrannie of the enemy is more easie to be endured, as being more iust, then the cruelty vniust of a friend, but also for that one day, two dayes, three dayes, sufficed to glut the wrath and inhumanitie of the victor, and the punishments of the vanquished tooke end: but with vs it is more then a moneth that we haue bene exercised vnder these miseries, wherein our torments haue increased by so many degrees of cruelty, by how many haue bene the dayes and houres since our persecution: yea we endure those crosses which before we would haue thought had bene impossible to the state of humane condition, and as men reprobate and damned to eternall perdition, we suffer without hope to see an end of our woes. Onely the confidence we haue resteth in your vertue and clemencie, vpon which we make our implorations, that you would not suffer this Citie lawfully made yours, and committed to your protection, to be wholly deuoured with the iawes of Lions and Tigers: wherein reclaiming vs with that propertie of pietie, besides the perpetuall honour of your name to be the onelie patron and restorer of this Citie, yet you shall settle and establish more in one day your principalitie with the goodwill and deuotion of subiects, then other new Princes do in manie yeares with armes and forces. For end, all our petitions, all our humilities, all our oblations, and all our desires tend to this, that if for anie cause whatsoeuer, your will be estranged to deliuer vs from this infinite oppression, or if you stand curious or restrayned by anie inducement to remoue from our neckes the yoke of this intollerable seruitude, at least we beseech you with the dearest teares of our inward hearts and affections, that you will turne against vs, and discharge vpon this people, vpon vs all, vpon euery one, vpon euery sexe, and vpon euery age, the furie, the forces, the fire, and the artilleries of your armie. In which action, we will conster to a speciall felicitie, to die by the stroke of your hand rather at one blow, then by languishing in our present miseries, to die by degrees more grievous, then the life and breath that is left vs can suffer. And if you haue no other remedie to comfort vs, your pietie shall be so much the more commended, to adde the last ende to our calamities, by how much more their inhumanitie will be detested, who seeke to leade vs

in a lingring death, and yet will not adde the blow that should dispatch vs : neither shall it be lesse easie for vs to end in this sort our most wretched life, then such as loue vs will be glad with this kind of our death, euen as fathers and parentes are wont to reioyce at the birth of their children.

These words were followed with the teares and weepings of the whole assistant, to whom the Duke answered with a chearfull affability, that he was no lesse agrieved with their infelicities, then touched with remorse and desire to relecue them: which compassion he told them he would extend as much as in him lay, not only vpon the City, but also ouer the whole Duchy: he excused the insolencies done, that they were not only against the will of the Emperour, but also contrary to the intencion of all the Captaines, whom for that there was no meane to pay the soldiers, necessity had induced to consent rather to such outrages, then to abandon *Millan*, and leaue the city in danger, and put all the estate which the Emperour had in *Italy* in manifest pray to the enemies. He told them he had brought with him some quantity of money, but not sufficient to content the souldiers to whom many payes were due: neuerthelesse if the City of *Millan* would furnish him with thirty thousand duckats for the pay of one moneth, that he would cause the army to issue out of *Millan* and bestow them elsewhere, assuring them that though at other times they had bin abused in the like promises, the custome of other men should breed no law in him, for that he would alwayes obserue his faith and word, vpon the which they might assuredly repose themselves, which he confirmed with this last addition, that if he fayled them, he wished his head might be taken from his shoulders by the first shot of Cannon from the enemies. But albeit such a summe, (both for the quantity which was great to men already consumed, & for the suddenesse, wherein was matter of more astonishment to those who were already amazed) was hard to be found in the City so much wasted, yet the miseries they endured in lodging the soldiers being greater then all other degrees of calamities, they accepted the condition of the Duke, and began to make provision with as great diligence as they could. But their calamities were rather suspended then ended, for that albeit one part of the souldiers amongst whom was imparted ratably the money that was leuied, were sent to lodge in the suburbs of *Rome* gate and the gate of *Tosa*, and there both to gard the ramparts, and worke at the fortifications, & also to labour at the trench towards the garden where *Prosper Colonne* had made one before: yet they retayned still no lesse then the others that abode in the towne, the same lodgings they had, and continued to handle their hostes with the same rudenesse: wherein it seemed the Duke of *Burbon* held no reckening of his promise, or at least (as was beleued) he was not able to resist the rage and insolency of the souldiers, being entertayned and pushed on in that humour by certaine Captaines, who either by will, or through ambition, or for hatred, gaue impediments to his counsels. But the miserable people of *Millan* being thus depriued of their last hope, and hauing not where to make their further recourse, fell into such an estate of dispayre, that some of them, to put end by dying to so many miseries and cruelties, which they could not ouercome by liuing, threw themselves headlong from the top of their houses into the streetes, and some did wretchedly hang themselves: and yet notwithstanding all those grieuous spectacles, neither the rauine, nor rage, nor inhumanitie of the souldiers could be any way appeased. In that time also the plaine countrey was in poore condition, being no lesse ransackt by the souldiers of the Confederates, who as they were received at first with a great ioy and desire, so not long after, their inhumanities and extortions had conuerted the first affections of the people into iust hatreds; a corruption which generally ranne amongst the men of warre of that time, who taking example by the *Spaniards*, wasted their friends as well as they destroyed their enemies: for, notwithstanding in many chaunges of times, the liberty of souldiers had bene great in *Italy*, yet it had taken infinite augmentation of the footemen of the *Spaniards*, though not vpon iust cause, yet for reasons necessary, for that in all the warres of *Italy* they were alwayes ill payd: so that vnder the colour of examples, notwithstanding they had a beginning excusable, yet they proceeded and continued alwayes from ill to worse. By whose rule, the *Italians* albeit they had not the same necessity, for that their payes were orderly performed, yet making the custome of the *Spaniards* a law to them, they beganne not to be inferiour to them in any course of enormities. In which corruption, to the great contempt of the discipline of war of that time, the soldiers waighed in one ballance both their friends and their enemies, and

to both peoples and countries were no lesse desolated by such as were paid to defend them, then those that receiued their payes to inuade and spoyle them.

About this time the besieged within the Castle of *Millan* were reduced to such straights for want of victuals, that they were at point to render the Castle: but because for their longer holding out, certaine of the chiefe confederates entertained them with hopes to be succoured, they thrust out in the night at the Castle gate which hath his prospect vpon the trenches that enuironed it without, more then three hundred footmen, women, children, & mouthes vnprofitable: who albeit the enemies that warded at that place, hearing the noise of their going, gaue the alarme to the residue, yet they passed away all in safety without any impediment, finding fauour in the straightnesse of the trenches and ayde of their pikes. There were two trenches about two stons cast from the Castle, and betweene them both a rampart of fortie fadomes high, which rampart as it serued as a guard against the Castle, so also it couered such as without would assaile the trenches. This miserable troupe excluded out of the Castle, went to *Marignan*, where the armie was, and giuing good testimonie of the extremity wherein the Castle was, and no lesse experience of the weakenesse of the trenches, for that both women and litle children found passage through them, the Captaines by their relation turned easies to deuise for the succour of the Castle, with who did readily concurre the Duke of *Vrbis*, to the end he would not take vpon himselfe alone the burthen of the excuse, which he supposed would not be now so easie as before, for that his army being now possessed of a strength of fiew thousand *Swissers*, there was cut off the principall cause of daunger alleaged to make their approaches to *Millan* without other footment then the *Italians*: so that it was set downe with a full consent of counsell, that the armie should directly addresse their approaches to the castle, and commaunding the Churches of *S. Gregorie* and *S. Angelo*, neighbours to the counter-scarps, they should encampe below *Millan*. With which resolution the armie brake vp from *Marignan*, and for the impediments of the wayes, being cloyed with hilles and ditches, they marched foure dayes by wayes troublesome, and the xxij. of Iulie they came to incampe betweenthe Abbey of *Casaret* and the tiuer of *Ambro*, in a place commonly called *Ambro*: in which place the Duke chaunging the first direction set downe in the counsell, gaue order to dispose the lodgings of the armie in such sort, that the front of the campe might haue his prospect vpon the Abbey of *Casaret*, which is within a mile of *Millan*, and keeping the riuer of *Ambra* vpon his backe, it might stretch out on the right hand vntill the harbour, and on the left hand vntill the bridge: so that the lodgings of the armie bare directly betweene the gate of *Renze* and the gate of *Tosa*, and holding litle of the new gate, it bare a strong situation and disposition, as well for those regards, as for the nature of the countrey. The Duke alleaged that he had exchanged the lodging of the Monasteries for that place, both for that it was more neare the Castle, and also not so farre vnderneath the walles, as to be put into daunger by any compulsion, and withall, for that threatning the enemies in manie places, they should be constrained to bestow guards in seuerall quarters; a matter which for their small number increased not a litle their difficulties. And now the armie being incamped in those lodgings, some regiments were sent out the same day to besiege the towne of *Monce*, which they tooke by composition, and the day following with artilleries they subdued the Castle, wherein was a garrison of an hundred footmen Neapolitans: there the Captaines began to deuise straightly how to put victuals within the Castle of *Millan*, which they were informed was reduced to such a state of necessity, that there was intention to send out *Francois Sforce*: and albeit there were amongst them many Captaines, who either for that simply such was their opinion, or else to shew themselves forward and valiant in those things which were to be determined with a greater daunger of honour and reputation to others then to themselves, gaue counsell to giue a charge vpon the trenches: yet the Duke seeing into the perill and desperate hazard of the exploit, would not be against it openly, but objecting difficulties, and temporizing with delayes, he hindred that there was made no conclusion: in so much as the deliberation being referred ouer till the next day, the Captaines of the *Swissers* demaunded to be introduced into the counsell, which neuer till then was permitted to them: and, Captaine *Mus*, who for that he had leauied the greatest part of them, and retained amongst them the title of Captaine Generall, alleaged in the behalfe of all his nation: that they maruelled not a litle that the war being begun for the rescue of the castle of *Millan*, whose necessities redoubled by so much time as it was deferred, they stood to dispute vainly

whether they should succour it or not, at a time when was more necessitie of courage and execution: That he did not doubt but in such a counsell would be set downe a resolution agreeable to the vniuersall safetie of the state of *Millan*, to the honour of so many braue Captaines, & to the reputation of so flourishing an armie: in which case he let them to vnderstand, that the Captaines and souldiers of his nation would interpret it to their great iniurie and shame, if in the approaching and action of the castle, they were not referred both to that place, and to that part of the perill, which the fidelity and honour of their nation did deserue. Lastly, he protested that in taking that counsell he would not faile to reduce them not to keepe so great a memorie of such a with infamie had lost the enterprises begun before, as therby they should passe into forgetfulnesse the glorie and fortune of those that had vanquished.

As they stood vpon consuming of time about these counsels and deliberations, wherein was manifestly discerned, that the Duke of *Vrbino* was of opinion that the Castle could not be succoured, newes came to the campe (though not very certaine) that the Castle had compounded with the Imperials, or at least was vpon the point to capitulate. These aduertisements were easily beleecued of the Duke, who alleaged in the presence of the whole Counsell, that though the accord could not be but preiudiciall to the Duke of *Millan*, yet it was agreeable and profitable to the affaires of the League, seeing it tooke them out of the daunger, which either desire or necessitie to relecue the Castle might haplie bring vpon the armie, being caried with rash and soudaine minds to aduenture to do the thing which in reason and experience of warre held almost of impossibility: insomuch as that danger being now taken away, they were to begin of new to consult and deliberate vpon the proceedings of the warre, in the same sort, as if it were the first day of the beginning of the same: so litle a thing hapning accidentally doth alter the whole estate and resolution of great affaires. But not manie dayes after the Campe was credibly aduertised that the composition was past: for the Duke of *Millan*, who saw the Castle reduced to such an extremity for victuals, that it could scarcely hold out one day, and being altogether out of hope to be rescued, for that he saw no aduancing of the campe of the League, who had lyen so neare two dayes, was driuen by the consideration of his owne perill, & not to be found vnready to entertaine the parley which had bene begun many dayes before with the Duke of *Burbon*, who after the retiring of the armie, was sent to visite him in the Castle, and there the .xxiiij. of Iuly they fell to accord in this sort: That without preiudice to his rights and interests he should deliuer vp the Castle of *Millan* to the Captaines appointed to receiue it in the Emperours name, who promised him to depart in safetie, together with those companies that were with him: That it should be lawfull for him to remaine at *Coma*, which was deliuered to him, with the gouernment and reuenues of the same towne, vntill they had receiued further direction from the Emperour touching his affaires: and that there should be added so much of other nature of reuenues, as should in the whole amount to thirty thousand duckets yearly: That they should giue him safe conduct to go in person to the Emperour, with obligation to content the souldiers that were within the Castle for all their payes due and past, which were supposed to amount vnto twentie thousand duckets: That the Duke of *Millan* should put into the hands of the Pronotarie *Caraccioli*, *Iohn Angelo Riccio*, and *Politiano*, to the end he might examine them, neuerthelesse *Caraccioli* to giue his faith to suffer them to go away afterwards, and to giue them safe conduct to some place of suretie: That the Duke should deliuer the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who was prisoner within the Castle of *Cremona*, and that new Castle in *Tortono* should be deliuered to *Sforzino*. In this conuention there was no speech made of the Castle of *Cremona*, which being no longer able to resist the rage of hunger, the Duke had giuen charge to *Iames Philip Sacco*, whom he had sent to the Duke of *Burbon* to promise it to the Imperials, if composition could not be obtained otherwise: but he discerning by their words and maner of dealing what desire they had to accord, and declaring vnto them that the Duke could neuer passe such a matter, obtained so much that there should be nothing spoken of it: for albeit the Captaines Imperials had great coniectures that the Castle had no great store of victuals, and that the necessitie of the defendants would ere it were long make them satisfied of the end and expectation of their intention: yet being desirous to be assured of it, they were determined to accept it vnder any conditions, for that they stood doubtfull whether the armie of the League that lay neare, would aduenture to succour it. In which case hauing no confidence to be able to defend the trenches, they had resolved to issue

The Castell of
Millan rendered to the
Imperials.

on into the field and fight: which doubtfull euent of fortune they were willing to auoyd in accepting what conditions they could obtaine of the Duke, who the day following issued out of the castle, and being accompanied with manie of the Imperiall Captaines euen as farre as the barriers and limits of the army, he taried there one day, and afterwards he tooke the way to *Coma*, the Imperials standing vpon this, that they had promised to giue him safe retraite and lodging within *Coma*, but not to make depart out of the towne their companies of soldiers that were there in garrison. In regard of which dealing, he saw no cause to repose further confidence in them, & albeit he had determined before to do nothing that might incense or stir vp the mind of the Emperour, yet for his safety he tooke the way to *Loda*, which City the Confederates restored wholly into his hands: and there, for that there was no one article of the capitulations obserued to him, sauing that he & his companies came away in safety, he ratified by publike instrument, the league made in name by the Pope and *Venetians*.

But in this time albeit the Pope, who for the commotion of the *Colonnos*, had published a Bull against the Cardinall and all others of the family of *Colonna*: yet seeing his hope to chaunge the gouernment of *Sienna* much diminished, and no lesse grieuous and troublesome to him to be vexed and trauelled in the territories of *Rome*, he began with better inclination to open his eares to *Don Hugo de Moncado*, who not with intention to contract with him, but to make him more negligent in aduancing his prouisions, made a motion that vnder certaine conditions, the offences should cease against the *Siennos*, and all quarrels betweene him & the *Colonnos*: and to deale in this negociation, *Vespasian Colonna*, whom the Pope trusted much, came to *Rome*, by which occasion the Pope hauing lost all hope of successe about *Sienna*, and treating to leaue the armie from before the walles, delayed the execution of that good counsell, expecting to runne into a lesse slaunder, to make it breake vp as soone as the accord now in negociation should be concluded: and yet for the disorders and confusions of the armie, which went increasing, it was determined at *Florence* that it should retire: but sodaine and straunge be the accidents of warre: the day before the armie was appointed to depart, a regiment of foure hundred footemen issuing out of the towne, marched towards the artilleries which were guarded by *James Corso*, who seeing the faces of the souldiers comming, ranne away in feare from the place that he had promised to defend: by whose example, together with the noise and brute of the accident comming to the armie, the whole armie hauing neither order nor obedience, tooke to flying, being neither charged nor followed. In which confusion of running away, there was struiuing who could make best speed, and for the desire they had to escape the daunger which their timorous imaginations stirred vp, the desire to flie was all one in the Captaines and in the souldiers, and in the horsemen and the footemen, nothing being able to assure them, in whose eares the noise of feare did continually ring: they left to the enemies their victuals, their baggage, and artilleries, of which ten peeces great and small belonging to the *Florentines*, and seuen appertaining to *Perouza*, were caried into *Sienna* with so litle gladnes, tending almost to a triumph. By the example of this accident, the people began with gerat shouting and cries to renew the infamies deserued by the *Florentines* in the like case loosing long time before (euen afore the walles of *Sienna*) their artilleries, which were guarded vpon the publike place of the same citie. This chafe was giuen the day after the rendring of the Castle of *Millan* to the Imperials. At which time also the publike calamities of all Christendome being added to afflictions particular, the Pope had aduertisement out of *Hungary*, that *Solyman Ottoman*, who was come from *Constantinople* with a mighty armie to inuade the kingdom of *Hungarie*, hauing passed the riuier of *Sauo* without impediment, by the commodity of *gare*, *Belgrade*, which he had subdued few yeares before, had taken the Castle of *Peter Varadin*, and passed the riuier of *Drauo*: in so much as hauing no impediment of mountaines or riuers, the rage of the Turke was like to reduce the whole kingdom of *Hungarie* into manifest daunger.

Now for as much as the Castle of *Millan* was fallen into the hands of the Emperour, it seemed that in *Italy* the state of the warre was wonderfully chaanged: wherein the Duke of *Vrbino* tooke his reason vpon necessity to take new counsels, such as they should haue set downe and taken, if from the beginning of the warre the Castle of *Millan* had not bene in the hands of *Frauncis Sforce* and in that regard the same day the Castle was rendred, amplifying a discourse which he made to the Popes Lieutenant and Treasurer of *Venice*, touching the estate of affaires, he added that it was necessarie to create a Captaine generall ouer the whole League, to take

charge and commaund all the armies: wherein he said he ioyned with himselfe the interests and respects of others, being determined for his owne particular, without that authoritie, not to intangle himselfe with care of anie other thing then to commaund ouer the *Venetian* armie; a resolution which he prayed them to signifie to the Pope and *Venetians*. Whereupon the Senate agreed, the rather to remoue him from that demaund, which was made in a tyme so inconuenient, and so greatly discontenting to the Pope, to send to the campe *Louis Pisan* a Gentleman of great authority, by whose working his vehement inclination was rather moderated, then his determination altered. But touching the maner of proceeding in the warre hereafter, it was determined that the armie should not remoue from the place where it was, till the *Swissers* were come, who were waged vnder the name, & with the money of the French king. The Duke of *Vrbino* thought it necessarie after they were come, to lie about *Millan* in two seuerall quarters, not to assaile it, or proue to force it, but to hold it languishing, till for want of victuals it were driuen to yeeld, which he hoped wold come to passe within three moneths. He was with great vehemency against the opinion of those, who counselled, that after the campe was settled, they should aduenture to take the towne, wherein he inferred that the League, being mightie in men and money, and the Imperials in necessitie of both, all reasons and inducements of warre promised the victorie of the enterprise: he said there was not one argument for the which the contrarie ought to be feared, but the desire to aduance the victorie, for that the enemies consuming themselves with time and patience, there was nothing to stop the good course and successe of things. He was answered, that the discourse he made was strong and credible, if he stood assured that there would not come out of *Germany* a new succour of footmen, which if it were such as to enable the Imperials to take the field, there was no doubt that the euent of the whole warre would not be exposed to the arbitrement of fortune. But he replied, that euen in that case he made no lesse account of the victorie, for that knowing the Duke of *Vrbino* to be of nature burning and actiue, he made this iudgement of him, that whensoever he esteemed himselfe to be equall in forces with the armie of the confederates, he would aduance so fast, as by his rashnesse would rise occasion of some good accident to hasten the victorie: but because for the difficulties which they vnderstood fell out in leauying them, they feared they would draw a long tract of time in conning, which might bring danger: it was determined by the counsell of the Duke of *Vrbino* and solicitation of the Duke of *Millan*, to send out *Malatesta Baillon* with an armie of three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, and fiue thousand footmen to take the towne of *Cremona*, which they supposed might be easily forced, for that it contained not but an hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, a thousand Launceknights of choice, and three hundred *Spaniards*, verie small store of artilleries, lesse quantity of munitions, and a slender prouision of victuals: the inhabitants notwithstanding they were appalled in courage, yet they were enemies to the Imperials: and the Castle no lesse hatefull to the name of the Emperour: and albeit the Castle was separate from the Citie by a trench, yet by the report of *Hanniball Piccianard*, who was Captaine, it was easie to surmount the flanks, and by that meane to carie it without danger. With these directions and counsels *Malatesta* went to *Cremona*, for whose departure the armie being diminished, the Duke of *Vrbino* fell into no small feare, least the regiments that were within *Millan* should giue them in the night a Canuifado in their lodgings, so farre were things remoued from all hope of the victorie: neuerthelesse *Iohn de Medicis* prouoked many skirmishes, and perfourmed them, wherein notwithstanding he made manie good impressions of his valour, with no lesse declaration of the vertue of the Italian footmen, which had not bene seene but sithence he had the charge of them; yet those skirmishes did rather hurt then helpe the substance of the warre, for that ordinarily they consumed some of the most braue and best experienced soldiers.

Here is to be noted, that for these aduersities and contrary euents of affaires, the Pope was growne into a maruellous discouragement and appalement of mind, both for that he was not prouided of money to furnish the long traine of the warre, which he now discerned, and also not disposed to make leauies of treasures by such meanes as the importance of the affaires required, and such as other Popes afore him had wont to vse to releue those wants: but the thing that troubled him most, was, that he saw not that the effects of the French king were correspondent to the obligations of the league, and to the assurance and promise which euery one made of him: for, besides he

was long before he wold make payment of the fortie thousand duckets for the first moneths pay, and giue order for the leauing of the *Swissers*: yet there was not discerned in him any preparatiō to begin the warre beyond the Mounts: no rather he found reasons to alleage, that it was first necessary to signifie to the Emperour what had bene contracted in the articles of the confederation, for that otherwise the king of *England*, who had a particular league with the Emperour for their common defence, might haply minister aide vnto him, where, if signification were made, regard and coniecture would cease; and that then he would immediatly begin the warre, hoping that the king of *England* wold do the like, who promised as soone as signification were made, to protest against the Emperour, and then to enter into the confederation made at *Coignac*. Moreover, the French king proceeded coldly to prepare his army by sea: and the thing that discovered more his intention was, that the five hundred Launces which he was bound to send into *Italy*, were long in passing the Mounts: against which albeit was alleaged, that such a tract & lingering proceeded either of the negligence of the Frenchmen, which is naturall to that nation, or of the disability to recover mony which hapned by the losse of credite the last yeares with the Marchants of *Lyon*, or for that the companies of men at armes were in verie ill point, for their losses receiued in the battell of *Pavia*, and had not bene repaired with any money since: so that they could not reorder and refurnish themselves, but with the fauor of a good time: yet such as made a more neare obseruation of things, began to doubt by the proceedings of the French, least to the king was more agreeable the lingering of the warre, then the expedition of the victorie: they supposed he feared (according to the small fidelity and confidence amongst Princes in those times) that the *Italians* recouering once the Duchy of *Millan*, and by that meane making small account of his interests, wold either grow to accord without him with the Emperour, or at least wold be negligent so to vex and trauell him, as not to induce or cōpell him to restore his children. But the matter that most kept the Pope in suspence, was, that the king of *England* being required to enter the confederation that was made by his perswasions & setting on, & expressing now no correspondencie of reasons, & promises which he had made before: made a demaund, more to protract and defer, then for other occasion, that the Confederates wold be bound to satisfie him of the money which the Emperour ought him, & that the estate & reuenues promised to him in the kingdome of *Naples* might by assignation be paid out of the Duchy of *Millan*. Moreover, the Pope feared least the family of the *Colonnas*, who with many cōmotions held him in continuall suspicion, wold not in the end rise to inuade him with the forces of the realme of *Naples*: so that making a collection & consideration of all these difficulties & dangers together, he made vehement instance to the Confederates, that notwithstanding euery one in particular should sollicite & aduance such prouisions both by sea & land as they were bound vnto by the articles of the League, yet he perswaded the in generall, to make a common inuasion vpon the kingdome of *Naples* with an armie of a thousand light horsemen, twelue thousand footmen, & a conuenient number of men at armes. He took his reason of this deuise vpon the experience of things done til that day, & iudged that afterwards there wold succeed no better issue, if they vexed not the Emperour with war in other places then in the Duchy of *Millan*: and for the better aduancing of this expedition, he dispatched to the French king *Iohn Baptista Sanga*, a Romane, and one of his Secretaries, both to pull him on with a better inclination to the war, and to impart with him the estate of his wants and pouertie of mony, together with the small meanes he had to go on with so heauy a burthen of expences, if he were not eased with some quantity of money from him: that he was determined to hearken presently to the war of *Naples*, notwithstanding the articles of the confederation bare not to do any action vpon that kingdome, so long as the warre should endure in *Lombardy*: that the *Venetians* notwithstanding to auoid so great expences, had made difficulty in the beginning, yet being caried with his importunities, they had consented to be concurrant in the action, and that without the French king, but with so much lesse numbers of men as imported his part and contribution: that the French king for that cause ouer and besides the 500 Launces, to whō he was minded to giue for Generall and Commander the Marquis of *Salussa*, more for the fortune and felicitie, then for valour and vertue of the man, as he said, wold also send another proportion of three hundred Launces into *Lombardy*, to the end to administer one part of them to the warres of *Naples*: that he wold sollicite the comming on of the armie by sea, and that either to hold *Genes* short and restrained with it, or else to conuert it against the kingdome of *Naples*: which armie, albeit the

*The Pope mo-
ueth the Con-
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realme of Na-
ples.*

Frenchmen led on with as slow aduancements as they vsed in the other prouisions, yett went on still in forwardnesse. The kings nauie contained foure gallions and sixteene light Gallies, the *Venetians* contained thirteen Gallies, & the Popes eleuen: ouer all which Nauy, reduced into one Admiralty, *Peter Namarre* was appointed Captaine generall at the kings instance, notwithstanding the Pope could haue wished that dignity to haue bene transferred to *Andrew Dore*. Besides all these instructions & commissions, the Pope gaue a secret charge to *Sanga*, to perswade the French king to vndertake the enterprise of *Millan* for himself, to the end to entangle him with that occasion, and to imbarke him into the war with all his forces. Moreover, *Sanga* was enioyned to go out of *Fraunce* to the king of *England*, to demand succors of mony, seeing the king of that realme (desiring greatly in the beginning the warre against the Emperour, so farre forth as the League were negotiated in *England*, according to his desire and the Cardinals of *York*) would enter the League, as was beleueed: but the nature of the time, and necessity of the Cattle of *Millan* not suffering a long treaty or conference, when he saw the League was made by others, he thought he might hold the ballance, and stand as a looker on and a Iudge. The Pope also solicited both at the perswasions of the *Venetians*, and at the request of the French king, who had sent to that end the Bishop of *Bayeux* to *Ferrara*, to haue composed the controuersies that were betwene him and that Duke: but he handled that action more in apparence then in effect, making vnto him many offers, and amongst others, to giue him *Rauenna* in counterchaunge of *Modena* and *Reggio*; a couerture or colour which the Duke made no reckening of, not onely for that by taking a new heart for the retiring of the armie from before the walles of *Millan*, he was more hardly then before drawne to like of the offers that were made, and chiefly that of *Rauenna*, but also for the great difference and inequalitye of the reuepues, and that he tooke it to be a meane to driue him with time into contention with the *Venetians*.

Prouisions of
the Emperour
against the
Confederates.

These were the practises, preparations & operations of the confederats, deferred, broken off, & changed, according to the ends, and according to the counsels of the Princes that managed them. But the Emperour, whose deliberations depended wholly of himselfe, was neither negligent nor irresolute, so far forth as his power & forces stretched: for, after the French king, at the instance of the Confederates, had denied to the *Viceroy* leaue to passe into *Italy*, which he demanded with great affection, the *Viceroy* refusing to take the kings present, which was supposed to be in value twenty thousand Crownes, departed and tooke his way into *Spaine*, bearing with him a writing written with the kings hand, wherein he protested a readinesse to obserue the accord of *Madrill*, so farre forth as he would conuert the restitution of *Burgundy* into an exchange and paiment of two millions of Crownes: by whose relation, the Emperour seeing now no further hope of obseruation in the king, determined to send by sea into *Italy* the *Viceroy* with the Launceknights that were in *Parpignan*, being almost three thousand, with the like number of Spanish footmen, containing in all a number of sixe thousand: he gaue order also to send a new supply of an hundred thousand duckets to *Millan*, and albeit he solicited the expedition of the army by sea, yet it could not be ready with speed according to his expectation, for that besides the time to muster and assemble the Spanish souldiers, there was necessity to pay the Launceknights an hundred thousand duckets, due vpon their wages past: furthermore he addressed continuall directions into *Germany* to send to *Millan* new succours of footmen, but both for that he gaue no order for their payes, and also for the disability of his brother to leaue money, that expedition proceeded slowly: and yet by the delays and ill successe and issue of the confederates, no sort of temporising or slownesse could be hurtfull: for *Malatesta Baillon*, being come before *Cremona*, planted his artilleries by night on the seuenth of August before the gate of *la Mussa*, iudging that place to be weake, for that it was ill flanked, and worse rampared: and for that he thought at the same time to giue the assault on the castle side, he supposed it best to make his batterie in a place farre off, to the end to constrain the defendants to deuide their strength into sundrie places: neuerthelesse after his artilleries had executed, he found the place strong, and fortified with ramparts, and the wall which he battered so high of earth, that the discent into the towne would be too troublesome: the same being the cause that he would not giue the assault, but with a counsell quite contrarie he determined to beginne a new batterie neare the Castle, in a place called *Santa Monaca*, which afore time had bene battered by *Federike Bossolo*: and at the same time he caused to cut two trenches vpon the Castle greene, of the which one of them drew on the right hand towards the riuer of

Pau, where the defendants of the Castle had made two trenches: he hoped by the commodity of his trench, to take from them a Bastillion neare to the which there was souldiers already arrived, and which Bastillion was in their first trench neare the wall of the towne: if he won it, he said his plot to serue his turne by the benefite of it, and to make it a Cavalier or Mount to batter along the walle, which the Frenchmen at other times had battered. For which cause the Imperials made another bastillion behind their hindermost trench: the other trench which *Malatesta* cast, was on the left hand towards the wall, and so neare to theirs, that they ioyned within the casting of stones; he determined to begin his batterie as soone as the trenches were made, according to his deuse, to the which the artilleries of the enemies gaue no great impediment, for that within *Cremona* were but foure Falconets, which they applyed but seldome by reason of their necessitie of munitions and powder: yet the souldiers that were footmen within, ceased not to make sallies out, and vexed those that laboured at the trenches, whom they oftentimes put to great distresse, notwithstanding they had a great guard. By reason of which impediments increasing with other difficulties and daungers, *Malatesta* who was vncertaine what to do, confounded with little praise to himselfe by diuerse iudgements and letters, all the Captaines of the armie, who finding the action of *Cremona* to multiply in difficulties, sent to his campe a regiment of twelue hundred Launceknights newly leauied by the *Venetians* at a ioynt charge and expences with the Pope: and not many dayes after, to the end to reconcile the discord and ielousie growne betweene *Malatesta* and *Iulius* *Manfron* the Treasurer *Pezaro*, who after a great reconciliation, was now become more agreeable to the Duke of *Vrbino*, went also to his campe with a strength of three thousand footemen: but *Malatesta* continued his batteries, and the night before the thirteenth of August, he planted foure peeces of artilleries betweene *Saint Lukes* gate and the Castle, to take a Bastillion, where, after he had executed almost all the day, he made an opening or breach into the trench, hoping to carie the Bastillion the same night: but about foure houres within night there issued out of the towne a small crue of Launceknights, who gaue a charge vpon those that guarded the trenches, containing both within and without more then a thousand footemen: and after they had put them in disorder, they forced the guard to abandon the charge: neuerthelesse they were compelled the day after to go away, so that the trench that had bene made with so great paine and industrie, remained abandoned, as well on the one part as on the other. But amid these actions it seemed fortune would play a part, offering to be fauourable to those without, if they could haue knowne how to discern: or to take the occasion: for, as in the night of the fourteenth day, about forty sadome of wall fell of it selfe; betweene *Saint Lukes* gate and the Castle, whereto was deuoured and lost one peece of their artilleries in the ruines: so if they had taken the aduantage of this accident, and followed on with the assault as soone as the day had appeared, the defendants, whose feare was redoubled with the astonishment of a chaunce so sodaine and vnlooked for, would haue had no hope at all to resist or repulse them, for that the place which they should haue occupied with defence, lay open and discovered to the artilleries of the Castle: But as there is nothing more suttle then occasion, which being taken & applyed, draweth with it good issue, but being neglected or fore-slowed, slideth away as a vapour, leauing men abused with their proper error. So whilst *Malatesta* stood long before he could resolue, and then lost time ere he could raunge his souldiers to go to the assault, the benefite of this occasion was taken away by the industrie of the defendants, who laboured with extreme diligence within, they first sought to couer themselves with risings and hilles cast vp with the labour of their hands, against the artillerie of the Castle, and afterwards they rampard themselves in the front of the enemies: so that when the assault came to be presented, being then well of the day, albeit the most part of the campe were conuerted to that side, yet for that they went all discovered and open, they made their approaches with their great harmes: and being approched, besides the other defences wherein they found perill, they were wonderfully vexed with stones which the defendants within cast downe vpon them: by which maner of execution *Iulius* *Manfron* and Capitaine *Maron* were slaine vpon the place, together with manie other souldiers of condition. At the same time there was another assault giuen by the Castle, but that was repulsed with a verie small damage: it was appointed also that at the batterie made at *Santa Monaca*, should be performed another assault with foure score men at armes, an hundred light horsmen, and a thousand footmen: but by the impediment of the

ditch which was full of water, & the disadvantage of the place being well fortified, the souldiers retired without doing any thing. After this arrived at the campe, the Treasurer *Pesero* with three thousand footmen *Italians*, and more then a thousand *Swissers*, together with a new cōplement of artilleries: by which supply the campe being now about eight thousand footmen, the *Capewins* thought to make two batteries following on with the assault to either of them with three thousand footmen, and with the other two thousand to assaile the part towards the Castle and *Pesero* bringing with him to the Campe a great quantity of Pyoners, they laboured with great industrie all the trenches, of the which one being finished the xxij. of August, they wonne after long fight to couer by their valour a flanke of the enemies. Afterwards the night of the five and twentieth day, they made two batteries, the one (of the which *Malatesta* had charge) beyond that place which *Federike* had executed aforetime: the other at *Musse* gate, managed by *Camilla Vrsin*; but the successe both of the one & the other was verie slender, for that the place where *Malatesta* braked his artilleries by reason it was marish, gaue no firme ground to the artilleries, for that in sinking at the breach by the softnesse of the place, they mounded at the metall or mouth of the peece, and shot ouer. And touching the batterie of *Camilla*, both it was low, which hindered the execution, and in the action of the assaule the souldiers found impediment in a ditch which was full of water, together with so many small shot beating in flanke, that their valour could not make them a way to passe further: so that albeit for all these difficulties they gaue the assault, and receiued in that place the greatest harmes: and albeit on *Malatestas* side the footmen went vp to the wall, passing a ditch, wherein the water was deeper then was looked for, yet by the vertue of the defendants, applyed to the aduantages of places, they were easily and readily repulsed. Moreouer on the Castle side one part of the Cavalier being reuerfed and put downe, the footmen mounted vpon it: but for that the descent withinwards was too high, the souldiers that were come to the assault from all parts in no good order, were put backe, some running on in their rashnesse till they were slaine, and some with a more fauourable infelicitie bare away the rewards of their enterprise in wounds and maimes of their bodies, and with very litle hurt of their enemies. These disorders together with the priuation of hope to take *Cremona*, ioyned to the want of gouernement and obedience of the Campe, called the Duke of *Vrbino* to go thither in person, who drew out of the army that lay before *Millan*, almost all the *Venetian* footmen, and left there one part of the men at armes with all the regiments of the Church, together with the *Swissers*, who now might containe a number of thirteene thousand: and now that there remained in the army a lesse number of men, which being disurnished of a Generall or Commander of such authoritie, he despised the same daunger, which he seemed alwaies before to feare when there were greater forces: and lastly, assuring that it was not the custome of men of warre, but chiefly of the *Spaniards*, to inuade other men of warre in their strength or campe: he went from the armie to *Cremona*, laying this plot, not to carie it with the only force of batteries and assaults, for that the ramparts of the enemies were too strong, but by seeking with the industrie of so many Pyoners to approach their trenches and Bastillions, and to make themselves maisters of them more by the benefite of vndermining, then through the vertue of armes. There were many of the Captaines that reprehended him in many things touching the gouernment of that enterprise against the state of *Millan*, but chiefly they reproched the retraite and breaking vp from before the walles of *Millan*, but most of all did they challenge him of indiscretion, for that from the beginning he had attempted to carie *Cremona* with verie small forces, trusting more in his vanity and fancie, then by the rule of experience or reason to accomplish the action with great facility: wherein also the difficulties of the enterprise still redoubling & discovering, he had embarked such a part of the army, as far greater occasiōs falling out whilest he consumed the time there, were hindred and lost by following that seruice: for, seeing now the full numbers of *Swissers* were come to the campe; both so manie as was necessarie, and no fewer then was looked for, he might by enuironing *Millan* with two armies; according to the first resolution, cut off that great resort and traffike of victuals which continually had passage thither by the way of *Pania*, which the single armie that lay at *Amber* could not refraine for the great circuit of place and wayes to be made. But the matter of greatest importance, was, to loose the occasion that haply was offered to force *Millan*: the rather for that the bands of souldiers that were within, were so weakened by sickness & diseases, that the bodies most sound & free being scarcely able to entertaine the ordinary war

and ward with other necessary factions of warre, the Imperials themselves gaue this iudgement of their owne estate, that if they had bene inuaded in that aduersity and weakenesse, their danger had bene greater then their valour could haue defended it. But amid these good offers to the Confederates no lesse certain, and great was the occasion giuen to take *Genes*, for that as the *Venetian* Nauie was ioynd with the Popes at *Ciuita Vecchia*, & afterwards stayed in the port of *Liurne* to tarie for the French, which with sixteene gallies, foure gallions, & foure other vessels was fallen into the riuer of *Ponent*, had gotten by the consent of the inhabitants, *Sauona* & all the riuer of *Ponent*: so that armie by sea, after they had taken many ships loden with graine going to *Genes*, passed away to *Liurne* to knit and ioyne with the residue: besides, it was also determined, that at the comon expences of the Confederates, there should be armed in the port of *Marseilles* twelue great ships, to the end that with the French Gallies, and by the direction of *Peter of Nauarre*, to meete with the Nauie that was prepared in the port of *Carthage*, or at least to encounter them at sea: where the three fleets making saile together, the Nauie Ecclesiastike and *Venetian* stayed at *Porro fino*, and the French fleet returned to *Sauona*: and from those places scouring all the seas without resistance, they restrained *Genes* so straight where was want of victuals, that if they had sent vp a certaine strength of souldiers by land to cut from them that only refuge, there was no doubt but the towne of *Genes* would haue come to composition. The Captaines of the said Nauies desired no other thing both by letters and Messengers expresse, demanding at least that there might be set foure thousand men on land: but there could be no souldiers drawne frō the campe that lay before *Cremona*: and the Duke of *Vrbino* with others, holding it too great a daunger to diminish the armie that lay before *Milano*, they entertained the demands of the sea Captaines with hope, that as soone as the enterprise of *Cremona* were ended, there should be sent to them a sufficient strength of souldiers, according to their desire.

But the enterprise of *Cremona*, as well for the vertue of the defendants, as for that the great workings of Pyoners draw a long time, proceeded euery day with greater delays & temporizing: then was looked for: for, the Duke who would needs haue at the campe two thousand pyoners, a great quantity of munitions, and no lesse store of all sorts of instruments, made a continuall working at the trenches of the Castle, and at the Bastillion towards *Pav*, both to win that, & to serue his turne of the Cavalier, notwithstanding that the enemies doubting of his intention, were retired many dayes before, hauing made a strong rampart behind it: he drew a worke also at the two heads of the trenches which went ouerthwart the Castle Greene, the better to beat the Cavaliers which the enemies had made there: and betweene the two trenches of the campe, he cast another trench of sixe fadome broad, prouiding, that during the labour of the pyoners, they should be couered with earth and other matter for their defence both on front and in flanke: the reason of this worke was, to make a Cavalier at such time as they should be come to the ditch of the enemies trench: Moreouer, he caused to cast a ditch without the castle, towards the towne wall, the better to haue way to the Bastillion towards the wall that was ruinate: he made another trench at *Saint Lukes* gate, drawing euen vp to the wall: and by the commodity of these labours and workings, he ceased not with the artilleries planted within the Castle, to execute vpon the ramparts of the enemies: which for the alteration of the earth much vsed and loosened, did easily dampe and moderate the shot of the artilleries. On the other side the defendants within lost no time: for, distrusting to be long able to keepe trenches and cavaliers, they made a ditch towards the houses of the towne, and yet made many braue issues & sallies, and with great courage charged vpon the works of the enemies: insomuch as the night before the seuenth day, they set vpon in three places those trenches which the enemies cast vpon the side of the Castle: where finding sleeping in their securitie the bands of footmen that were set to guard them, they slue more then an hundred together with certaine Captaines, and followed the charge euen vp to the rauelin before the Castle: neuertheless notwithstanding their valour, which in those extremities lay not idle, and notwithstanding their industrie and perpetuall working at ramparts and trenches, yet they were more and more reduced into straight termes, and their affaires declining by swift degrees to diminution: for, the Duke hauing made way with his trenches euen to their ramparts, which separated the Castle from the towne, went on vexing them with certaine troupes of shot & other souldiers couered with their targets, by whom they receiued great harmes, as also by the artilleries frō the towers of the Castle. By reason of these harmes the Imperials, not to giue fauor to the enemies

by any of their labours, burned their rampart which they made at the *Cavalier*, to the end it should not serue for a parapet to those that were without: and about the nineteenth day, two trenches, of theirs within their ditches, being beaten open & flat, they retired within the other trenches, of which the Duke of *Vrbis* made small accompt, both for that for the shortnesse of time they could not be well fortified, and also by their retiring more at large and abroad, there must be necessarily a greater guard to defend them. But notwithstanding all these workes were managed to a good end and issue, yet the proceedings of the campe were but slow, for the necessitie to recrease and renew the regiment of the *Venetian* footmen, who had bene long time without pay, for which cause they were greatly diminished in numbers, as alwayes in the affaires of the Confederates one disorder happened vpon another. And as the Imperials, partly to apply to their aduantage the disorders of the campe, and partly to follow the fauor of other occasions, did make many sallies by night to proue and prouoke the trenches, so all their valour and labour was in vaine, for that their enemies were now made wise by the experience of the harmes they had receiued there before: insomuch as at last the Duke of *Vrbis* hauing now got a sufficient strength of footmen, began the xxij. day to make a violent batterie vpon a tower, which afore times had bene battered by *Federike*, where after he had executed certaine shot of cannon, he found the enemies reduced to such termes of weaknesse, as they could not refuse to compound: in which opinion he sent out a Trumpet to summon them to render the towne, with whom came forth a Captaine Launceknicht, and a Spanish Captaine, together with *Guido Vaino*. The day following the capitulation went betweene the Duke & the Duke, that if they were not succoured by the end of the moneth, they should depart out of *Cremona*: That it should be permitted to the Launceknights to go into *Germany* and the Spaniards to the realme of *Naples*: That in foure moneths they should not beare armes for the defence of the state of *Millan*: That they should leaue all their artilleries and munitions, and go out with their Ensignes folded vp, and without sound of drumme or trumpet other then at such time as they leauied and brake vp.

Cremona rendered to the Confederates.

A litle after this time there was sent to remaine in the French Court as Legate, Cardinall *Saluatiatio*, who was departed out of *Spaine*, with the leaue of the Emperour: and in this meane while the French king had answered to the requests that were made to him by the Pope: wherein he excused himselfe by his great want and necessity of money, that his doings and actions were not correspondent to his will and affection: but if he might haue a permission to leaue throughout all his realme a tenth of the reuenues of benefices, he would releue him with twenty thousand duckets monethly of that collection, and would be also concurrant with him in the warres of *Naples*: he refused to hearken to the conquest of the Duchy of *Millan* for himselfe, from the which his mother and *Monseigneur Lawnech* did chiefly draw him, notwithstanding he had declared from the beginning a good inclination that way: he gaue him hope that he would go on with the war beyond the Mounts, but he alleaged that it was necessary the intimatio proceeded, which being done, he offered to begin the war vpon *Flanders* side & *Parpignan*: & yet it was discerned that he had no disposition to it, his intention therein being nothing different from the will of the king of *England*, with whom the expedition sent by the Pope serued to no purpose, for that the Cardinall of *Torke*, whose humour was to entertaine euery one, and be sued vnto of all men, would giue no resolution: only the King and the Cardinall made oftentimes this answer: The affaires of *Italy* appertaine nothing to vs.

At this time the Confederates fearing least the *Grisons*, who during the siege of the Castle of *Millan*, had reconquered & rased *Chianana*, would enter into the pay of the Duke of *Burbon*, or at least would suffer the Launceknights whom he expected for succours, to passe through their countrey: the Pope and *Venetians* bound themselves to take into their pay two thousand footmen of the *Grisons*, and to pay to Captaine *Mus* five thousand five hundred duckets, which they had promised to him more by force then by friendship. This Captaine *Mus* was fled from the campe, fearing the Duke of *Millan*, who was then come to the armie, & afterwards pretending that there was money owing to him for the payes of the *Swissers*, he detained prisoners two Embassadors of the *Venetians*, who had bene sent into *France*: the obligations of the Pope & *Venetians* stretched also to deliuer them of the new taxes imposed vpon such as trafficked in nauigation vpon the lake of *Coma*. And touching the *Grisons*, they bound themselves to stop the passage of the Launceknights, and wrought so as *Tegane* their Captaine, who had compounded with the Duke of

Burbon

Burbon to serue him with two thousand footmen, aduanced not. In the meane while the affaires of *Italy* proceeded coldly: for the army that was before *Millan*, wherein was greatly diminished the numbers of such *Swissers* as were not payd, lay with an idle campe, without doing any other action then interchange of light skirmishes, according to custome. But another humor raigned in the *Spaniards* that lay within *Carpy*, who forbore not to do the worst they could, and being secretly aduerted by their espials (taking withal the commodity to withdraw themselves vpon the lands of the Duke of *Ferrara*) they gaue many impediments to the curriers & other persons going to the army. In which liberty, running ouer all the country therabouts, euen vpon the confines of the *Bolognois* & *Mantuan*s, they committed very many insolencies and harmes, but not to any others then the subiects of the Church. At last the Marquis of *Salussa* passed the Mounts with five hundred French Launces, by reason of whose coming, *Fabricio Maramo*, who battered the towne of *Valence*, and lay encamped before it, (*Iohn Biraguo* lying there in garrison) retired himselfe to *Bassignan*: but the Marquis refused to passe further, vnlesse a regiment of foure thousand footmen, whom he had led out of *Fraunce* for that intention, were payd by the Confederats by equall portion: which in the end by necessity was consented vnto, the rather for the instance and importunity of the king, who solicited it vehemently for the suretie of his men at armes, and to raise into greater degrees the reputation of the Marquis.

In this time *Synibald Fiesque* made himselfe Lord of the towne of *Pontriemoli*, which *Sforzino* held, but it was eftsoues recovered with the same facility, by the meane of the Castle. Within *Millan* was great want of money, since both there was none receiued from the Emperour, and the inhabitants within were so impouerished by their intollerable defraymets, that scarcely could they furnish the thirty thousand duckets promised to the Duke of *Burbon*, who had receiued into his pay *Galeaz Birague* & *Lodowyke Belioyense*, who till that day had alwayes followed the Frēch part: the reason was, for that the Cōfederates could not accept them for the intollerable burthens of charges which they sustained. About this time *Iohn Biraguo* got *Nouy*.

During these stirres the state of the Marquis of *Mantua* stood almost indifferent and common to all sides, wherein he excused himselfe, for that he was in the pay of the Pope, and a freeholder of the Emperour: and to hold still his estate of indifferency, when the end of the terme of his pay drew neare, he put himselfe of new into the pay of the Pope and the *Florentines* for foure yeares more, with this expresse condition, that neither in his person nor with his estate he shold be bound to any thing against the Emperour: and yet in the beginning of the warre he desired to go in person to the army, which being not agreeable to the Pope, as hauing no confidence in his gouernement, he was answered, that in regard he was a freeholder of the Emperour, he would not bring him so farre in daunger. This was the estate of affaires, in *Lombardy* at that time.

In *Tuscane*, albeit the *Florentines* had neither armies nor armes vpon their lands and confines, yet were they not without their part of the burthens of the warre, for the contributions that were imposed vpon them: for the Pope, who had no money by meanes ordinarie, and would not make any leaues or collections extraordinarie, laid vpon their shoulders with a great impiety, almost the whole waight and charge of the expences of *Lombardy*. The *Siennes* also were not without their vexation on the sea side, for that *Andrew Dore* commanding *Talamone* and *Portherculo*, made them stand continually vpon their guard: notwithstanding not long after *Talamone* was restored to the *Siennes*, by the infidelity of a Captaine that was appointed to keepe it. Their aduersity also was increased by the vexation of the exiles of *Sienna*, who hauing suppotation by the Pope, molested them in the parts of *Maremma*: where *Iohn Paule* the sonne of *Raise de Cere*, who was entertained by the Pope, made himself Lord of *Orbatella*, by a surprize that was made by certaine horsemen of the gate of the towne, which he followed forthwith with his companies.

But at *Rome* the alteration was great, and drew after it effects of right great consequence, such as tooke not their beginning of armes and open warre, but were bred in the bosome of conspiracies and ambush: they brought no lesse infamie and slaunder to the Pope, then confusion and disorder to the affaires of *Lombardy*: where, by reason of the conquest of *Cremona*, was hoped a good issue of the enterprise of *Genes*, & also to be able to dispose the campe in two parts before *Millan*, according to the plots set downe at the first: for, like as since the chase giuen to the Ecclesiastikes before *Sienna*, the Pope hauing no hope to do any great action vpon the family of the *Colony*, continued his inclination altogether to inuade the realme of *Naples* with greater forces: so, on

Capitulation
betweene the
Colonnos and
the Pope to
deceiue him.

the other side, the *Colonnos* and the Emperours Agents, finding by the disposition of their owne affaires that they were able to do no notable matter against him, and desiring to keepe him still amused, and to take time from him vntill the *Viceroy* were come out of *Spaine* with the Navy they sent to *Rome* *Vespasian Colomo*, in whose fidelity the Pope reposed much, by whose meanes they fell to capitulate together the two and twentieth of August: That the *Colony* should reuerter *Agnano* with other places which they had taken: That they should withdraw all power to the kingdome of *Naples*, and entertayne no more bands of souldiers in the townes which they possessed in the dominion of the Church: That they might freely serue the Emperour against all men for the defence of the kingdome of *Naples*: and on the Popes side it was agreed, that it should pardon all offences past, and reuoke and abolish the bull published against the Cardinall *Colomo*: That he should not inuade their estates, nor suffer them to be endamaged by the *Vrsins*. By reason of this reconciliation, the Pope, who very vndiscretely reposed too much in the fidelity of *Vespasian*, dismissed almost all his horsemen and footmen which he had waged, and those bands that remained, he dispersed them in seuerall townes about *Rome*, and from thenceforth seemed to grow cold in all things that concerned the plot of inuading the kingdome of *Naples*: for, as by the complaints and protestations which ordinarily came from *Millan* and *Genes*, to the Emperours officers resident in the realme of *Naples*, it was discerned that those cities would hold out no longer vlesse the Confederates were turned from the pursute of their enterprise with a mighty diuersion: so the Emperours Captaines and officers there, hauing no meane to make openly a strong warre, such as was able to admiſter a speedy remedy, tooke another course, and disposed immediatly all their thoughts and spirits to oppresse the Pope with ambushes & deuises: Such is the operation of minds malicious & ambitious, that the thing which the law of equity & order denieth them to do, & their forces too weake to further the impiety of their hart, they will not faile to follow infected with conspiracy and infidelity.

Lewis king of Hun-
garie ouerthrow-
nen in battell
by Solymann.

Whilest these practises were in preparation, the almighty God bringing to passe that to the affliction which the Pope suffered for his affaires particular, should be adioyned other visitations more publike and generall: aduertisements came that *Solyman Ottoman* Prince of the Turkes had ouerthrowne in a battell ranged and accomplished, *Lewis* king of *Hungary*; a victory which it was supposed the Turke won no lesse through the temerity of his enemies, then by his owne valour & forces: for the *Hungarians* notwithstanding their numbers were but small in comparison of so huge an army of their enemies, & in their rashnesse reposing more for themselves in their victories past against the Turkes, then in the estate and condition of things present: yet they perswaded their king who being yong in age & yeares, was also more yong in counsell & iudgement, that not to obscure the ancient reputation and glory of war gotten by his peoples, and lesse attending to the succors that were to come to him from *Transilvania*, he would aduance his forces & go seeke the enemy, & not refuse to fight with them in open field, a maner of action wherein the Turkes are almost inuincible by reason of their infinite numbers of horsemen: so that the euent & effect falling out all one with their rashnesse and indiscretion, his armie being compounded of all the nobility and valiant men of his realme, was ouerthrowne with a great slaughter of the generall multitude of souldiers, and the death of the kings person, with manie of the principall Barons & Prelates of the realme. This victorie both bloudie for the slaughter, and dangerous for the consequence, brought an vniuersall terrour and astonishment ouer all the regions and lands of Christendome, euerie one seeing in his owne iudgement, that nothing could hold backe the Turke from appropriating to himselfe the whole realme of *Hungaria*, which for so many yeares had bene the only bulwarke and defence of Christendome: And as in the minds of men already troubled and afflicted, new displeasures and accidents make a deeper impression, then they do in such spirits as are free and void of passion: so this ouerthrow was to the Pope about all other Princes most bitter and grieuous, in so much as expressing in his actions, in his words, and in his countenance great tokens of inward dolor and heauinesse, he complained in that griefe afore the Cardinals sitting in Consistorie, of so great a damage & ignominie done to the common weale of Christendome: which for his part he had not failed both to foresee and prouide for, as well by exhorting and perswading the Princes of Christendome to peace, as also in comforting in their most necessities the kingdome of *Hungary* with great contribution of money: he said that from the beginning he had foreseene and foretold that that warre would be full of incommodities, and a warre

warre very dangerous for the defence of that kingdome : onely he alleaged that seeing there was no reckning made of those reasonable conditions which he proponed for the tranquility of the Apostolike and *Italy*, he was driuen by necessity to haue recourse to armes and forces, contrary to his perpetuall intention : wherein he referred himselfe to be iustified, both by the neutrality which he had vsed before that necessitie, and also the conditions of the league which he had made respecting all the common benefite : all which he sayd answered sufficientlie for him, that he had not bene pushed on by any consideration of his proper interestes, or particular respects of those of his familie : but since it is Gods good pleasure haply for some good ende, that the head and principall part of Christendome should be hurt, specially in a time when all the other members of the same body were deuided into other thoughts then such as tended to the safetie of the whole, he thought that the holy will of God was, that they should seeke to cure so greata malady by some other meane : and therefore seeing that care appertayned more to him then to any other in respect of his office of Pastour, he was determined contrary to all considerations of the incommodities, of the dangers, and of his dignity, and soliciting withall assoone as he could vnder some good conditions, a lurrence of armes in *Italy*, to mount vpon his gallies and in person to go seeke the Princes of Christendome, and to sollicite a holy and vniuersall peace with perswasions, with petitions, and with teares. He exhorted the Cardinals to put themselves in preparation for his expedition, and with one franke readinesse to dispose their minds and bodies to ayd their common father in so holy an enterprife, which he besought God to blesse and fauor: and that if for the common sins of the world it could not be guided to his perfection, he besought the goodnesse of God, that at least in the negociation he would rather depriue him of life then of hope to accomplish it : for that (sayth he) no infelicity, no aduersity, no misery can happen to me so great, as in so dangerous and mortall astonishments, to lose both hope and meane to put to my hand for the remedy and redresse of so generall an euill.

This proclamation of the Pope was heard with great attention, and with no lesse compassion and deuotion was it holden for recommended and esteemed. But it had imprinted a farre greater operation, if his words as touching the person had caried so much fidelity & credit, as in themselves they seemed to beare authority and dignity : for, the most part of the Cardinals were of this opinion, that he was more touched with the consideration of the difficulties wherein the present warre was reduced, then with any conscience of the daunger of that kingdome; a matter which they proued by this obseruation, that he had taken armes against the Emperour in a time, when, for the open preparations of the *Turkes*, the daunger of the Realme of *Hungarie* was manifest and vndoubted. But of this there could not be made a true experience : for, the faction of the *Colonnais* beginning to execute the treason they had pretended, sent *Caesar Fielettin* their confederate, with a strength of two thousand footemen, to *Agnano*, where was a garrison for the Pope, of two hundred footemen payed : and in the manner of their doings, the better to keepe couered and hid their thoughts and intentions, they made shew as though they would take the towne : but for that in true meaning their purpose drew to another effect, they occupied all the passages, and with an extreame diligence cut off from comming to *Rome* all meane of aduertisement of their enterprife. And in the meane while after they assembled their forces which they had sent to keepe about *Agnano*, and together with those bands that were with themselves, were reduced all into one strength, which haply might containe in all about eight hundred horsemen and thre thousand footemen, all trayned and disciplined, they marched in great celerity towards *Rome*, where was holden no suspicion nor doubt of their comming. They arriued there the night before the twentieth day of September, where in their first action, they tooke by surprise three gates of *Rome*, making their entrie by the gate of *Saint Iohn de Latran*. There met them in person, not onely *Askanio Colomno* and *Dou Hugo de Moncado* (for the Duke of *Seffo* was dead before at *Marino*) but also *Vespassian*, who had solicited the accord and giuen his faith as well for him as for all the residue. There was also in person Cardinall *Pompey Colonna*, a man so farre ouercaried with ambition and furie, that he had not onely conspired the death of the Pope in cruell manner, but also, by bloody hands and meanes full of impietie and sacriledge, he had aspired to the seate Pontificall, contrayning with force and armes, the Cardinals to make election of the person, whom he knew they would not call for his vertue or merites. About the breaking of the day, the Pope had information of their

arrivall, being by that time all assembled about *Saint Cosmo* and *Saint Damiano*; and what by the suddenesse of the accident tending to a manifest surpris, & by the operation of his owne frailty, which by so much was redoubled, by how much his perill was present and desperate, he sought in this astonishment and confusion to appease the tumult with his authority: for neither had he ready any forces particular to defend the danger that his destiny pulled on, neither did the people of *Rome* make any signe to stirre, partly for that it grieved not them to see him fall into inconvenience whom they loved not, and partly according to the humour of the populars, they made as though a vexation publike and generall did nothing touch nor concerne them. By reason of which weakenesse of the Pope, and want of inclination in the people, the enemies with these oportunities advanced forward, and with all their bands, stayed at *Santa Apostolo*, from whence they sent beyond *Tyber* by the bridge *Sista*, a strength of five hundred footemen with certaine horsemen: who, after a small resistance, repulled from the portall of *Santo Spirito*, *Stephen Colonna* being in the Popes pay, and appointed for that place with two hundred footemen. Then, taking the way of the old suburbs, they drew to *Saint Peters* and to the Bishops pallace where the Pope was, no lesse doubtfull of his safety then depriued of all assurance and vertue in so great a distresse: he called in vaine vpon the succours of God and men, and yet hauing a glorious desire to die in the seate of his dignity, he prepared himselfe with the habite and ornaments of his calling to take his seate in the chaire pontificall, according to the example of Pope *Boniface* the eight when he was surprisid and restrayned by the *Colonnais*. In his feare and astonishment he could not discern the way of his safety, and in that desperate accompt of himselfe and his estate, he was without all consideration, that sudden actions pushed on with that property of furie and rage, haue their ordinary dissolution before they come to worke the worst that the timorous man in his fraile conceits dorth imagine: onely he found comfort and care in the Cardinals that were about him, who with a resolution aboue the greatnesse of their perill, conuincid him to change his timorous deuise to die in his chaire, and willed him to go out, though not for his owne respect, at least for the reputation of the holy sea, least the honour of God were wickedly, and wretchedly offended in the person of his Vicar. By their perswasions he retired together with such of them as he trusted most, into the Castell about ten of the clocke: if in his feare he had lingred there longer, he had seene with his eyes that spectacle of calamitie which in his timorous condition he alwayes doubted: for, by that time he was remoued, all the horsemen & footmen together with the whole army were assembled before the pallace, & in their fury not sparing the place which at other times in their modesty they reuerenced, they entred, & sackt the pallace, making violation and pillage of all the holy ornaments of *S. Peter*. Their insolency tooke from them all regard to the maiesty of religion, & whose harts had reiectid all deuotion & piety, their hands tooke liberty to prophane all things that their fury could find out, yea they made a small ceremony to ransacke the holy things of *Rome*, as the *Turkes* did in the Churches of the Realme of *Hungarie*. And being made weary with running thorough the spoyle of things rich and precious, they left in their fulnesse to make further pillage of the holy relikes, and in their rage they retired to the new suburbs, of which they sacked about the third part, and passed no further for feare of the artilleries of the Castell. This was the last act & passage of their fury, which they seemed there to restraine & cut off, not that their rage was fully satisfied, but because their hands were weary with robbing; a tumult which they executed with so much the lesse impediments, by how much more they forbare in their liberty to do any damage to the people of *Rome*: And after they had continued three houres in the licentious execution, *Don Hugo* vnder the Popes faith, & receiuing as hostages for his surety the Cardinals *Cibo* and *Rodolfo* the Popes cosins, went vp to the Castell to speake with the Pope, to whom vsing the termes and phrases that appertayned to a victor, he set downe to him conditions of truce: whereupon answer being deferred till the day following, the composition was concluded in this sort: That there should be betweene the Pope aswell in his owne name as in the name of the confederats, & betweene the Emperour a truce for iiii. moneths, with liberty to the cofederats to enter within ij. moneths: That in the same truce should be comprehended not only the estate Ecclesiastike, & the realme of *Naples*: but also the Duchy of *Millan*, the *Florentins*, the *Genouaies*, the *Siennois* & the Duke of *Ferrara*, & all the subiects of the Church, mediate & immediate: That the Pope should be bound to retire immediatly on this side the riuer of *Pan*, his men of war that lay before *Millan*, & to call home fro his army by sea, *And. Dore* with his gallies: That

Truce between
the Pope and
the Emperour.

That he should be bound to pardon all the *Colonna's*, and any other whosoever was party to this commotion: That he should be bound to deliuer for ostages of obseruancy, *Philip Strozzi* & one of the sons of *Iames Saluati*, and to send the to *Naples* within two moneths, vpon paine to loofe fifty thousand duckats: That the Imperials and the *Colonna's* should depart out of *Rome* & all the *Ecclesiastike*, and retire their forces to the kingdome of *Naples*.

This truce was willingly accepted both by the one and other party: it was acceptable to the Pope for that he had not in the Castell sufficient prouision of victuals: and *Don Hugo* (though contrary to the instance of the *Colonna's*) thought it now time to take vp, both for that he had done enough for the Emperour, and also he saw most of those souldiers that had entred *Rome* with him, dispersed here & there, being more laden with pray & booty, then bearing aptnesse to any further seruice: But this truce brake all the deuises and plots of *Lumbardy*, and tooke away all the fruite of the victorie of *Cremona*: for, notwithstanding almost at the same time the Marquis of *Saluzzo* was come to the army with the French launces, yet the Popes regiments beginning to fayle, who for the most part by reason of the truce retired to *Plaisance*, the seuenth of October: yet the deuise to send souldiers to *Genes* was no lesse dissolued and disordered, then the resolution, to enuiron *Millan* with two armies. Wherein the matter that helped also to this alteration and trouble, was the Duke of *Vrbino*, who after he had made a composition with those in *Cremona*, went to visite his wife at *Mantua*, without tarying for the consignation, notwithstanding he was credibly aduertised of the truce made at *Rome*: and hauing accorded to the companies that were within *Cremona*, a prolongation of time to depart, there was so long tarying about *Cremona* before they dislodged, that he came not to the army with those companies that were before *Cremona* before the middest of October; a matter that brought great preiudice to all the affaires, both that there was solicitation made to send men to *Genes*, which *Peter Nauarre* and the *Venetian* treasurer of the army by sea demanded with greater instance then euer, for that (all the *Venetian* regiments being reassembled) there were in the army so many forces as might suffice for that effect, without that it was needefull for that matter to remoue the campe: and also for that the Marquis of *Saluzzo* had brought with him five hundred launces and foure thousand footmen, besides a dayly expectation of two thousand *Grisons*, who were waged according to the accord made with them. And lastly the Pope, albeit he made open demonstrations to obserue the truce, yet his intention being otherwise, he had left in the army foure thousand footmen with *Iohn de Medicis*, vnder pretence that the French king should pay them; an excuse not without apparant colours, for that *Iohn de Medicis* was alwayes in the kings pay, and in his name retayned continually a company of men at armes. At last the Imperials that were within *Cremona* went out of that City, the possession whereof was consigned ouer to *Francis Sforce*. The Launceknights with their Capitaine *Conradin* tooke their way to *Trent*: but the horsmen and footmen of the *Spaniards* hauing passed ouer *Paw* to returne to the realme of *Naples*, and the Popes Lieutenant making difficulty to giue them sufficient passeports and safe conducts, for that it was contrary to the Pope to suffer them to go to the realme of *Naples*: they suddenly turned their way, and went vp by the mountaine of *Parma* and *Plaisance*: and after with great diligence they repassed the riuer of *Paw* at *Chiarella*, from whence they went in safety to *Lomellino*, & so to *Millan*. And the Popes Lieutenant *Guicciardin* for the obseruancy of the truce, did not only go from before the wals of *Millan* with the Popes regiments, but also *Andrew Dore* remoued himselfe from *Genes* with his gallies: out of which towne not many dayes before, were issued fixe thousand footmen, as well bodies payed and waged, as men voluntary and followers, with direction to set vpon the fixe hundred footmen who were vpon the land with *Philip Fiesquo*: who with the fauour of the top of the mountaines neare to *Portofino*, had so fortified himselfe with ramparts and bastillions, that he constrained them to retire with their great losse. And yet not many dayes after *Andrew Dore* returned to *Portofino* with fixe gallies, to continue together with the residue, the siege of *Genes* by sea.

At the same time that these matters succeeded in *Italy* with diuerse euentcs, the Embassadors of the Pope, the French king, and the *Venetians*, signified to the Emperour the fourth day of September, the League that was made, together with the liberty that was left to him to enter according to the conditions set downe in the Capitulations. At which an Embassadour of *England* being present, he deliuered to the Emperour from his king a letter, modestly perswading him to enter into the League. The Emperour heard with great affabilitie the reasons and

*Cremona giuen
by the confeder-
ates to Francis
Sforce.*

*The league sig-
nified to the
Emperour.*

relations of the Embassadors, but he answered the, that it agreed not with his dignity to enter into a confederation made principally against his estate and his honor: only he had bene alwayes most deuoute and disposed to haue an vniuersall peace, according to which inclination still continuing, he offered to accomplish it presently, if they had sufficient warrant and commissions for the same. Neuerthelesse it was beleued that his intension was farre otherwise, and that he did but insinuate that offer for his greater iustification, and to giue occasion to the king of *England* to desert to enter into the league, and also to make cold with that hope, the preparations of the confederates, and so vnder the treaty of peace, to leade them into some iealousie & distrust: and yet notwithstanding this practise, he solicited on the other side the prouisions for the army by sea, which was supposed to be forty ships and six thousand men payd: and the rather to make that army aduance being assembled at the notable port of *Carthage*, the *Viceroy* departed from the Court the foure and twentieth day of September. By which expedition and celerity, it seemed that the Emperour was more ready and carefull of his affaires then the French king, who notwithstanding he was pressed with so great interests and considerations, yet he forbore not to follow the humor of his negligence, and passed forth the most part of his time in the pleasures of hunting, dancing, and making court to Ladies: and then were his captiue children caried vp to *Valdolu*, when it was manifestly discerned that there was no more hope that the accord would be obserued. The coming of this army by sea compelled the Pope to take armes, who with the iealousie of those apparances, could not but doubt of the fidelity of the *Viceroy* and the *Spaniards*: in which danger he did not only call to *Rome* *Vitelly* with his regiments and the bands of his Nephewes, but also he called in for his safety an hundred men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, and an hundred light horsemen of *Peter Maria Rosso*: and there was sent to him from the army two thousand *Swissers* at his charges, and three thousand footmen *Italians*: neuerthelesse he continued still and assured from one time to another, that he would go into *Spaine* to conferre with the Emperour, from the which most of the Cardinals dissuaded him, the rather for that he followed an action vncertaine, aduising him first to send thither his Legates.

Deliberation
of the Duke of
Vrbino

But now to returne to the army which the confederates kept incamped before *Millan*. After the Duke of *Vrbino* was returned thither, who saw there was no hope to cary the towne either by force or by famine, and being with great importunity solicited by the Captaines of the sea army to send out souldiers to vex by land the people of *Genes*, he determined for the better aduancement of that expedition, to draw the army farre from the wals of *Millan*, & yet he made such disposition & direction of things, that all resort of victuals that was to come to that city, was cut off & stopped: for which occasion and to haue the better oportunity to that action, he began to fortify *Monce*, to leaue there with more surety some crew of souldiers, both to impeach the traffike of victuals from the mount *Brianso* and other places confining, and also by the commodity of that fortification to transport the army into such a place as might restraine the markets of victuals coming continually to *Millan* from *Baigresso* and *Pauia*. And afterwards that place being reduced to good strength & fortification, the direction extended that the Marquis of *Salussa* should march to *Genes* with his footmen accompanied for his better strength with another regiment of *Swissers*, a proportion which the sea armies did much desire, for that the towne of *Genes* labored in such extreame wants of victuals, that it could scarcely hold out any longer. But as these deliberations and directions were such as they could not be put to execution but with a farre greater tract and longnesse of time, then either was agreeable to the estate of affaires, or the necessities of *Genes* could endure: so for that the only meane to cary that city, rested in no other property of action, then in the stopping of the resort of victuals which passed thither by land, those counsels tooke no resolution, nor were not referred to effect, notwithstanding there were in the army foure thousand *Swissers*, two thousand *Grisons*, the regiment of foure thousand footmen of the Marquis of *Salussa*, and foure thousand others vnder *Iohn de Medicis* payed by the Pope, together with the bands of footmen of the *Venetians*, which according to the obligation of the league, & testimony and report of themselves, were assured to contayne a strength of ten thousand men: but in truth vpon the iust mustring and view of the bands, they contayned a far lesse number. At last, being the last of October, the army dislodged from the place where it had so long incamped, and drew to *Pioltello* fife miles from the first lodging, but in discamping they had a great skirmish with the souldiers of *Millan*, in which *Burbo* was in person. The intention of the Duke of *Vrbino* was to stay

stay

stay at *Pioſtello* vntill the fortifications were ended at *Monce*, where he deuised to leaue in garrison two thousand footmen with certaine helpes of horsemen, and so to go to *Marignan* where he was determined to lodge the army: and from thence hauing first taken and fortified that place & *Biagressa* as he supposed, he thought to send bands of men to *Genes*; expeditions which drew with them so long an executiō, that there was reason to accuse him, notwithstanding that he alleaged for one part of his excuse, the ill prouisions of the *Venetians*, who not paying their footmen in time conueniēt, neither had they their numbers complete which were promised, & many of those which they had diminished alwayes the vncertainty of their payes, the Duke was constrained when the pay dayes came, to furnish their places with others, in such sort as he seemed to haue euery day new cōpanies & a new army. But this deferring or protraction which hitherto seemed voluntary, began to haue a cause and colour of necessity: for after many negociations and practises holden in *Germany* to send a new strength of footmen into *Italy*, the same seruing to no effect, as well for the disability of the Archduke, as for the pouerty of the Emperour, who sent no money thither: *George Frongſpergh* for the affection he bare to the affaires of the Emperour, ioyned to a desire to aduance the glory of his nation, and who with great merite had at two seuerall times commanded in *Italy* two great armies for the Emperour against the Frenchmen, determined to supply with his goods and faculties priuate, the charge which Princes for their weakenesse were not able to vndertake: he stirred vp with his authority many bands of footmen, whom he allured with the sweete insinuation of pray and booty, concurring withall the good oportunitie and occasion that offered to make them rich with the spoyle of *Italy*. And after he had contracted with them, that in receiuing for euery man a crowne in prest, they would follow him to the succours of the Emperour, and obtayned of the Archduke certaine aydes of horsemen and artilleries, he prepared to march, making the generall muster and leaue of all his men betweene *Bolzano* and *Maran*. The rumour of this preparation for the suddennesse not expected, and for the authority of the man much redoubted, piercing easily into the bowels of *Italy*, was the cause that the Duke of *Vrbino* went not on with his resolution to molest *Genes*, which was now reduced almost to the last extremity. And yet *Andrew Dote* for that he wold haue the expedition aduanced, abated some part of his demands, and required now but fiftene hundred footmen, making his reckning to furnish the residue by his owne meanes. But the Duke refusing also that demand, alleaged for his excuse, that it was necessarie to send from the army vpon the countrey of *Vincenza*, a strength of fiftene hundred footmen of the *Venetians*, for a feare which that Senate had least the army of the Launceknights wold take that way; an opiniō which the Duke cōfuted, perswading himselfe that they would rather take the way of *Lecqua*, and for that reason he stirred not from *Pioſtello*, for that he would be more neare the riuer of *Adda*, and he published that he would march to meete them, and fight with them beyond *Adda* at their comming out of the vale of *Sarcina*.

By these variations as the affaires of *Lumbardy* began to draw to new & farre greater difficulties, so also there burst out in the towne of *Rome* a fresh fire of trouble and new vexation: for the Pope, who for the accident of the *Colonnais* was pulled downe in courage, and in an inclination to peace, was bent to go by sea to *Barcelona* to contract some accord with the Emperour: as soone as his enemies were gone out of *Rome*, had sent *Paule d'Arezzo* his Chāberlaine to the French king, and from him to passe to the Emperour with his priuity, to negotiate the peace: his commissions extended also to signify to the king his necessities & his dangers, and to demand an hundred thousand crownes for his better defence. In which matters he seemed so discordant and disagreeable to himselfe, that in demanding money of the king, and vrging him to a greater readinesse in the war, he would not only not consent to the tenthes without condition of a moiety of himselfe, which the king refused vnder this reason, that it was contrary to the tradition and vsage of *Fraunce*: but also in his contradiction, he could not be resolved, to create Cardinall the Chancellor *Pras*, who both for the authority and sway he bare in the kings counsels, and for that all expeditions of money passed through his hands, might haue bene a necessarie instrument to helpe forward all his purposes. Such was his confusion, that his counsels were no lesse dilatory and slow, then the execution vncertaine and irresolute: which passion as it tooke beginning of his astonishment for the tumult of the *Colonnais*, so it went on increasing by new terrours, whose operations led him into manifest contradiction in matters concerning his owne safety. But the French king

forgot not to be sorowfull with *Paule d'Arezzo* and the other Nuncios, for the accident of *Rome*, and in that compassion he offered to the Pope all things for his defence, and wishing he would repose no more confidence in the Emperour, he aduised him to perseuer no longer in the truce: vpon which condition and not otherwise, he promised still to satisfie the twentie thousand duckats which he was bound vnto for euery moneth. To this the Pope was also aduised by the king of *England*, who dissuaded him from his voyage to *Barcelona*, and to comfort his present distresse, he sent him fife and twenty thousand duckats. The French king discourcelled the Pope from his purpose to go visite the Princes of Christendome, as being a matter which for the importance required a deeper consultation: and at the first he refused to consent that *Paule d'Arezzo* should go to the Emperour, either for suspition that the Pope would begin to enterrayne with him some practise seperate, or else that he held it a matter more honourable to worke the peace by the meane of the king of *England*, then to seeme vnder those wayes to begge it of the Emperour. Neuerthelesse by a new instance made by the Pope, he gaue his consent to let him go, either for that he desired the peace in deed, or else because he began not well to brooke to haue it wrought by the king of *England*, who bare such a hand and gouernement in these actions, that the French king could not but doubt, least for his interests particular, he would draw him to conditions hard and inconuenient: wherein he tooke the reason of his doubt vpon the disposition of the king of *England*, or rather the Cardinall of *Yorke* vnder his name, who caried with ambition and a glorious desire to be iudge of all, set downe conditions very strange and farre off, and hauing also ends different from the purposes of others, he feared by reason of those ends least he would suffer him to be abused by the Emperour, & would not be grieved that the Duchy of *Mil-lan* should fall vpon the person of the Duke of *Burbon* by the benefit of the peace, so far forth as he married the Emperours sister, to the end it remained in his power to giue his daughter in marriage to the French king. So that what by these perswasions tendred to the Pope by the one and other king, and what through his feare not to loose the amity of the Confederates, and so by the priuation of their aides, to remaine in pray to the Emperour and his officers: and what by the importunities & vehement inducements of his owne counsellors: & what for the hatred & disdayne conceined against the *Colomnois*, together with the burning desire to recouer by way of reuenge the honor he had lost, he was induced to conuert against the townes & lands of the *Colomnois*, all those forces which he had called into *Rome* only for the surety of his person. And in this variatio & ballancing of reasons and caules, he iudged there was no law of equity nor order, to compell him to obserue the accord which he had not made by will & free consent, but vnder the abuse of their fraudes, and forced by their armes, contrary to the law of faith, he sent out immediatly *Viselly* with his companies to vex the lands of the *Colomnois*, making his account to burne and raze all their townes, for that for the ancient affection of the inhabitants, it could not be a matter very prejudicial to them to take the townes only without doing other violence: and in the humor of his anger he published a Bull against the Cardinall and others of that family, by vertue wherof he proceeded afterwards to depriue the Cardinall of the purple hat, who seeking before to defend himself with the bul of simony, had made publike appellations at *Naples*, & had appealed to the generall Courtell to come: only the Pope deferred to pronounce sentence against the residue of the house of the *Colomnois*, who were not negligent to wage both horsmen & footmen in the realme of *Naples*. But the Popes bands being entred into their townes, they burned *Marina* & *Montfortin*, whose *Carol* held good as yet for the *Colomnois*. And in this rage of the victory & aduantage, they rased *Galiciana* & *Tafarola*, the *Colomnois* being carelesse of al other townes, then to defend their places of strength, & chiefly the towne of *Puliano*, which is a peece strong by situatio & of very hard accesse for great artilleries: besides, hath no accesse but by three wayes, wherof one cannot succor another: and hauing about it, wals of good fortification & thickness, the inhabitants were determined with great resolution to defend it. Neuerthelesse it was belceued, that if he had marched with diligence to assaile it notwithstanding many of the inhabitants of those townes that had bene taken were retired thither, he had easily caried it, for that there was not a soldier within it: but whilst he stood reporsing & deferring to go thither, folowing the inclinatio & working of his nature, which was ful of irresolutio & feare what things were to be put in executio, there entred into the towne by night a strength of 500 footmen as well Launceknights as *Italians*, being sent from the realme of *Naples*: a reliefe which as it made the taking of the towne so hard and desperate, that *Viselly* who

who at the same time kept his companies about *Grotta Ferrata*, not daring to attempt further enterprise vpon *Paliano*, and much lesse to execute any action against the peece called the Popes rocke: so after he had sent to batter with his artilleries the rocke of *Montfortin* garded by the *Colonnais*, he determined to gather together all his forces at *Valmonton*, more to looke to the defence of the country if anie stirre or emotion were made on *Naples* side, then with hope to be able to do any thing of importance: for the which he was blamed much of the Pope, who at a time when his device was to inuade the kingdome of *Naples*, and afterwarde when he called into *Rome* the regiments for his defence, wished to be sent thither *Vitelli* & *Iohn de Medicis*, two Captains, who as they were conioyned together by amitie & alliance, so by a naturall correspondencie of complexion, the slownesse and coldnesse of the one seemed sufficient both to ballance and temper and also to be ballanced and tempered of the valor and forwardnes of the other. But destinie drawing to a sodaine death in *Lumbarde* *Iohn de Medicis*, and the Pope by the counsell of his Lieutenant seruing his turne in the meane while of *Vitelli* in lesser things, had deferred to call *Iohn de Medicis* vntill either there were a greater necessity of him, or else he taried for an offer & occasion of some more worthie enterprise: wherein his reason to forbear so long to call *Iohn de Medicis*, was, that he would not depriue the armie that was in *Lumbarde* of a personage of so many merites & good parts, who by his resolution and forwardnesse gaue no litle terrour to his enemies, and by his vertue and prouidence did much assure his friends. And one inducement helping to his stay and abiding, was the rumor which by relation of espials redoubled daily, of the descending of the Lances knights for the Emperour, whose comming ioyned to the aduertisements that ran of the Spanish Nauie to be vpon the point to depart out of the port of *Carthage*, constrained the Pope (being withall vrged by many of the Confederates, and by his owne counsellors) to deuise, contrarie to his meaning alwayes before, to make some composition with the Duke of *Ferrara*: not so much to stand assured of his conspiracies & emotions, as to draw from him some great quantitie of money, & to induce him to go to the armie as Captaine general of all the League. Wherein after he had many times dealt with *Mathew Casella* the Dukes Embassadour resident with him, who assured him that in the Duke was no want of inclination that way: he sent to his Lieutenant *Guicciardin*, who was then at *Parma*, to go to *Ferrara*, furnishing him with a commission very large in apparence, but indeed full of restraints and limitations, for that he would haue him consent to render to the Duke of *Ferrara* the townes of *Modena* and *Reggia*, and he to pay in recompence and counterchange, in a verie short time, two hundred thousand duckets: To binde the Duke to declare and protest openly, and to go to the armie as Captaine generall of the League: That his eldest sonne should take in marriage *Catherine* the daughter of *Lawrence de Medicis*: That there should labor be made to giue one of the Dukes daughters in marriage to *Hippolito de Medicis* sonne of *Iulian*, with a conuenient dowrie. Manie other conditions were annexed to this commission, which for that by their owne varietie and for the shortnesse of the time, were almost impossible to be decided, yet the Pope notwithstanding he condescended not to them but by a last necessitie, yet he charged him not to passe the accord, nor to grow to absolute conclusion, till he had from him new directions and other instructions. But not long after he enlarged his commission, as well for regard of the conditions, as for authoritie and power to conclude. The reason of this amplification was, that he had receiued credible aduertisement, how the *Viceroy* of *Naples* was arriued with two and thirtie ships in the gulfes of *Saint Florent* in *Corfika*, and had brought with him three hundred horse, two thousand Launceknights, and three or foure thousand *Spaniards* footemen. But now the Popes will and working was to litle purpose, for that a gentleman of the Duke of *Ferraraes* being with the *Viceroy*, who with great diligence was dispatched from the place abouesaid, did not onely signifie to the Duke the comming of the armie by sea, but also he caried vnto him from the Emperour, the inuestiture of *Modena* and *Reggia*, with words of promise of the next marriage of Ladie *Margarite d'Austrich* bastard daughter to the Emperour, with *Hercules* eldest sonne to the Duke. By reason of which aduertisements, the Duke, who before expected with great desire the comming of the Lieutenant, began now vnder the accident of this occasion to chaunge counsell: and discerning both by the approach of the Launceknights and descending of the armie by sea, some good fortune to begin to follow the Emperours affaires, he failed not to embrace the oportunitie to follow the streame, & in that variation of mind sent a Counsellor of his called *Iames Aluato* to signifie to the Popes Lieutenant, who being gone

*Catherine de
Medicis*

Duke of Vrbini
goeth against
the Launcelights
of George Frö-
spergh.

Death of Iohn
de Medicis.

from *Parma* was then at *Centa*, the expedition he had receiued out of *Spaine*: by the which altho he was not bound to declare himselfe neither against the Pope, nor against the League, yett that he had receiued so great a benefite by the Emperbur, it was not reasonable he should entretaine any further practise against him. In which regard, the negociation for the which he went to *Ferrara*, being dissolued, he thought good to giue him signification of it, to the end not to giue the Pope by his silence any iust cause of discontentment against him. Neuertheless, he would not forbid him to come to *Ferrara*, but left it referred to his good discretion. The Lieutenant discerned manifestly by this relation that it would be in vaine for him to go on to *Ferrara*: in which respect, ioyning withall the interest of the Popes reputation, to follow a voyage wherein was so small hope of frute, and being also called backe by the necessitie of the affaires of *Lumbardey*, he gaue place to the operation of the time, and returned immediatly to *Modena*, after he had (notwithstanding) preferred in other forme new solicitations of accord, the rather for that the state of the Church on that side grew daily reduced into farre greater daungers: for that *George Fronspergh* with his armie of Launcelights containing thirteene or fourteene thousand, taking their way by the vale of *Sabio*, and so passing by the rocke of *Anso* towards *Salo*, were now come to *Chastillon* vpon the confines of *Mantua*. The Duke of *Vrbini* not many dayes before to be the more readie to encounter the Launcelights, had led the armie of the League to *Vawry* vpon the riuer of *Adda*, betweene *Trezza* and *Cassan*, and there had erected a bridge and fortified his campe: and leauing at *Vawry* the Marquis of *Salussa* with the French bands, the *Swissers*, the *Grisons*, and his owne footemen, he departed himselfe from *Vawry* the nineteenth of Nouember, leading with him *Iohn de Medicis*, sixe hundred men at armes, many cornets of light horsemen, and eight or nine thousand footmen. His intention was not to set vpon them directly in the plaine field, but to vex them with incommodities, and cut off their releefes and victuals, alleaging that the onely way to vanquish men of that humour, was to driue them to fall into some disorder, which being wel obserued and applied, would do them greater damage then a manifest inuasion. In which mind the one and twentieth day he arriued at *Sonzin*, from whence he caused to aduaunce forward *Mercurio* with all the light horsemen and a band of men at armes, & they to intangle the enemy with skirmish whilest the whole armie might haue time to ouertake them. The reason of that aduauncing of the light horsemen and hastie marching of the armie after, was, for that he feared he should come verie late, being lodged the same day at *Cauriano*: by which occasion excusing himselfe of his long tarying at *Vawry*, he layed the fault vpon the negligence and couetousnesse of the treasurer *Pisani*, through whose fault the campe was constrained to remaine there a day or two more, tarying for the oxen that should draw the artilleries: of which fault he alleaged afterwards did proceed a verie great disorder, extending almost to the ruine of the whole enterprise. Vntill that time there was great doubt what way the Launcelights would take, for that at first it was beleueed they would draw towards *Adda* by *Bressia* and *Bergama*, with purpose to be met by the bands Imperiall, and so to go with them to *Millan*: and afterwards it was supposed that they would passe the riuer of *Paw* at *Casalmajor*, & from thence would take their orderly march to *Millan*: but being come the two and twentieth day to *Rinolto* within eight miles of *Mantua* betweene the riuers of *Minceo* & *Oglia*, the Duke of *Vrbini* lodging the same day at *Prato Albino*, it was knowne (for that they passed not *Minceo* at *Goito*) that they would go on to passe *Paw* rather at *Bourqfort* or *Viadana* then at *Ostia* or in the places more lower: but passing at *Ostia*, it was a manifest signe that they would take the way of *Modena* and *Bologna*, in both which places there was made leaues of footemen and other prouisions. Afterwards the Launcelights tooke the way of *Bourqfort* the xxiiij. day, whither, because they had no artilleries, the Duke of *Ferrara* sent them foure falconets by the riuer of *Paw*, which though of it selfe was but a very slender succour, yet it was verie profitable to the seruice by the benefite of fortune: for, as the Duke of *Vrbini* in following them was entred within the straite of *Mantua*, within the which they were as yet: so in their approaching to *Bourqfort*, *Iohn de Medicis* made after the with his light horsemen to charge them vpon the taile, though with no reason or hope to doe any great matter: and as he accosted them verie neare, not knowing that they had anie artilleries, his destinie led him on in that secure resolution to the daunger of his life, for that with the second shot of one of those Falconets, his legge was broken a little aboue the knee, from whence being caried wounded to *Mantua*, he ended his life there within few dayes after, to the great preiudice of the enterprise, since the enemies

neuer

neuer stood in feare of any mans armes or valour, then of his: for notwithstanding he had but xxij. yeares of age, and by that disposition of youth was full of heate and forwardnesse, yet his experience and vertue subdued to moderation and temperance the rage of nature and youth, and daily ranged to good order and discretion, those violent humors which through the intemperancie of his youth took libertie to stirre in him: and by the tokens of industrie and wisdom appearing more and more in him, he caried an assured expectation to become in time a Captaine most sufficient and accomplished in all things concerning the science of warre. After this the Launceknights without any impediment drewe along the riuer of *Paw* to *Ostia*, the Duke of *Vrbm* being at *Bourgsfort*: and hauing passed ouer *Paw* at *Ostia* the eight and twentieth day, they encamped at *Rouero*, where the Duke of *Ferrara* sent them a certaine releefe of money, and furnished them with some field peeces. But the inhabitants of *Bologna* and all *Tuscane* began to be verie fearful, for that the Duke of *Vrbm*, notwithstanding he had assured before, that if the enemies passed the riuer of *Paw* he would do the like, was gone to *Mantua*, saying he would tarie in that place for a commission from the Senate of *Venice*, to direct him whether he should passe *Paw* or not. But the Launceknights after they had passed the riuer of *Secchia*, turned to the way of *Lumbardy* to ioine with the companies that were within *Millan*.

At which time the *Viceroy*, who was departed from *Corsica* with five and twentie vessels (for two of his ships were perished in a storme before he came to *S. Florent*, and five others were separate from the Nauie abiding their fortune) encountred about *Sestria* in the Leuant, the Nauy of the League, which contained sixe gallies of the French, five of the Popes & five of the *Venetians*: and being grappled together about *Codemont*, they fought from two of the clocke till night: in which conflict it is written by *Andrew Dore* that he sunke one of their ships wherein were more then three hundred men, and did many other great damages to the whole fleete with his artilleries. He wrote also, that for the storme season the gallies were constrained to retire vnder the hill of *Portosino*, expecting the same night the other gallies that were at *Portouenere*. But whether they came or not, he wrote that vpon the appearing of the day they would go seeke the enemies: neuertheless albeit they followed the fleete to *Lyuorno*, yet they could neuer ouertake it, for the way they had wonne afore them, by which occasion beleeuing that the fleete had run vp either into *Corso* or into *Sardignia*, they were so much the lesse readie in diligence to follow it. Afterwards the *Viceroy* followed his way, but so shaken with stormes and tempests, that his ships were disperfed, whereof one of them commaunded by *Don Ferrand de Gonsaguo*, was driuen into *Sicile*, which afterwards came to *Caietta*, where were set on land certaine Launceknights. But touching himselfe, he arriued with the residue of the nauie at the port of *Saint Stephen*, from whence for that he was vncertaine in what condition or termes stood the affaires, he sent to the Pope at *Rome* the Commaunder *Pignatolo*, with commissions expressing the good intentions of the Emperour: and after the rage of the sea was abated, he sailed with his Nauie to *Caietta*.

In this meane while the Lanceknights after they had passed the riuer of *Secchia* & were drawne towards *Razzolo* and *Gonsaguo*, lodged the third day of December at *Guaftallo*, and the fourth day at *Newcastel* and *Powy* which is ten miles from *Parma*. There the Prince of *Orenge* came to them, passing from *Mantua* with two companions in the habite of a simple harquebuzier. The fifth day after they had passed the riuer of *Lenze* about the bridge and the high way, they lodged at *Montchiarucolo*, the Duke of *Vrbm* remaining yet at *Mantua* with his wife, and was not touched with the present daunger of the affaires. The seuenth day after they had passed the riuer beyond *Parma*, they bestowed themselues in the villages of *Felina*. At that time the raines fel great and thicke, whereby the riuers swelled high and brode, and Captaine *George* by the relation of his letters written to the Duke of *Burbon* and surprised by espiall, shewed himselfe verie irresolute what course to take. The eleuenth day they passed the riuer of *Taro*, and the day following they lodged at the borough *Saint Donin*, where they exercised their malice against holy reliks and images of Saints. The xiiij. day they encamped at *Frenzolo*, from whence as was discerned by surprising of letters, they solicited the bands of *Millan* to come and ioine with the, who albeit were agreeing with them in the same desire, yet they were retained by want of money: for the penurie of the *Spaniards* carying them into mindes insolent and disobedient, made them bold to say that they would not depart out of *Millan*; vnlesse they were satisfied of their old payes, and in that disorder they began to sacke and spoile. But at last to stoppe the course of so dangerous

Encounter of
the Nauie of
the Emperour
with the fleete
of the Confe-
derates.

The Prince of
Orenge with
the Launce-
knights.

a mutinie, the industrie of the Captaines reappeased the angrie minds of the souldiers, who were contented to receiue onely fixe payes, which to furnish and accomplish, they were driuen to dispoile the Churches of their plate, and to imprison many Citizens: wherein the better to containe the whole in safetie, such of the souldiers as were payd the Captaines sent to *Pavia*, though with very great difficultie, for that they were loth to leaue the place where they had liued with so great libertie. And because the action of these things would require some time, the Captaines in the meane while sent beyond *Paw* certaine bands of horsemen and footemen *Italians* to ioyne with the Launceknights. And albeit the Popes Lieutenant had made instance, that the Duke of *Urbino* for the better suretie of the estate of the Church, would passe the riuer of *Paw* on that side with the *Venetian* regiments: yet the Duke had not onely deferred to passe, alleaging sometimes that he expected the will and resolution of the *Venetians*, and sometimes temporising vpon other causes and reasons, but also he gaue signification to the Senate, that if he should leade the armie ouer the riuer of *Paw*, there would be daunger least the Imperials would inuade their estates: for which allegation holding more vpon feare then good reason of warre, he receiued strait charge from them, not to passe the riuer. And he had also in that regard retained manie dayes the bands of footemen that were vnder the commaundement of *Iohn de Medicts*, whom the Lieutenant had vehemently solicited to passe *Paw* for the defence of the affaires of the Church. And whereas the Marquis of *Salussa* had passed the riuer of *Adda*, of whom the Lieutenant had required succours, as well to assure the things of the Church, as for that by the great diminution of the *Swissers* and *Grisons*, he saw himselfe not strong enough at *Vawry*. Now the *Venetians* who before had consented that the Marquis should passe *Paw* to the succours of the Pope with tenne thousand footemen, both *Swissers* and of his owne people, who were payed with the fortie thousand duckets allotted to the French king, besought the Duke of *Urbino* that they might not be led ouer the riuer, being thereunto moued and induced by the perswasions of the said Duke. By reason whereof the Duke sending him word that he would conferre with him at *Sonzin*, deferred his comming so long, that the Marquis went his way. Wherein such was either his negligence of the affaires, or his timorous condition, that he did not onely all he could to make him to stay, to the ende to behold with better eye what the Launceknights would do, but also he made manifest perswasions to him not to passe at all; an occasion that somewhat stayed him in the expedition, as also that the payes of the *Swissers* were not readie, who were payed after the rate of fixe thousand, and were in trueth but foure thousand. And albeit for that impediment he deferred to passe vntill the seuen and twentieth of December, yet he sent abroad into diuerse places of the countrey, the French horsemen with certaine bandes of footemen, to stop the passage of victuals to the Launceknights, who had now remained manie dayes at *Firenzola*: for that seruice also was sent *Guido Vaine* to the borough of *Saint Domin* with an hundred light horsemen: and *Paule Lusajquo* came out of *Plaisance* with a good troupe of horsemen, and drew neare to *Firenzola*, from which place one part of the Launceknights went to lodge at the borough of *Arquo* for the more commoditie of victuals. For feare of the said Launceknights *Plaisance* had bene refurnished before, but not with so sufficient forces as were thought conuenient for the defence of the place, for that the Popes Lieutenant, who had alwayes feared since the comming of the Launceknights, least the difficulties to aduance their expeditions in *Lumbardy*, would not force the Imperials to passe into *Tuscane*, wished that they would desire to go encampe before *Plaisance*: for which reason vnkowne to all men, yea euen to the Pope himselfe, he so deferred to furnishe *Plaisance*, that they might dispaire to be able to take it: and yet he manned it and fortified it in such sort as they could not easily carie it, leauing this hope, that if they went thither he could not lacke meane to rescue it. But by the long abode which the Launceknights made in the places thereabout, & the vniuersall exclamations of all men touching the daunger, least that Citie should be taken, he was driuen to suffer *Guido Rangon* to go thither with a great companie of souldiers, like as also according to the direction of the *Venetians*, who had promised to send thither for garrison a thousand footmen to succour the Popes necessitie, *Nabbon de Naldo* one of their Captaines, was dispatched thither with a regiment of a thousand footmen: but because they were ill payed, they were immediatly diminished to foure hundred. At last the Marquis of *Salussa* passed the riuer, who in true muster and computation had not in his armie aboue foure thousand *Swissers* and *Grisons*, and three thousand footemen of his owne:
and

and being come to *Pulefma*, notwithstanding he was desired not to depart from thence, the better to vex the Launceknights who were at *Firenzola*, whither *Lusaquo* made incursions many times euen vp to their lodgings, yet for his better luerie he went vp to *Torriscella* and *Stiffa*. But amid these marchings and remouings of souldiers and regiments, the Launceknights within two dayes after brake vp from *Firenzola*, and went to *Carpinetta* and the places thereabouts. Neither was it knowne what course the Duke of *Burbon* would take, whether he would plant his campe before *Plaisance* being come out of *Millan*, or whether he would passe further in the expedition of *Tuscane*. Afterwards the Launceknights passed the river of *Nuro* the last day of the yeare, to the end to passe afterwards the river of *Trebia*, and to tarie for the Duke of *Burbon* in that place, which was least subiect to the incursions of the enemy.

Thus the affaires of *Lombardy* proceeded in a slow course, not so much for the season of the yeare which was sharpe and full of incommodities, as for the difficulties which the Duke of *Burbon* had to pay his souldiers, wherein rested not the least impediments to the good fortune and felicitie of the warre. The wretched people of *Millan* were wonderfully trauelled for prouision of money: in which necessitie or rather tyrannie, *Ierome Moron* being condemned to death, compounded the night before he should suffer, to pay twentie thousand duckets, for the which it seemed they had passed him to sentence of death. But after the relêse of his purse had auoyded the danger of his life, and vnder the same good meane his person was deliuered out of prison, such was the course of his destinie working instrumentally by the dexteritie of his spirite and wit, that of a prisoner to the Duke of *Burbon*, he became his counsellor, and within short time he went on by the operation of his wit, till he became almost his onely gouernour and director.

*Ierome Moron
out of prison.*

Neuerthelesse amid all these variations and vexations the treatises of truce or peace were great betweene the Pope and the *Viceroy*, though in good meaning the plots and purposes of the *Viceroy* tended rather to make warre, wherein he was set on by the incitation of the *Colommois*, who had breathed into him a new life since he came to *Caietta*, and also because he vnderstood that the Pope no lesse abated in courage then naked in money, found nothing so sweete as the desire of peace: wherein both publishing to all the world his pouertie and his feare, and in his confusion refusing to create Cardinals for money according to the counsell that was giuen him, the demonstrations he made of his owne weakenesse, gaue courage and hope to whom so euer would offend him. For, as the Pope not entring into the warre with that constancie of mind that appertained, had sent to the Emperour a letter the xxvj. of Iune, containing matter bitter and full of complaints, that he droue him by necessitie to intend to the warre: so also fearing afterwarde least by the sharpe phrases of that letter he might further incense the Emperour whom he so much feared, he sent after another expedition, compounded of an humour more temperate and reformed, charging his Nuncio to retaine the first, which neuerthelesse was deliuered for that it came first to his hands: the other was presented afterwards, but the Emperour vnder one expedition answered them both seuerally, according to the argument and nature of matter they contained. Moreouer the Pope had readily hearkened to the Generall of *Grayfears*, who going into *Spaine* at such time as the warre began, was charged by him to deliuer to the Emperour embassages mild and full of amitie: and being elssoones returned to *Rome* by commission of the Emperour, he brought many reports and informations touching his good intention, and how he would be content to come into *Italy* with a traine of fife thousand men, and from thence after he had taken the Crowne of the Empire, he would passe into *Germany* to set downe some forme to the matters of *Luther*, without speaking anie thing of the Councell: That he was also well inclined to accord with the *Venetians* vnder reasonable conditions: That he would referre the cause of *Frauncis Sforce* to the arbitration of two Iudges assigned by the Pope and him, and in case he were condemned, he would bestow that estate vpon the Duke of *Burbon*: That he would reuoke his armie out of *Italy*, so farre forth as the Pope and *Venetians* would pay three hundred thousand crownes to satisfie the wages of the army, which notwithstanding he would labour to make contented with a summe more moderate: That he would restore to the French king his children, receiuing in counterchange two millions of gold at two or more termes: He shewed also that it would be easie to accord with the king of *England*, both for that the summe that was in question was not great, and also the king had made offer of it. And the better to debate & work these matters, the Generall of *Grayfears* offered a truce for viij. or x. moneths, protesting that he had warrants and commissions

from the Emperour very large and absolute, wherein all power of negotiation and conclusion was giuen to him, to the *Viceroy*, and to *Don Hugo*. In regard of which authority, and good inclination of the Emperour, the Pope, after he had giuen audience to *Pignatolo*, and had receiued aduertisement that the *Viceroy* was gone out of the port of *S. Stephen*, sent the generall to *Caietta* to treat vpon these matters with him: whereunto he was the rather induced, for that both the *Venetians* would not refuse the truce if the French king would consent, who for his part was not far estranged from it, and his mother had sent to *Rome* *Laurence Tuskane* declaring an inclination to peace, wherein should be a generall comprehension of all men. And also for that he thought no practise to be sure without the will and concurrency of the Duke of *Burbon*, he sent to him in that behalfe one of his owne Amners that was at *Rome*, whom the Duke returned eistfoones to the Pope to sollicite the same matter; and yet neither to loose the oportunity of the time, nor to abandon the prouisions for the warre, he sent Cardinal *Augustine Triunco* as Legate to the armie, which was then in the field, and continuing also his preparations to inuade the Realme of *Naples* *Peter Nauarre* ariued the third of Decmber at *Ciuitauecchia* with a Nauie of xxviij gallies of the Popes, the French, and the *Venetians*: at which time also *Ranſe de Cere* being sent for the french king for the expedition intended vpon *Naples*, was ariued at *Sanomma* with a fleete of sailes quartered. On the other side *Askanio Colommo* with a strength of two thousand footemen and three hundred horsemen, came to *Valbon* fiteene miles from *Tiboli*, where are the lands of the Abbot of *Farfa* and *Iohn Iordan*: with these forces the twelfth of December he tooke *Cepperano*, finding no resistance for that it was not garded. Vitelly with the Popes companies reduced himselfe betweene *Tiboly*, *Palestine*, and *Volletre*. Afterwardes the *Colommois* tooke *Ponsecorue* which was not garded, and in vaine gaue assault to *Scarpa*, which is a litle and weake place depending vpon the Abbey of *Farfa*. *Cesar Filettin* approached by night to *Alagnia* with fiteene hundred footmen, of which fiae hundred making their entrie secretly, by the fauour of a house ioyning to the walles, and by the practise of certaine of the townesmen that receiued them, were repulſed and driuen out againe by *Lion de Fano* commander of the footmen that were there. In this meane while the generall of Grayfrears returned from the *Viceroy* to the Pope, to whom he related the *Viceroyes* inclination to consent to the truce for certaine moneths, to the end that in the meane while the peace might take course: onely he stood vpon demaunds of money, and for suretie he required the Castells of *Ostia* and *Ciuitauecchia*. But of the contrary to him, the archbishop of *Capua* ariuing at *Caietta* after he was departed, and who happily had bene sent thither with an ill counsell of the Pope, wrote to him that the *Viceroy* reiecting all motions to truce, was contented to make peace with the Pope onely, or with the Pope and *Venetians* ioyntly, so far forth as they would make payment of money to the end to maintaine the army for assurance of the peace, and afterwards to debate in the matter of the truce with the others; an alteration mouing either by the variation or chaunge of the *Viceroy*, or haply by the perswasions of the Archbishop as many suspected. At which time *Paul d'Arezze* being come to the Emperours Court with authoritie from the Pope, the *Venetians* and *Francis Sforce*, whither also went by the motion of the king of *England* for the negociation of peace the Auditor of the Chamber, the rather for that before were come thither full commissions from the french king: he found the Emperour wholly changed both in mind and will, taking the reason of his alteration vpon an aduerisement he had receiued of the army of the Launceknights, and of his Nauie in *Italy*. In so much as enforcing the fauor of that good aduantage, he fled from all the conditions that were set downe before, and wrged vehemently that the French king should obserue absolutely the accord of *Madrill*, & to haue the cause of *Francis Sforce* heard by law before Iudges assigned by himselfe. Thus did both the will and intention of the Emperour vary according to the successe of affaires, like as also his commissions which he sent to his Agents in *Italy*, bare alwaies by reason of the distance of the place, either an expresse or silent condition to gouerne themselves according to the variation of times and occasions. Therefore the *Viceroy* after he had many daies abused the Pope with vaine practises, and would not so much as consent to a surceance of armes for a few daies till the negociation might sort to some issue, brake vp from *Naples* the xx. of December to go into the states of the Church, in which wilfulnesse he offred many new and very strange conditions of accord.

But to returne to the last day of the yeare, wherein the Launceknights (as we haue said) passed the

the ruer of *Nure*: the same day also the Duke of *Ferrara*, by the meane of his Embassadour, capitulated with the *Viceroy* and *Don Hugo* who had commission from the Emperour. Neuerthelesse the capitulation was made with a verie small liking of that Embassadour; for that he was almost constrained to consent by the threats and rude words of the *Viceroy*. The articles of the capitulation were these: That the Duke of *Ferrara* should be bound as well in his person as in his estates, to serue the Emperour against all his enemies: That he should be Captaine generall for the Emperour in *Italy*, with a companie of an hundred men at armes and two hundred light horsemen, only he should assemble and leaue them at his owne charges, and receiue againe allowance in his accounts: That he should presently receiue the towne of *Carpy* and the Castell of *Nony* which had appertained to *Albert Pio*, for the dowrie of the Emperours bastard daughter promised to his sonne, onely the reuenues should be answered in account of the souldiers, a compensation to be made vntill the consummation of the mariage: And that *Vespasian Colonno* and the Marquis of *Guaft* should disclaime and renounce the rights which they pretended to them: That he should pay the summe of two hundred thousand duckets when he had recouered *Modena*: but out of that should be deducted that which he had giuen to the *Viceroy* since the battell of *Pauia*: That if he did not recouer *Modena*, all the summes of money which he had before disbursed, should be eftsouones repayed to him: That the Emperour should be bound to his protection, and not to make peace without comprehending him, and not without obtaining for him of the Pope, absolution of the paines and censures which he had incurred euer since he was declared confederate to the Emperour: And lastly that he should vse all his meanes and authoritie to the Pope to absolue him of all those penalties and transgressions which he had run into before. Thus in the end of the yeare 1526. all things prepared and tended to a manifest and open warre.

The end of the seuenteenth booke.



THE EIGHTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGVMENT.

The Duke of Burbon issueth out of Millan. The Viceroy and Colonnois make war against the Pope in the estate of the Church. The Marquis of Salussa entreteth within Bologna. The Pope maketh warre in the kingdome of Naples. The Duke of Burbon leadeth his army to Rome; taketh the towne and sacketh it, and is slaine in the action. The Pope being abandoned of all hope, accordeth with the Imperials. A mutinie in Florence. The king of England is declared against the Emperer. The Confederates do many enterprises.



Now ensueth the yeare of our Lord 1527. a yeare prepared to many hard euents and accidents, such as for their crueltie were full of feare and danger, and for their straungenesse, had no example or experience with the worlds and ages before. For in the predictions of this yeare was expressed an vniuersall face of troubles and confusion, of mutation of estates, of captiuitie of Princes, of desolation of Cities, of dearth of victuals, and of a generall visitation of the plague, yea through all the regions & climates of *Italy*, there was no apparance nor contemplation of other thing then of blood, death, famine and flying; a condition lamentable euen to forreiners and straungers that did but heare of it, but most intollerable to those miserable wretches vpon whose neckes the law of destinie had drawne so grieuous a yoke. To these calamities there was no other thing that stayed the action of beginning, but the difficulties which the Duke of

The Duke of
Burbon goeth
out of Milan
and leaueth
there Anthony
de Lena

Burbon found to make the regiments of Spanish footmen to depart out of *Milán*: for where he had determined that *Anthony de Lena* should abide there for the defence of the whole Duchie, and retaine with him all those bands of Launceknights which were there before, for whose entertainments and payes were consumed both all the monies exacted at times vpon the *Milannois*, & also such other summes as were leauied by the billes of exchange which the Duke of *Burbon* brought from *Spaine*. And where he had also appointed to remaine with the said *Lena* for the seruice of the Duchie, a strength of twelue hundred footmen *Spaniards*, together with some bandes of Italian footmen vnder the leading of *Lodowike Belliense* and other commanders: so likewise by their example all the other bands and regiments of souldiers, for that they had in pray the houses, the wiues, and daughters of the inhabitants of *Milán*, were not discontented to liue still in that estate of licentious liberty: but for that both for the necessitie of the present seruice, & regard of their proper honor, and lastly for the awe and authoritie of the Duke of *Burbon*, they could not directly refuse the appointment, they demanded at least to be satisfied before they departed of their payes due to them before that day. Neuerthelesse what by the force of reasons and perswasions, and what by the example of some particulars inducing the residue by their good inclination, they promised at last to follow the Duke, so farre forth as he would pay them due payes; a condition very hard to accomplish and furnish, for that there was no possibilitie to make any more leauies of money of the inhabitants of *Milán*, neither by way of rigor or threatnings, nor by sacking their houses, nor by imprisoning their persons. Besides, in that estate of extreme violence and oppression, such as were absent and had abandoned the towne, were adiorned and taxed at rates to nourish the armie, and those that vpon summons refused to appeare, their goods by sentence were giuen to the souldiers.

At last both by the industrie of the Duke and the extremitie of the time, all these difficulties were overcome, and the Imperiales, called on both by the necessitie of the seruice, and hazard of the whole warre, passed ouer the riuer of *Paw* the last daie saue one of Ianuarie. The day after one parte of the Launceknights who before had passed ouer the riuer of *Trebia*, repassed it againe and went to lodge at *Pontenono*, and the residue of the armie staid beyond *Plaisance*. On the other side, the Marquis of *Salussa*, who had all his regiments and bands of souldiers dispersed in the countrie, was at *Parma*; and the Duke of *Urbino* being now come to *Casalmajor*, and to whose opinion and election the *Venetians* had referred to passe or not passe the riuer of *Paw*, began to passe his companies, assuring the armie that if the Imperiales tooke the way of *Tuskane* according to the aduertisements he had receiued from *Milán*, that both he would passe in person with 600. men at armes, 9000. footmen, and 500. light horsemen, and through his celeritie would be before them at *Bologna*: and also the Marquis of *Salussa* should do the like with his regiments and the bands of the Church. The armie Imperiall staid about twenty dayes the one halfe on this side, and the other halfe beyond *Plaisance*; a matter happening partly through the difficultie of monie, the Launceknights not hauing receiued till that daie one penie of the Duke of *Burbon*: and partly by a desire he had to plant his campe before *Plaisance*, though haply more for the difficulties he found to passe further then for anie other matter. Wherein the better to aduance his intention for the besieging of *Plaisance*, he solicited the Duke of *Ferrara* to furnish him with powder and artilleries, and to come & ioyne his person with the armie, offering to send out to meete him sixe hundred men at armes, and Captaine *George* with sixe thousand footmen. To this demand the Duke of *Ferrara* made answer, that he could not with anie safetie send powder through the countrie of the enemye, for that it could not be without manifest danger of interception: and that he could not without apparant hazard of his person, ioyne him selfe with him, for that all the companies of the league lay in the wayes of his passage: but be it there were safety and facilitie in both those wayes, yet he wished the Duke of *Burbon* to consider that he could not do a thing more commodious for the enemye, nor more agreeable to their desires, then to stand temporising and lose time about the action of those townes one after another: that if he tooke not *Plaisance*, wherein the doubt was greater then the hope, or if he did take it, the action whereof would deuour a great deale of time, he was to looke how farre it would concerne his reputation, and with what meanes he were able to pursue the warre hauing so great wantes of monie and other prouisions: Lastlie he told him that the way to aduance the benefite of the Emperour and to establish the victorie, was to draw and addresse him selfe to the head, and

The Duke of
Ferrara pers-
wadeth the
duke of Burbon.

casting

calling behind him all other enterprizes, to march with celerity to *Bologna*, and there to determine either to force that towne (in which enterprize he could not want succors) or at least to passe on either to *Florence* or to *Rome*.

But during the counsell and expedition of these matters, together with the deuises the Duke of *Burbon* vsed to get monie, both to make vp the full pay of the Spanish souldiers and to giue some reliefe to the Launceknights, amongst whom at their departing from *Plaisance* he distributed two crownes to euery man. The warre went on, and was strongly kindled in the estate of the Church: for *Ranſe de Cere* at his returne from *France* was newly gone to the campe Ecclesiastike, which campe lay very neare to the *Viceroy* who was then vpon the confines of *Ceppe-rana*, where certaine bands of Italian footmen gaue an ouerthrow to three hundred men of the Spanish footmen. But the counsellors and opinions of men were diuerſe touching the maner how to defend the state Ecclesiastike: for as *Vitelly* before the coming of *Ranſe*, had counselled the Pope to abandon the prouince of *Campagna*, and to bestow two thousand footmen within *Ty-nolly*, and two thousand within *Pillistrina*, and the residue of the armie to remaine at *Villetta* to stop the *Viceroy* for going to *Rome*: so *Ranſe* ariuing euen vpon the point of this resolution, re-prooued the counsell to remaine and be inclosed within *Villetta*, both for the great and large circuit of the towne, the many impediments and incommodities to fortifie it, and lastly for the vnaptneſſe & many inconueniences it bare to stop the passage of the enemies: but his opinion was to haue the armie holden within *Ferentin*, where by reason they should not be tied to the garding off so many places, it should be more strong and full, besides also that the place gaue good opportunity to hinder the enemies for passing further. This counsell was approued and holden for good, and according to the reasons and directions of it, they bestowed within *Fruſolone* a principall towne of *Campagna* and within fūe miles of *Ferentin*, a garrison of eightene hundred footmen of the regiments of *Iohn de Medicis*, who for the most part were called by the name of the blacke bandes: and thither were also sent *Alexander Vitelly*, *Iohn Baptista Saueſſa*, and *Peter Biragno*, commanders ouer light horsemen.

Continuation
of the Warre
begunne in the
state Ecclesia-
stike.

But in this meane while the familie of the *Colonna*s had secretly conspired with *Napoleon Vrsin* Abbot of *Farfa*, and had induced him to take armes in the towne of *Rome* as souldier to the Emperour. But the Pope hauing aduertisement of the whole practise, which he did dissemble with the same subtlety which he found it out withall, found meane to send the Abbot, who had receiued monie of him before, to meete *Monsieur Vandemont* the Duke of *Lorraines* brother, whom the French king sent to him to fauor the enterprize of *Naples*: and by the Popes direction the Abbot was apprehended neare to *Pracciano*, and sent prisoner to the castle *S. Angelo*. The Pope was all this while in no small thought to make prouision of monie, wherein imploring the aide of other princes, he receiued of new from the king of *England* a supply of thirtie thousand duckets which the Lord *Russell* his Chamberlaine brought vnto him: and with him came *Monsieur de Rabandanges* with ten thousand crowns sent to him by the French king vpon the benefite of the tenthes which the Pope had accorded to him by necessitie and compulsion, vnder this promise notwithstanding, that besides the payments of the fortie thousand crowns which he gaue to the league, and twenty thousand which he contributed to the Pope for euery moneth, he should presently minister to him thirtie thousand duckets; and within a moneth thirtie thousand more. The king of *England* gaue commission also to the Lord *Russell* to signifie to the *Viceroy* and the Duke of *Burbon*, a surſeance of armes, to the end to giue sufferance and time to treat a peace, the practise and negociation wherof according to the Emperors will, was holden in *England*: and if the *Viceroy* would not condescend to it, then to denounce against him warre. It seemed by this readines and many other apparances, that the king of *England* vnder a desire to marry his daughter with the French king, was well inclined to the confederates and fauoured their cause, and in that good inclinatio he promised that as soone as the marriage were established, to enter into the league and beginne the warre in *Flaunders*. It seemed also he was particularly disposed to do pleasure to the Pope: but there could be no great expectation of ready remedies from a Prince who both measured not well the present conditions of *Italy*, nor stood firme and resolute in his purposes, beeing still labored and retired by the hope which the Emperour gaue him to commit to him the working and arbitration of the peace, notwithstanding the effects were in nothing correspondent to the semblances and shewes he made: for when the Auditor of the

Chamber was with him for that matter, albeit the Emperour did what he could to perswade him in many sortes that such was his intention: yet for that he expected some euent from *Italy* since the descending of the Launceknights, and the sailing of his Nauie at sea, whereof he had receiued some aduertisement, he forbore to giue him an answer assured and certaine, taking his excuse vpon the warrants and commissiours of the Cōfederates, as though they were not sufficient.

But the accord which the Pope solicited continually with the *Viceroy*, hurt him not a little with the Confederats, both for that they stood alwaies in eare least he would resolve and compound with him: and also the French king and the *Venetians* made this iudgement, that all the expences and defraiments which they should make to support him, would be almost vnprofitable. This iudgment and suspition tooke increasing by certaine degrees of vehement feares which were discerned in him, together with the lamentable protestations he made daily that he was no more able to sustaine the warre. Wherein against his ordinary meane and remedie in that case, he opposed wilfully his naturall obstinacy, and would not make Cardinales for monie, nor releue himselfe in so great necessities and amid so manie dangers of the Church, with those means which other Popes had wont to vse, yea euen in the atchieuing of their vniust and ambitious enterprises. In which regard, the French king and the *Venetians*, to be the better prepared and readie in all accidents, were eithers particularly bound to make no accord with the Emperour, the one without the other: and the French king for that cause, and for the great hope which the king of *England* gaue to raise together with him (in case the mariage went forward) great emotions in the spring following, became more negligent and lesse carefull of the dangers of *Italy*.

In this time the *Viceroy* who solicited an inuasion vpon the Church states, dispatched a regiment of two thousand Spanish footmen, to assault a small Castle of *Stephen Colonno*, where the valour of the defendants made that enterprise in vaine. And because the *Viceroy* came on and aduanced, the Ecclesiastikes referred to another time to execute the resolution taken to batter the Popes rocke, the garrisons of which place had surpris'd the Castle *Gandolfo* but weakly manned, and at that time holden by the Cardinall *de Monie*. At last the *Viceroy*, after he had assembled into one strength twelve thousand footmen, all bodies commanded and trained sauing the *Spaniards* and Launceknights that were come with him by sea, encamped with his whole armie the xxix. of Ianuarie before *Frusolone*, a towne weake and without walles, sauing that the houses of some particulars serue as a wall, and within the which the Captaines of the Church had bestowed garrison, because they would leaue him no footing nor entrie into *Campagna*. To the weaknes of this place was ioined a great necessitie and want of victuals: and yet the situation of the towne standing vpon a hill, giueth alwaies to the inhabitants good meane and oportunitie to saue themselves on one side, for that it beareth a certaine benefite of rescue and backing; a matter which gaue a great resolution to the garrison within to defend it, besides that they were of the best choise of *Italians* which at that time tooke pay. Moreouer the height of the mountaine was no little impediment to the enemies to do any action vpon their artilleries, of which they had planted three demy Cannons and foure Culuerines: only the greatest care of the enemies was to stoppe as much as they could the entrie of victualles into the towne. On the other side the Pope, who albeit was much impouerished for monie, and was more apt to suffer indignity to desire others to releue him, then to furnish himselfe by meanes extraordinarie, increased his campe as much as he could with bands of footmen payed and trained: and in that incertainty of mind and dealing, he had newly taken into his pay *Horacio Baillon*, without keeping memorie or obseruation of the iniuries which he had done before to his father, and afterwards to him, whom he had of long holden prisoner within the Castle of *S. Angelo* as a troubler of the quiet of *Perouza*. With these supplies of souldiers his armie went on alwaies drawing neare to *Ferentin* to make there his generall musters, and to giue hope of succours to those that were besieged. The batterie of *Frusolone* was reduced to perfection the xxiiij. day, but because it was not such as to giue hope to carie the place, there was no assault performed: onely Captaine *Alarcon* traueilling about the walles was hurt with the blow of a harquebuse, and likewise *Maria Vrsin* was wounded. One of the principall grounds and hopes of the *Viceroy* was, that he was not ignorant that the souldiers within suffered great scarcitie of victualles, as also the armie that mustered at *Ferentin* was in the same extremity: for the souldiers of the *Colonnos* which lay within *Palicina*, *Montfortin*, and the Popes Rocke, the onely places which they held, robbed and spoiled all that they found vpon the

waies, and *Ranse* going to the armie, hauing for his eskort and sarge the bands offootmen of *Cuio*, they cut them in peeces and made pillage of what they found. Neuerthelesse as euery accident of warre is tied to his seuerall euent, and where be made many aduentures there be sundrie issues and fortunes: so it hapned that three hundred footmen issuing out of *Frusolone* seconded and backed by one part of the horsemen which were led by *Alexander Vitelly*, *Iohn Baptista Sauello*, and *Peter Biraguo*, approched within halfe a mile of *Larnato*, where were lodged fife ensignes of Spanish footmen of which they drew two ensignes into an ambush and ouerthrew them, and in the conflict was slaine Captaine *Perault* with fourscore footmen, many were made prisoners, and two ensignes wonne and borne away. All this while the *Viceroy* was busie in casting of mines at *Frusolone*, which for the most part were reuersed by countermine made by the defendants, who standing fully assured in their owne valour, and fearing litle the forces of the enemies, refused the aide of foure hundred footmen whom the Captaines of the armie would haue sent thither for their succours. And yet amid all these actions and accidents of warre, the solicitations of accord kept on their course with the same vehemencie they did before: for at this time the Generall and the Archbishop of *Capua* were returned to *Rome*, and with them was come *Cesar Fieromosquo* a Neapolitan, whom the Emperour had dispatched to the Pope after the *Viceroy* was departed from *Spaine*: to him was giuen full commission to assure the Pope by especiall protestation, both how much he was discontented with the action of *Don Hugo* and the *Colonnais* vpon *Rome*, together with the accidents that followed, and also to make impression of the Emperours desire and inclination, to compound with him friendly all the controuersies and differences that were betweene them. Their expedition bare also, that they should debate vpon the peace in his name; a matter which he seemed also inclined to accomplish with the other confederates, saying according to the relation of his Nuncio, that if the Pope executed his enterprize to go to *Bologna*, he would giue him full and free power to pronounce it as he thought best. These deputies propounded for the *Viceroy* a surceance of armes for two or three yeares with the Pope and *Venetians*; euery one retaining still the possessions they enioyed at the present, and the Pope to pay an hundred and fifty thousand duckets, and the *Venetians* fifty thousand; a taxation albeit not a litle grieuous to the Pope for the difficulties to leaue it, yet such was his inclination to be deliuered of the trauels of the warre, that the rather to induce the *Venetians*, he offered to impose vpon himselfe the fiftie thousand duckets rated vpon them: wherein the better to allure their consents, & to expect their answer, he made truce for eight daies with the *Viceroy* the last of January, in which it was agreed, that the regiments of the Church should not passe *Ferentin*, nor the bands of the *Viceroy* *Frusolone*, and that as there should be no action executed against the towne, so likewise the towne was forbidden all maner of fortifications and prouisions of victuals, but from one day to an other. Amid which interposing of the truce, *Fieromosquo* thinking he had well founded the intention of the Pope, and could also discouer the meaning of the Emperour without doing wrong to his dignitie, he presented him a long letter written with the Emperours hand, full of his good intention, offers, and deuotion towards the Pope. But after he was departed from the Popes presence, and prepared to go signifie to the *Viceroy* & the Legate the surceance agreed vpon, and to giue addresse for the execution of it, the same day he found the armie departed from *Ferentin* and marching towards *Frusolone*: he communicated with the Legate all that had passed betweene the Pope and him, who not willing to breake the great hopes which he and his souldiers had of the victorie, entertained his doings with praise and commendation, and leading him in the abuse of faire words, he sent secret direction to his Captaines not to forbear to march on. The armie could not come in time to *Frusolone*, if they wonne not a passage or way in forme of a bridge lying at the foot of the first hill of *Frusolone*, and garded by foure ensignes of Launceknights. But as soone as the vauward came which was commanded by *Stephen Colonne*, and that they came to hand strokes with them, they disordred & put them to flight, after they had made slaughter of 200, and taken 400 prisoners together with their ensignes. And thus the first hill being wonne, the others by that example retired into places more strong, leauing a free and safe enrie into *Frusolone* to the Ecclesiastikes, who omitting nothing which either the fauour of their fortune or the oportunitie of the time gaue them, being now very neare night, pitched their tents and lodgings euen at their beards. By the benefit of which action *Ranse* and *Vitelly* with whome the Pope was discontented for this enterprize, had great hope to giue them

Cesar Fieromosquo sent by the Emperour to the Pope.

The Confederates resolve to invade Naples.

Monsieur Vandemont the Popes lieutenant.

the defeat either if they staid there, or in case they brake vp and retired; a matter which was beleued would assuredly haue succeeded if they had encamped vpon the hill which was taken, or had bene diligent or carefull to obserue the moving of the enemies: for the *Viceroy* nor the day following but the third day, making no signe nor token that he would dislodge, went away with the armie two or three houres before day, setting on fire certaine munitions that remained, and left behind him manie bullets and great shot. And albeit the Ecclesiastikes when they knew he was gone, sent out after him their light horsemen, who fell vpon his baggage and tooke a few prisoners of small importance, yet they were not there in sufficient time to do him anie notable hurt: and yet he left behind him one part of his victuals, and retired himselfe to *Cesena*, and from thence to *Cepperano*. By reason of this retrait the Pope tooke such courage, concurring also the incitation of the Embassadours of the confederates, whom he could not otherwise satisfie, that he resolved to execute the enterprise of *Naples*: for *Rabandanges* who had brought the ten thousand duckets collected of the tenths, and ten thousand more for the portion of *Ranse*, had commission not to disburse them without the consent of *Albert Pio*, *Ranse*, and *Monsieur de Lange*, and that in case they were assured that the Pope would not accord. And touching the *Venetians* (to whom was gone the Lord *Russell* to induce them to accept the truce offered by the *Viceroy* and approved by the Pope, but by the accident of his legge breaking by the way he sent another to them) they made answer that they would not accept the truce before they were well informed of the French kings will, in which deniall they stood so much the more resolute, by how much they vnderstood that *Genes* was reduced to great extremities and wants of victuals: so that it was determined to invade the kingdome of *Naples* as well by sea as by land: and that *Monsieur de Vandemont* should be Admirall of the armie by sea, for whose better strength there was addresse giuen to leaue 2000 footmen. But *Ranse* by whose direction was distributed and expended the monie of the French king, determined contrary to the Popes will (who was of opinion to conuert into one place all the forces of that expedition) to dispose 6000 men to enter *Abruzzza*: he hoped that by the working of the sonnes of the Count *Monteiro* who had bene sent thither with 2000 footmen, they should make an easie action vpon *Aquila*, which accordingly hapned through the feare of *Ascanio Colonna*, who as soone as he heard of their approach, fled from the danger which his timorous condition would not suffer him to abide. The beginnings and first actions of this enterprise were full of hope and felicitie: for albeit the *Viceroy* who had bestowed garrisons within the places neare him, was busie to redresse and returnish his armie as much as he could, yet both for that one part of his regiments was disbanded, and an other part by necessity bestowed in garrisons, it was thought he would stand dangerously imbarcked, and with great difficultie be able to make resistance only to the sea armie. It was beleued also by the same reason that *Ranse* in *Abruzzza*, and the Nauies of the Church and *Venetians* containing xxij. gallies, should find no head made against the, both for that they were resupplied with a strength of three thousand men, and also for the ioining of *Oratio* with two thousand footmen, together with the person of *Monsieur de Vandemont*, who vnder the auncient rights and claimes of king *Rene*, pretended to the succession of that kingdome, and at that time managed the place of Lieutenant generall vnder the Pope. But these matters proceeded very slowly to execution, both for the temporising of the armie Ecclesiastike not as yet departed from *Frasolone*, where they taried for the great artilleries that were to come from *Rome*, & also for the expedition of *Abruzzza*, & the arriual of the sea armie. These impediments and losse of time were also increased by the mutinie of the footmen within *Frasolone*, who demanded double pay, as a matter wonne and due for the vic-torie. Neuertheles the eighteenth day of February the soldiers of the *Viceroy* abandoned *Cesena* and other places confining, and withdrew themselues to *Cepperana*: by the oportunitie of whose retrait, the armie Ecclesiastike beginning alreadie to feeble the want of victuals, passed *Saint Germain*, and the *Viceroy* fearing to put things to hazard, retired to *Caietta*, and *Don Hugo* to *Naples*. All which notwithstanding the Pope pressed still with his wants and necessities of monie, & fearing no lesse the aduancing of the Duke of *Burbon*, against whose armie he saw the Confederates disposed to make no great resistance, continued still his inclination to compound with the Emperour, & in that humor had effsoones prosecuted the Lord *Russell* to go vp to the *Viceroy* in the name of his king. Vpon which it followed, that *Fieromo* returned to *Rome* the xxj. of February, from whence also the day following he departed, hauing published his commissions, and

left the Popes mind full of confusion and irresolution. In regard of which perill and the Popes alteration, the *Venetians* least he should rashly intangle himselfe with the accord, made offer to him in the beginning of March, to send him in ready monie within fiteene daies fiteene thousand duckets, and fiteene thousand more within other fiteene daies, so farforth as he would graunt them a *Iubiley* for all their gouernement. But amid these delays and temporisings the Popes Nauy and the *Venetians*, which had with great losse taried to expect the French fleete, and being by rage of weather driuen into the Ile of *Ponso* the three and twentieth of February, fell with the Mole of *Caietta* and sacked it: and the fourth day of March hauing set on land the footemen at *Pozzolo*, returned elswoones to the sea, for that they found it in good condition of defence: and so passing further, they disceded againe neare to *Naples* by the riuer of the borough of *Stabbia*, where was *Diomed Carafa* with fife hundred footmen: they caried this borough by assault the third day on that side of the Mountaine, by whose example the Castell rendred the day after. The tenth day they forced the Greeke tower and *Surrenta*: and in that violence of victory & fortune, many places on that side yeilded afterwards vpon composition. This fleete also had taken before certaine ships laden with graine for the prouision of *Naples* which had great neede of them, and for want of them suffered no small vexation, the rather for that the enemy found no impediment vpon the sea, neither was there such order taken as was necessary. In which disorder and want of good direction, the fleete drew so neare the Mole the second day in Lent, that the Castell and the gallies shot at it: yea the footmen came on so fast by land, that with great difficultie the Neapolitanes could retire themselues by the Market gate and it. After this they took *Salerne*, when *Vaudemont* made after certaine ships, and leauing foure gallies at *Salerne* where *Oracio* was, the Prince of *Salerne* at the same time entred within the towne by the way of the Castell with many souldiers, but he was ouerthrowne by *Oracio*; in which encounter were slaine more then two hundred footemen and many made prisoners. In *Abruzz* after the *Viceroy* had deliuered out of prison the olde Count of *Montoire* to the ende he might recouer *Aquila*, the sayd Count was no sooner set at liberty by the *Viceroy*, then was he made prisoner by his owne sons. And *Ranse* who tooke the sixt of March *Sicilianna* and *Tiallecoussa*, went vp towards *Sora*: neuertheless, notwithstanding the fauour of so faire occasions, and the benefite of so many felicities concurring, the souldiers began the first day of March to abandon the army on land by troupes, and that either for want of victuals, or through negligence in the officers, or at least for the ill prouisions of the Pope.

Exploits of the
Nauy of the
Confederates.

The negotiations and counsels of the peace continued and kept on their course, and in that action were come to *Rome* the second of March *Fieromesqno* and *Serenon* Secretary to the *Viceroy*: there they found arriued the day before, *Monsieur de Lange*, instructed with words and promises sufficient for the credit of his expedition, but he brought no money, notwithstanding they had aduertisement out of *France*, that he was departed both with twenty thousand duckats for the payes of the footemen appointed to serue in the great ships which were expected at *Cinitavucchia*, and also that he brought twenty thousand more for the Pope, to helpe to aduance the enterprife of the realme of *Naples* for one of the sonnes of the French king, to whom should be giuen in mariage *Catherine de Medicis* daughter to *Lawrence* and neece to the Pope: for the French king reposing much for himselfe in the negotiation of *England*, and being periwaded that the *Viceroy* for the disorder of *Frusolone* could execute nothing, and also that the army Imperiall both for their slownesse to moue and march, & for their wants and necessities of mony, would not go at all into *Tuscane*, would heare no further of the motion of the truce, no though it should be generall and extended to comprehend all, and that he should be acquitted from all payments of mony. Wherein albeir his principall intention was, not to giue time to the Emperour to reorder and readresse his forces, yet in regard of his owne nakednesse and pouerty of money, he sent to the Pope no other thing of the xx. thousand duckats which he had promised monthly, nor of the mony collected of the tenth, then ten thousand duckats: neither had he sent as yet the wages of those bands of footmen appointed to the maine army at sea running in the common accompts and expences of the *Venetians* and him. And lastly for that he had desire that there should be no action or enterprife till some conclusion were made with the king of *England*, he thought it but reasonable that the Pope should temporise and expect till that time. So that the enterprife of *Naples* begun with so great felicity and hope, went euery day diminishing and of lesse expectation, for

Catherine de
Medicis.

as the army by sea which was neither made greater by vessels and shipping, nor stronger with supplies of souldiers, was not to execute any great action, the rather for that they were to draw out of their maine forces, garrisons of men to defend such places as they tooke: so the army by land, which for the ill disposition of the time, was not as yet possessed of the victuals that were sent from *Rome* by sea, did not onely not aduance, but also diminishing dayly by new degrees, of disorder and penury of victuals, it retired at last to *Piperna*. Besides, those regiments of footemen which *Ranſe* led and gouerned, were so diminished for want of money, that *Ranſe* seeing he could not inclose the *Viceroy* according to the plot he had layd, returned backe to *Rome*: yealastly the strait negotiation and labor of the accord which the Pope entertained, augmented greatly those disorders: for as it abated the preparations of the Confederates, which of themselves came but slowly on, so on the other side it pushed on the Popes inclination to the accord, wherein he was induced to repose a greater hope in the intention of the Emperour, for the intelligence he had by one of his letters surprised, by which he charged the *Viceroy* to entertaine and embrace the accord with the Pope, if the estate and condition of his affaires induced him not to take other counsell. But the matter that most stirred and moued him, was, that he saw the Duke of *Burbon* march and aduance continually with the army Imperiall: neither did he discern the resolutions of the Duke of *Urbino* to be so constant, nor the provisions of the *Venetians* so full and forward, as he could be assured of the matters of *Tuscane*, the feare of which brought no small affliction to him: for as the Imperials lay some of them on this side, and some of them beyond *Plaisance*, the Duke of *Urbino* had chaunged his first opinion, which was to get before them into *Bologna* with the *Venetian* army: and had resolved in his counsell, that as soone as he should be aduertised that the enemies would remoue, the army Ecclesiastike leauing good garrison within *Parma* and *Modena*, should go to *Bologna*: and for himselfe, he would march with the *Venetian* army in the rayle of the enemies, though twenty or thirtie miles from them, for the more suretie of his people. According to which order, when afterwards the enemies would take the way to *Romagnia* or *Tuscane*, the whole campe should aduance continually, the army Ecclesiastike marching alwayes before with the Marquis of *Salussa*, leading the French launces, the *Swissers* footemen, and his owne, and leauing alwayes garrisons in such places as the enemies should passe by after them, and they afterwards to be reassembled and reuoked from hand to hand according as the enemy should aduance and passe: this counsell the Duke iustified and followed with many reasons, such as the other Captaines could neither comprehend nor approue. First he alleaged that there was a surety to assemble and ioine all together in the field to stop the passage of the Imperials: for that it would be a matter either dangerous or vnprofitable. Touching the danger, he referred it to rest in the fight or battell, for that if the Imperials were not superior in numbers and multitudes, at least they were about them in force and valour; an aduantage which would make the victory easie to them. And he proued it vnprofitable by this, that if the Imperials would not fight, at least it would be alwayes in their power to leaue behind them the army of the Confederates, and so keeping alwayes before them, they should be apt to accomplish great exploits. Lastly he alleaged, that as in the experience and reason of things, he held this counsell better then all others, so also he was constrained by necessity to embrace and follow it, for that the Imperiall army being as was beleued halfe shaken, he could not put his people into such speedie readinesse as to be assured to march in time and to get before: Besides, seeing the *Venetians* had wholly reposed themselves vpon him touching that deliberation, he was to consider not to leaue their estate in daunger, which if the enemies discerned to be vnfurnished, they might, taking new counsell vpon new occasions, turne their courle to passe ouer *Paw*, and so intrude vpon their lands to their harmes. This reason might suffice to content the Senate of *Venice*, for that naturally they haue for obiect to proceede aduisedlie and surelie in all their affaires. But it did not satisfie the Pope, for that vnder that counsell he sawe opened a waie to the Imperiall armie to take their courle euen vp to *Rome* or to *Tuscane*, or to make their passage into what place they list, seeing there was no possibilitie of resistance by the armie that was to go before, both for that they were to distribute in places as they passed garrisons of souldiers, and also their maine strength was to suffer diminution by other meanes. Neither was it a matter certaine, that in the *Venetians* tarying once behind, would be as great readinesse to follow with effectes, as the Duke was liberal to promise in words, considering his custome and

maner of proceeding in all the course of the warre before : Lastly he iudged that if the armies were reduced into one strength, wherein the numbers of souldiers farre exceeded the Imperials, they might with more facility stop the enemy from passing further, cut off the trafficke of their vituals, obserue all occasions that offered, and neuer be so farre remoued from them, that in good season and oportunitie they might not succour the townes of the *Venetians* if the enemy offered to make any violent action vpon them. But this resolution displeased him so much the more, by how much he vnderstood the Duke of *Vrbis* being come to *Parma* the third of Ianuary, was retired the fourth day to *Casalmajor* ; by the accident of a small malady that hapned vpon him, and fīue dayes after he went from thence to *Cassola* vnder colour to cure his sicknesse : to which place he sent for his wife, being somewhat eased of his seauer, but tormented as he sayd with the pangs of the goutte. Such as were fauorers and good interpreters of this maner of dealing very suspicious to the Pope, referred the cause of all to his negotiations and practises of peace : but his Lieutenant *Guicciardin* comprehending partly by tokens of likelihood and probability, and partly by information of the Dukes owne words and speeches, that his desire to recouer *Montefeltro* and *Saint Leo* possessed by the *Florentins*, was the matter that induced him to that deliberation: and iudging that if in that he were not contented, he would leaue both the Pope and *Florentins* abandoned in their greatest necessities : and lastly supposing that he iudged not these places to be a reward worthy enough for exposing himselfe to so great a danger : and knowing withall, that they had the same desire at *Florence*. In all these respects he gaue to the Duke an assured hope of the restitution of those places, as though he had commission so to doe from the Pope : which neuerthelesse was not approued by the Pope, who in that case suffered himselfe to be caried more by olde and newe hatreds, then by equitie or reason.

In all this meane while the Imperials, who had made distribution of a very small summe of money amongst the Launceknights, kept themselues incamped vpon the confines of *Plaisance*, where was the Count *Guido Rangon* with sixe thousand footmen : at which place *Paule Lazasquo* with certaine other light horsemen of the Ecclesiastikes making sometimes incursions to discouer the countrey : and being in that action one day accompanied with certaine bands of footmen and some men at armes, they encountred a troupe of enemies of the same faculty and profession, whom they ouerthrew and tooke foure score horse and an hundred footmen, ouer and besides Captaines *Scalengo*, *Succar*, and *Grugny Burgonions*, who remained prisoners. After this *Monsieur Bourbon* sent out ten Ensignes of Spaniards to reuictuell *Pesquison*, and ioynly with that action, the Count *Cuiazze* with the light horsemen and with his regiments of footmen, came to lodge in the borough of *S. Domin* which the Ecclesiastikes had abandoned: The sayd Count the day after according to an intelligence which was entertained with him before, and also pretending for want of his pay, to be acquitted and made free from his oath which he had giuen to the Imperials, passed to the campe Ecclesiastike, where he was entertained by the Lieutenant (though more to content others then of his owne inclination) and with him were taken into wages twelue hundred footmen, and an hundred and thirty light horsemen which he had with him. This condition was tied to the contract, that if the Emperour tooke from him by way of warre or other violence his Earldome of *Caiatze*, the Pope within eight moneths should indue him with so much in yearly value as the Earldome was worth, and to remaine possessed of it vntill he had recouered his owne.

Count Caiatze
goeth from the
Imperials to
the pay of
the Ecclesiastikes.

Duke of *Ferrara* refusing alwayes to come to the army, pushed on by perswasions the Duke of *Burbons* desire, to take his course rather to *Bologna* and *Florence*, then to stay and intangle his army with the action of those townes. And as an army of souldiers compounded vpon sundry natures, nations, and languages, draweth after it for the most part so many sorts of accidents and aduersities, as it containeth seuerall complexions and humors : so, his regiments of Spanish footmen, either for want of money in deede, or making that their colour, drew into mutinie the seuenteenth day demanding their pay : and albeit in that rage of insolencie, they slue the Sergeant Maior whom the Duke had sent to appease them, yet vsing mildnesse and gouernement where his Sergeant Maior sought to manage them by authority and rigour, he raunged them by discretion whom his officer could not reduce by seueritie, and so with minds well reconciled the twentieth day he passed ouer *Trebia* with his whole army, and incamped about three

three miles from *Plaisance* having with him five hundred men at armes, and many light horsemen *Italian*s who were not payed. Touching the old hands of Launceknights, one part of them were appointed to remaine at *Millan*, and the other were addrested to *Sanona* to ayde those of *Genes* who were reduced to great necessitie. Sure the resolution of the Duke of *Burbon* and the armie, which he led, was strange and wonderfull, for that being without money and pay which onely leadeth the souldier to fight, and having no munitions, without the which standeth mained all enterprises of warre, and standing destitute of the service of pyoners, a matter most important in the action of townes and peeces, and lastly being followed with no addresse nor order for victuals which alwayes is accompted one of the strongest veines or sinewes of an army, they fought to aduance and passe further amid so many priuations and wants, through so many townes and peeces of the enemies, and against foes of farre greater numbers then they. But more commendable was the constancy of the Launceknights; who being drawne out of *Germanie* with one onely duckat a peece, and suffering a long time with a wonderfull temperance in *Italie*, and neuer were beleueed since they first set their foote to march with more then two or three duckats at the most, offered to march on with the same resolution and cheerefulness of minde, with the which they betooke themselves first to the service, and in that good example to all souldiers of other nations, they passed on, contrarie to the ordinarie custome of men of warre, and especially against the humor of their owne climate and region, depending vpon no other pay or assignation then vpon the hope of the victory, notwithstanding it was manifestly discerned that they could not continue without money, both for the inuicibility of the enemies whose importunity pressed them, and for the necessities of victuals which more and more grew into extreame penurie: onely amid these sufferings and afflictions they were much stayed and supported by the authoritie & operation of Captaine *George*, who the better to containe them, set before their eyes the sacke of *Rome*, and the booty of most part of *Italy*; a matter which he thought most agreeable to minds replenished with impressions of ambition, glory, and profit. And in that good conformation of mind, the army marched the two and twentieth day to the borough of *Saint Donin*: out of the which the day following issued the Marquis of *Salusse* and the Ecclesiastike regiments, leauing certaine bands of *Venetian* footemen for the gard of *Parma*, and so they followed the way of *Bologna* with eleuen or twelue thousand footemen: but it was ordained that the Count *Guido* should come from *Plaisance* to *Modena*, and the footemen of the blacke bands to *Bologna*, leauing a sufficient garrison within *Plaisance*. In this sort in foure remoues they marched by the countrey of *Reggia* betweene *Anzola* and the bridge of *Rene*. At that time the Duke of *Burbon* was vpon the confines of *Reggia*: and the Duke of *Vrbis* who being perswaded at *Casalmair* by *Guicciardin* to augement his number of *Swissers*, had refused it as a matter vnprofitable, stood now vpon vehement instance to send to *Rome* and *Venice* to make a new leauie of foure thousand *Swissers* and two thousand Launceknights: in which variation and change of his mind, he excused the contradiction that was made then, both for that the season did not then require to take the field, and also he beleueed by many reasonable coniectures that the enemies would haue dissolued and broken, whom now he promised to accoast with that strength and new supply: but that was a counsell ill disgisted of them all, and not holden indifferent of any, both for that there was no possibility to releue the dangers that were present with remedies so slow and farre off, and also that for the difficulties of money, & the disagreement of the Confederats, the effect of that counsell could not be put in execution.

In this time the Duke of *Millan*, with the valour of three thousand footemen whom he had assembled, did not only defend *Loda*, *Cremona*, and all that countrey beyond *Adda*, and made incursions vpon the territories of *Millan*, but also ioyning order to celerity, he surprised with the same felicity the towne of *Monce*: Neuerthelesse his souldiers left it eftsfoones abandoned, hauing aduertisement that *Anthony de Leua* (who after he had giuen conduct to the Duke of *Burbon* was returned to *Millan*) marched thither with two thousand of the old Launceknights and fiftene hundred of a new leauy, a thousand Spanissh footmen, and five thousand *Italian*s, commanded by diuerse Captaines.

But after the Duke of *Burbon* had passed the riuer of *Secchia*, he tooke his way on the left hand and arriued the fift day of March at *Bonport*: there he left his people, and went himselfe to *Finalo* to communicate with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who perswaded him with many arguments and

The Duke of
Ferrara coun-
selleth the Duke
of Burbon to go
to Rome.

and reasons to draw towards *Florence* or *Rome*, and to reduce thither all his thoughts: yea it was thought that the scope of his counsell tended chiefly to take his course to *Rome*, and in regard of that to let passe all other enterprises. In this deliberation there occurred many accidents and difficulties which troubled the mind of the Duke of *Burbon*, but chiefly he feared least the army being come to *Rome*, they would passe on to the Realme of *Naples*, and that either for necessity which is mighty in the minds of soldiers, or for desire to be refreshed, which their long wearinesse and sufferance did iustly challenge, or for some other difficulty that might happen, whereof he did not doubt, neither had his doubt bin fallible or vaine, if at his comming to *Rome* he had not found the Pope disarmed. The same day did the regiments of the *Venetians* passe the riuer of *Paw* without the person of the Duke of *Vrbino*, who notwithstanding he was almost recouered and whole, yet he remained at *Gazzolo*, though with intention to put himselfe on the way forthwith. The seuenth day the Duke of *Burbon* lodged at *Saint Iohn* vpon the confines of *Bologna*, from which place he sent a trumpet to *Bologna*, whither were retired the army Ecclesiastike: the summons of the trumpet was to demaund victuals, and to assure them that the Duke of *Burbon* would go to the succours of the realme of *Naples*. And the same day the bands of *Spaniards* that were within *Carpy* after they had deliuered vp the towne to the Duke of *Ferrara*, ioyned themselues with the Duke of *Burbon*. The army of the *Venetians* lay incamped along the riuer of *Secchia*, not resolved to passe further, vnles they first vnderstood that the Duke of *Burbon* were discamped from *Saint Iohn*, into whose army had passage and resort a traffike of victuals from aboute the territories of *Ferrara*: but for that the victuallers demanded money of the souldiers, who had almost none to pay, they dispersed themselues to lodge at large and abroad, to eate & deuoure the countrey, & in that wretched insolency they ran into all places robbing both man and beast, the better to furnish them of meanes to pay for their victuals: the same bringing such a disorder ouer the whole army, that it was holden for certaine, that if in that confusion they had met with any strong encounter, or if the Ecclesiastikes who were within *Bologna* and the confines thereof, would haue incamped neare them, their owne disorder would haue drawne vpon them no small difficulties and dangers: both for that so long as they continued so dispersed at large and at random, their perils could not but be more apparant then their safetie, and reducing themselues into a strait and one campe, they stood depriued of all meane and prouidence for victuals. The bands also that were within *Bologna* were not without their disorders, as well through the condition of the Marquis, who was more apt to breake a lance in a faire shew at tilt, then to manage the office of a Captaine in the field: as also for that the *Swissers* and his companies of footemen were not payed in times due by the *Venetians*, the same being the cause that made them loofe a faire occasion. In the meane while the Duke of *Burbon* to the ende to passe further, was at the point to draw from *Ferrara* a prouision of victuals for many dayes, together with a proportion of powder, pyoners and oxen to draw foure cannons: wherein notwithstanding he made many demonstrations that such was his intention, yet it was holden for certaine that he was determined to passe into *Tuscane* by the way paued or caused: the like was confirmed by *Ierome Moron*, who many dayes before had holden a secrete intelligence with the Marquis of *Salussa*, though in the iudgement of many, but fraudulently and dissemblingly: But such is the operation of a disorder begunne, that if it be not as well cured at the roote as reconciled at the top, it goeth on working to daungerous effects, euen as a fire couered and raked vp with ashes is not fully quenched but smothered and preserued to a greater burning: for, as the army was appointed to depart and breake vp the fourteenth day of March, and to that end had sent backe againe to *Bodin* the foure cannons: so the day before, the bands of Launceknights hauing bin longed in abuse by many promises made to pay them, ioyned their exclamations to the complaints of the Spanish footmen, and beganne with insolent voyces to call for their payes, wherein giuing scope to their discontentments to passe from one passion of rage to another, they mutined and drew into manifest tumult, and that to the great danger of the life of the duke of *Burbon*, if he had not with present diligence escaped from his lodging, which in their fury they inuaded and sacked, killing one of his Gentlemen who stood to defend the goods of his maister. By reason of this accident the Marquis of *Guaft* went forthwith to *Ferrara*, from whence he returned with some little summe of money, with the which the army was reappeased. The seuenteenth day there fell from the regions about such abundance of snow and raine, that for certaine dayes it tooke away all liberty of mar-

ching, as well for the impediment of the wayes made worse by the ill weather, as for the swelling of the riuers which the snowes and land-floods had made equall with the tops of their bankes or shores. By which intemperance of the weather, instrumentally working in the destiny assigned, Captaine *George* fell sicke of an apoplexie, which so vexed him to the great perill of his life, that at least the enemies hoped that he would become vnprofitable to follow the campe, and vnder that occasion the Launcelights would no more beare their incommodities and want of money: but the effect was otherwise then the apparence declared. By this time the *Venetian* army was at *S. Faustin* neare to *Rubiero*, to whom the eighteenth of March came the person of the Duke of *Arbin*, who according to his custome promised to the Senate of *Venice* almost a certainty of the victory, not so much through the valor and puissance of the confederates, as for the difficulties and straites whereunto were reduced the enemies.

The Pope lost
his courage,
and why.

But now the affaires of the Pope being reduced on all parts to these hard termes, he ran a carelesse course, accompanied with faintnesse of courage, both for that he was pinched with the want and necessity of money, wherein his care was so much the greater by how much did redouble his extremities, and also for the enterprise of *Naples* which tooke not successe according to his first deuises, and lastly for that his companies were retired to *Piperna*, being no longer able to endure the want of victuals. But the matter that most tooke away his resolution and spirit, was the temporising of the French, in whom was found no correspondency betweene their promises and their effects; a custome which they had duly obserued euen from the first day of the warre till the last end of the same: for, besides that the king was long in sending the forty thousand duckats for the first moneth of the war, and to dispatch the five hundred launces for the sea army: and besides that he would not according as he was bound, make warre beyond the mounts; which was one of the principall foundations and meanes set downe to aspire to the victory: yet also he failed to obserue his promises with the Pope from day to day, that besides the ordinary contribution, he would minitter to him monthly twentie thousand duckats to make warre in the realme of *Naples*. Also the truce being made by reason of the conspiring of *Don Hugo* and the *Colonna*, he counselled him not to keepe the articles of the truce, and confirmed vnto him the same promise not onely to ayde him in the warres against *Naples*, but also in all actions for his proper defence. And lastly he promised to send to him *Ranse de Cere* whom he fauoured much, for that he had expressed great valour in the defence of *Marseilles*. All which things, albeit they had bene promised from the moneth of October, yet it was so long ere they were executed, that it was the fourth day of Ianuarie before *Ranse* came to *Rome*, and yet he brought no money, and also it was ten dayes after before the twenty thousand duckats were sent: of which summe foure thousand were retained by *Ranse*, as well for his expences and defrayments, as for his pension, and ten thousand were conuerted to furnish the enterprise of *Abruzzo*, so that to the Popes hands who vnder that promise had broken the truce almost three moneths before, there neuer came of that summe more then six thousand. Moreouer the king had promised the Pope in regard of his consenting to a tenth, to pay vnto him xxv. thousand crownes within eight dayes, and five and thirty thousand more within two moneths: but he neuer receiued about nine thousand, which were brought him by *Monsieur Rabandanges*: The king also extended his promise further, for that after *Paule Areze* had taken his leaue of him the twelch of February, he promised him a coplement of twenty thousand duckats to the end to giue to the Pope a better stomacke to make war: but the sayd twenty thousand duckats which were sent after *Monsieur de Lange*, neuer passed further then *Sauona*. The king was bound by the capitulations of the confederation to send twelue gallies, of which sort of vessels he sayd he had sent sixteene, but the most part of them so ill prepared, and so slenderly furnished of men to set on land, that they stirred not from *Sauona*: where, if at the first when ouerture was made of the warre against the kingdome of *Naples*, they had immediatly ioyned with the gallies of the Pope and *Venetians*, they would not but haue executed right great exploits. And touching the army by sea very mighty in great vessels, notwithstanding the king had made many promises to send them out against *Naples*, yet they neuer went farre from *Provence*, or *Sauona*. Furthermore, after he had condescended to giue two payes to the soldiers of the Marquis of *Salussa*, he agreed with the *Venetians* who had a lesse number of souldiers then he, to whom they were bound, that their pay should be taken vpon the contribution of the forty thousand duckats. He saw the comforts and succours of the king of *England* were verie farre off and vncertaine

uncertaine. The *Venetians* made but slow payments to their companies, & for that cause the bands of the Marquis of *Salussa* and the *Swissers* who were within *Bologna*, served almost for nothing. The variations and uncertainties of the Duke of *Burbon* astonished him not a little, since thereby he discerned that no impediment would be given to the Imperials to passe into *Tuscane*: by which meane, weighing together with the ill disposition of the people of *Florence* the intelligence which the citie of *Sienna* had with the Imperials, he saw that not only the state of *Florence* would fall into manifest danger, but also the circuit and iurisdiction of the Church. All which reasons albeit they moued him greatly, & wrought no small impressions in him, yet after many drifts & doubts, notwithstanding he discerned well enough how infamous and dangerous it would be to separate himselfe from the Confederates, and to referre him to the discretion of the enemies, yet both for that he was not sufficiently succoured by the residue, and much lesse would applie such aide of himselfe as he might, and also being ouer-ruled by passions of present feare, and not able to resist with resolution and courage the difficulties and dangers occurring, he determined to accord with *Fieromosquo* and *Serenon*, whom the *Viceroy* had sent to *Rome* for that matter: the articles of the accord were these: That there should be a surceance of armes for eight moneths, the Pope paying to the Imperiall army threescore thousand duckers: That whatsoeuer had bene taken vpon the Church, vpon the realme of *Naples*, and vpon the family of the *Colonna*, should be rendered: That *Pompey Colomo* should be restored to the dignity of Cardinall, with absolution of all paines & censures: this was a condition most grievous to the Pope, and whereunto he consented with a verie ill will: That the French king and *Venetians* might enter this accord within a certaine time: That in case they did enter, the Launceknights should go out of *Italy*, and if they did not enter, then they should depart from the Church estate, and likewise from the territories of *Florence*: That the Pope should pay in forty thousand duckats within two and twentie dayes accompting from the present day, and to satisfie the residue within one moneth after: That the *Viceroy* should come to *Rome*, which the Pope supposed to be the best meane to assure him that the Duke of *Burbon* should obserue the accord; a hope wherein he was eestwoones confirmed by the relation of a letter surprised by *Guicciardin*, by which the Duke of *Burbon* aduertised the *Viceroy* of the difficulties of the army, for remedy whereof he counselled him to grow to accord with the Pope so farre forth as it might be done with the Emperours honour. Immediately vpon the concluding of the accord, either party retired their bands of souldiers, reuoked their army by sea, and the places that were taken were rendred, the Pope vsing good faith and meaning in the execution of the contentes of the capitulation, notwithstanding at that time he had the better in all the realme of *Naples*, sauing that in the part of *Aquila*, the sonnes of the Count *Montoro* doubting to remaine there in safety, deliuered vp their father, who soorthwith with the fauour of the faction Imperial chased them out of that prouince, together with all those that were against him. After this the *Viceroy* came to *Rome*, by reason of whose presence there, the Pope iudging he stood euery way in good surety for the obseruation of the accord, dismissed with a verie ill counsell all those bands of souldiers that were in his pay in the quarters of *Rome*, retayning onely two hundred light horsemen, and two thousand footemen of the blacke bands: he was induced to this dismissal of his regiments by an opinion he had that the Duke of *Burbon* was inclined to the accord, both for the difficulties that increased vpon him daily, and also for the testimonie he had alwayes giuen of his desire and disposition to peace.

But the affaires tooke another course about the confines of *Bologna*, for assoone as the truce was established, the Pope dispatched *Cesar Fieromosquo* to the Duke of *Burbon* to approue and confirme the accord, and to see him depart from off the Church lands so soone as he should receiue money: but contrary to their expectation & the testimonies he had giuen before, the Duke of *Burbon* shewed a hard disposition to the peace, & in his soldiers appeared a far more forward inclination, who seemed to stand resolute to follow the war, either for that they stood fixed vpon the hope of a great profit, or because the monies promised by the Pope were not sufficient to satisfie two payes; a matter which induced many to beleue, that if the Pope had aduanced to the summe of an hundred thousand duckats, the souldiers had easily accepted the truce: But whatsoeuer was the ground or cause of their obstinacy, it is certaine that after the comming of *Fieromosquo*, they ceased not to rake and harrie the parts of *Bologna* as before, and expresse vpon the people all demonstrations and acts of enemies. Neuertheless the Duke of *Burbon* who caused to

The Pope accordeth with the Imperials.

cast platformes, and *Filromejano* gaue continuall hope to the Popes Lieutenant that notwithstanding al these difficulties and insolencies the army should accept the truce: together with which promise, *Burbon* assured him that he was constrained to cast platformes and expresse other apparances of enterprise, only to entertaine the army in hope to passe further, vntill he had reduced them to his desire which was to keepe amity with the Pope. Notwithstanding at the same time were brought to the campe many prouisions of meale, pyoners, cartes, powder, and other like necessaries sent by the Duke of *Ferrara*, who afterwards iustified himselfe, that neither the money he had sent them, nor all other relieves of what nature so euer, passed not the value of three score thousand duckats. But on the other side the Duke of *Urbino*, vnder a semblance of feare, that if the armie did accept the truce, it would returne towards *Polisena de Rouigno*, retired the *Venetian* regiments beyond *Paw*, and encamped at *Casalmajor*. In this estate of suspence and temporising continued the affaires of the warre for eight dayes: but at last the Duke of *Burbon*, either for that such had bene alwaies his intention, or because the armie was fallen into an insolencie about his power to restraine, wrote letters to the Lieutenant *Guicciardin*, that since he was not able to range the souldiers to his will, necessity constrained him to passe further: and putting it accordingly in execution, he remoued the day following, being the last of March, and went to encampe at the bridge of *Rene*, where the furie of the footmen of the campe had killed a Gentleman sent by the *Viceroy* to sollicite the Duke of *Burbon* to imbrace the truce, had he not both with good celeritie and fortune auoyded the daunger of his life by flying away: but in that humour of rage & mutiny they expresse far more insolent demonstrations against the Marquisse of *Guaft*, who being gone from the armie to draw to the realme of *Naples* by reason of his indisposition, or not to be cōcurrent with others to impugn the Emperors will, or induced haply by some other cause, was published and proclaimed rebell by the souldiers of the army.

The comming of the Duke of *Burbon* to the bridge of *Rene*, assured the Marquis of *Salussa* & the Popes Lieutenant, that the armie would draw directly towards *Romagnia*: by reason wherof, after they had left one part of the Italian footmen for the guard of *Bologna*, and with great difficulty brought thither the *Swissers*, for whose payes the Popes Lieutenant was driven to lend ten thousand duckets to *Iohn Vetturio*, they went the same night with the residue of the army to *Furly*, whereinto they entred the third day of Aprill, leauing within *Imola* a sufficient garrison to defend it. Somewhat beneath the same city the Duke of *Burbon* passed the fift day, and encamped more lower vnder the high way: but the aduertisemēt being come to *Rome* that the Duke of *Burbon* had not accepted the truce, the *Viceroy* made many semblances to be discontented, wherein perswading himselfe, that according to the former aduertisements he had receiued, it was needfull to aduaunce a greater summe of money, he dispatched a Gentleman of his to make an offer of xx. thousand duckets more, which he would leauy of the reuenues of *Naples*: but vnderstanding that the Gentleman had hardly escaped with the hazard of his life, he departed from *Rome* in person the third of Aprill, to meete and conferre with the Duke of *Burbon*, promising the Pope to compell him to embrace the truce by separating from him the men at armes and most part of the Spanish footmen, if by other meanes he could not induce him: but arriuing the sixt day at *Florence*, he stayed there, as in a place most conuenient, to debate with the Deputies whom the Duke of *Burbon* sent to him: by whom he was fully assured that there was no possibility to stay or containe the armie, but by aduauncing a greater defrayment of mony, and that to be leauied vpon the *Florentines*, vpon whom the Pope had layed all the charge of that prouision.

These variations increased greatly the difficulties and daungers of the Pope, which for manie dayes before were augmented euen into degrees of extremities: for both amid such an vncertainty of counsels and dealings of the Duke of *Burbon*, and by the successe and issue drawne from the labor of the *Viceroy*, he stood in need of the succors of the Confederates, the actions of whom went on dayly diminishing and abating, notwithstanding the perswasions and instance of the Lieutenant *Guicciardin*: the reason grew vpon the Popes owne dealing, for that in all his speeches and demonstrations, he gaue knowledge of his desire to the accord, together with the great hope he had of the successe of the same by the working of the *Viceroy*: and on the other side, the Lieutenant, who comprehended by manie signes that the Popes hope was vaine, and by the same reason saw, that if the prouisions of the Confederates grew cold, the matters of *Florence* and *Rome* stood in apparant danger, fell to perswade with many strong reasons and similitudes the Marquis

of *Salussa* and the *Venetians*, that the accord would not sort to effect; wherein he forgate not to encourage them, that if not for the regards of others, at least for their owne interests, they would not abandon the affaires of the Pope and *Tuscane*: and in that action the better to insinuate credite and authority, he did not dissemble that the Pope did vehemently desire and demaund truce, and did vndiscreetly labour and expect the same, not looking into the manifest abuses and doubtlesse of the Imperials: he forgat not also to induce them, that though by aiding him they obtained no other thing then to make easie for him the conditions of the accord, yet in that action they should drue a drift of great good and profite to themselves, for that the Pope by their helpe, would accord for him & for the *Florentines* vnder conditions which should litle hurt the League, where if they left him abandoned, the necessity of his affaires would compell him to pay to the Imperials a great summe of money presently, with continuation of some huge contribution monthly, for the entertaining of those armes and souldiers with the which the warre was to be brought against them afterwards. In which regards, vnlesse they would wilfully preiudice and harme themselves, they ought to stirre & come on with all their forces, to defend *Tuscane* whensoever the Duke of *Burbon* would aduance to inuade it. The matter of this deliberation reduced the Marquis of *Salussa* into no small doubts and perplexities, but much more it heaped astonishment vpon the *Venetians*: for the pusillanimitie of the Pope being not vnknowne to the both, they held for certaine, that though they should seeke to succour him of new, yet he would not sticke to imbrace the accord (without respect to the Confederates) as often as he had meane to obtaine it: in so much as it seemed that they were pressed in a matter verie new and strange, to administer aide to him, to the end he might more easily accord with their common enemies: they considered that to leaue him abandoned, would be more prejudiciall to their common affaires: & yet they saw they shold leaue their men in manifest danger between the *Appenine* & the enemies: & in a country become already against them, if, whilst they were in *Tuscane*, the Pope did either confirm the accord, or made a new. Moreouer the Senate of *Venice* feared least the Pope made instance to haue their men passe into *Tuscane*, to the end to constrain the to consent to a surceance of armes, by meane of the danger wherein they should be to lose their men. The Lieutenant had easily retired the Marquis of *Salussa* from those doubts and perplexities, notwithstanding he was encouraged to the contrary by many of his counsell, to the end not to commit his souldiers to danger: so that euen as he had not bene ready to come to *Furly*, so he refused not to passe into *Tuscane*, if need so required. But the *Venetians*, who sought to hold the Pope and *Florentines* vnder hope, and on the other side, were apt to stand ready prepared from day to day, to take such course as the occurrences of things did require, gaue out directions to the Duke of *Urbino* to issue out of *Casalmajor* the fourth day of Aprill, and to send the horsemen on that side beyond by the way that leadeth to *Paw*, and the footemen along the riuer: and the Duke of *Urbino* having regard to his owne particular, was fearefull by the course that the Imperials tooke into *Romagnia*, in which humour he dispatched a regiment of two thousand footmen *Venetians*, for the gard of his owne estates, notwithstanding many were of opinion, and particularly the Pope, that he had passed a secret promise to the Duke of *Burbon*, not to stop his passage into *Tuscane*.

But in this meane while the Duke of *Burbon* calling to recouer victuals from all parts, of which he had great want, sent one part of the army afore *Cotignola*, a towne which after it had endured certaine summons of the cannon, rendred vnder composition, notwithstanding it was very strong by fortification and walles: for they of the towne fearing the hauocke and insolencies of souldiers, had refused those bands that were sent to defend them. After the action of *Cotignola*, the Duke of *Burbon* sent to *Lugo* foure cannons: and aswell to make prouision of victuals, as for impediment of waters, he abode three or foure dayes vpon the riuer of *Lamono*: and so he passed the riuer of *Montono* the thirteenth day of Aprill, and lodged at *Villa Franche*, five miles from *Furly*: the same day did the Marquis of *Salussa* strip and rob 500 footmen Spanish disbanded, who were gone out towards *Monto Poggio* to make pillage for victuals, according to the example of the whole armie, being constrained by the great penurie & necessitie of reliefe. The xiiij. day the Duke of *Burbon* encamped about the way that leadeth towards *Meldolo*; a way to passe into *Tuscane* by *Galearo* & *Valdibagnio*: he was solicited to take that way by them of *Sienna*, who offered to him great quantities of victuals & pyoners: & in the way, insolencies following disorders) the Launce-knights, who burned al as they passed, assaulted the towne of *Meldolo*, which redred vpon composition,

but was consumed with fire notwithstanding. That day the Duke of *Burbon* was aduertised that the *Viceroy* by the consent of the Lord *la Motte*, sent by him for that effect, had capitulated the day before at *Florence* in this sort: That without going fro other matters, but confirming of the capitulation made at *Rome*, the Duke of *Burbon* should begin within five dayes next to retire himselfe with the armie: That at the first place whereunto he should be retired, there should be payd to him threescore thousand duckets, to which the *Viceroy* did adde twentie thousand: That he should receiue threescore thousand more by the end of the next moneth of May, of which the *Viceroy* by a scedule subsigned with his owne hand, bound the Emperour to restore and repay fiftie thousand: only these last threescore thousand duckets should not be paid, vnlesse *Philip Strossy* were deliuered, and *James Saluatio* absolved of the penaltie of thirtie thousand duckets, as the *Viceroy* had promised to the Pope, though not in the capitulations of the truce, yet vnder simple and secret words. But neither the knowledge of this detained the Duke of *Burbon* for passing further, nor the aduertisement he had that the *Viceroy* was departed from *Florence* to come to the army to him, and to establish with him all things that should be necessarie: for the *Viceroy* did earnestly desire the accord, as well for many other generall causes, as especially (which I haue heard by credible relation) for that he sought to conuert the army presently against the *Venetians*: and albeit the *Viceroy* had promised at *Rome* to deuide from the Duke of *Burbon*, his cauallerie or horsemen, together with the most part of the Spanish footmen, yet he refused to make such separation so long as he was vpon the treatie within *Florence*, alleaging that it belonged not to him to be the cause of the ruine of the Emperours armie. The xvj. day the Duke of *Burbon* marched to lodge at *Saint Sophia*, a towne of the valley of *Galearo*, subiect to the *Florentines*: and struing with diligence and with deceit to preuent the enemies, to the end no impediment should be giuen to him, in passing the *Alpes*; a place; where for want of victuals; euery contrarie accident had bene sufficient to disorder him: The xvij. day he receiued at *Saint Peter* at the Baines, letters from the *Viceroy* and the Popes Lieutenant, signifying to him the comming of the *Viceroy*: to whom he made answer, as also to the Lieutenant, that where the aduertisemēt came to him in a lodging so vnapt, as he could not without incommoditie attend him there, he would expect him the day following at *Saint Mary* of the Baines below the *Alpes*: In the seuerall letter which he wrote apart to the *Viceroy*, he recommended particularly the ready desire he had to come to accord, wherein he desired him to impart with the Pope his good inclination and deuotion, notwithstanding his intention was otherwise. At the day assigned the *Viceroy* went to meete the Duke of *Burbon*, together with the Lieutenant *Guicciardin*, who being not without suspition of his marching and comming on with his power: and to the end he should not enter with his armie into *Tuscane* before the succors prepared to defend it, perswaded the Marquis of *Salussa* with many reasons to aduance and go before: and after he had with great efficacy of words and spirit disputed the matter against *Iohn Vetturio* the *Venetian* Treasurer, alwayes assistant with the Marquis, and against others who for feare least their regiments of souldiers were committed to danger, made their demands that before they passed into *Tuscane*, there should be deliuered vnto the assurance for two hundred thousand duckets, or at least some strong places in pawne, he brought him with all his companies to go to *Bressiquello*: from thence he wrote to the Pope, that he found the Marquis so well disposed and ready to march, that he made no doubt to procure him to passe with his armie into *Tuscane*, assuting himselfe that the *Venetian* regiments would do the like: but he signified that by how much the matters of *Florence* stood assured by their passage, by so much were endangered the affaires of *Rome*, because the Duke of *Burbon* hauing no other hope remaining, wold be constrained to conuert his forces to that enterprise: & that his army hauing the aduantage to be so neare *Rome*, it would be hard with the succours that should be sent, to match his diligence and celeritie, seeing he might well passe the *Appenin* in two remoues of incamping: That for feare of this, the *Florentines* sought afore hand to fortifie themselves with the forces of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Vrbino*, to whom they had giuen hope, and afterwards assured it with promise to enter the League, in case their bands of men of warre did passe into *Tuscane*: whereunto they added obligations for payment of a certaine number of footmen, and not to accord with the Emperour, though the Pope would: That they had also offered to the Duke of *Vrbino* (who being passed *Paua* & *Ficqueroles* was arriued the thirteenth of Aprill at *Finalo*, and afterwards at *Cortusello*) to render vp to him the Castles of *Saint Leo* and *Manolo*, which offer was solicited with him by

by *Pallas Rucellai* whom they sent to him to follow that negotiation. Inſomuch as it was leſſe hard for them to haue a ready ſuccour, yea though there was aduertisement that the *Viceroy* did not only not find in the place appointed the Duke of *Burbon*, who the ſame day diſſembling the appointment ſought to paſſe the *Alpes*: but alſo had bene in great daunger to be ſlaine by the payſants of thoſe quarters riſing in armes for the oppreſſions and harmes they receiued by the army: for, the Marquis was ready to paſſe the *Alpes*, notwithstanding the Duke of *Vrbino* ſoliciting him to come and ſpeak with him in the borough of *Saint Peter*, ſought by all meane to foreſlow and hinder him. But the two and twentieth of Aprill he incamped at the borough of *S. Lawrence* in *Megeſſo*: the ſame being the cauſe that by his example, the Duke of *Vrbino*, who with no honor nor good order could go farre from him, paſſed in like ſort, and incamped at *Barberina* the xxv. day of Aprill: wherein he rooke one principall reaſon vpon the obiection that might be made againſt him, that in caſe any ill accident or harmes fell vpon them, they ſhould not lay it vpon him, both ſeeing the readineſſe of the Frenchmen, and knowing that the *Venetians* had referred themſelues to his will, though with this relation and commiſſion, that if immediatly after he were arriued in *Tuſcane*, the *Florentins* went not through with his confederation, he ſhould preſently repaſſe and retire his army.

At laſt the Duke of *Burbon* being the ſame day paſſed the *Alpes*, lodged at *Saint Stephens*, which towne defended brauely the aſſault of his ſouldiers. And the more to blind the Pope with excuſes and reaſons artificiall, and to haue a greater occaſion to offend him, he ſent one of his Gentlemen to keepe him ſtill confirmed in his good deuotion and deſire to haue accord with him: onely he alleaged, that as in regard of the obſtinacy of his army which he could not reſiſt, he was driuen to accompany his ſouldiers to auoid a greater harme: ſo he beſought him to belecue well of his fidelity, with this counſell not to leaue off the ſolicitations of accord and not to ſticke for any ſumme of mony. But it was a matter ſuperfluous to vſe thoſe diligences with the Pope, who beleeuing too much the thing which he deſired, and deſiring too much to eaſe himſelfe of expences, aſſoone as he was aduertised of the concluſion made at *Florence* in the preſence & priuity of the Procurer of the Duke of *Burbon*, did vndiſcretly diſmiſſe almoſt all his footemen of the blacke bands; and in that ſecuritie *Monſieur Vandemont* was gone to *Marſeilles*, as if the peace had bene as firme as the Pope was ſecure. But all the armies being thus drawne into the body of *Tuſcane*, and the Confederates hauing vnderſtanding that the Duke of *Burbon* was gone in one day, which was the three and twentieth day from *Saint Stephens* to incampe at *Chiaſſa* neare to *Aretzo* containyng a diſtance of eighteene miles, the Captaines who were aſſembled at *Barberina*, drew into counſell what was to be done: amongſt whom many of them together with the agents of the Pope and *Florentins*, made inſtance that the armies knit in one ſtrength ſhould march and be beſtowed in ſome place beyond *Florence*, to take from the Duke of *Burbon* all meanes to approach that City: which inſtance being ſomewhat qualified, it was reſolued to ſuffer the regiments to repoſe in the lodgings where they were, and that the Captaines the day following ſhould go to *Anciſa* thirteene miles from *Florence*, to the end afterwards to calthither all their companies if they found that place to be aſſured, which *Federik Boſſolo* the author of that counſell did promiſe. But as they were the day after vpon the way, and very neare *Florence*, there hapned an accident which might haue brought forth verie dangerous effects, if it had not bene remedied, the ſame hindering greatly the execution of that counſell, and many other good complots which might haue deriued of it: this was the diſcourſe of the accident: At *Florence* the minds of men were much ſtirred, of whom, as the moſt part of the populars were diſcontented with the preſent gouernment, ſo the youth of the towne concurring in that inſolency, made a proud inſtance to the Magiſtrates to giue them libertie of publike armes to defend them (as they ſaid) againſt the oppreſſions of the ſouldiers: but before the Magiſtrates could eſtabliſh any reſolution, the diſcontentment which before was but in opinion, burſt out into a manifeſt and open tumult in the publike place, where the moſt part of the Commons, & almoſt all the cōcourſe of the youth proclaiming armes, began in their furie to run to the pallace. One matter that inflamed & puſhed on this tumult, was the indiſcretion and timorousneſſe of *Siluius* Cardinall of *Corſona*, who being determined to iſſue out of the towne to go meete the Duke of *Vrbino* to do him honour, forbore not to abandon the towne, notwithstanding he was not ignorant before his going that the tumult was in action: ſo that the towne being poſſeſſed with a rumor of his flying

Tumult in
Florence.

away, euery one was the more ready to run to the pallace, which being in the power of theym that were conspirators, and the court & greene all of the commons armed, the high Magistrate was constrained to proclaime rebels by a solemne decree, *Hipolito* and *Alexander* the *Paphlagonians*, with intention to introduce againe the popular gouernment. But in the meane while as the Magistrate held the people appeased with this proclamation, the Duke & the Marquis entred *Florence* with manie Captaines, and were accompanied with the Cardinall of *Corono* and *Hipolito de Medicis*: they managing at first certaine bands of fiftene hundred footmen, who had bene kept armed in the citie manie dayes for feare of the Duke of *Burbon*, reduced them all into one resolute and firme strength, and drew in warlike order towards the greene or maine place, which the Commons immediatly abandoned, and in their feare left to their power the thing which they had no valour to defend: neuerthelesse what by the violence of stones cast from within the pallace, and furie of the small shot that played vpon the, there was no safetie for them to abide there, but somewhat to auoyd the importunity of the daunger, and not altogether to be farre from the place they had gotten, they retired themselues into the streets and quarters therabouts. The Duke of *Urbino* was of opinion (a reason which albeit seemed to beare but small consequence, yet it was the principall cause that *Florence* that day was deliuered of so great a danger) that the bands that were within *Florence* were not sufficient to win the pallace: and doubting according to the experience of a souldier, that if it were recovered by night, least the Commons would eftsoones haue recourse to armes, he determined with the priuie of Cardinalls *Cibo*, *Corono* and *Radolpho*, together with the consent of the Marquis of *Salussa* and the *Venetian* Legates, being all assembled in the street of *Garba*, ioyning to the pallace greene, to send for one part of the *Venetian* bands incamped vpon the plaine of *Florence* neare the citie. By meane of this deuise there was towards a dangerous encounter, for that neither the pallace could be subdued without the slaughter of most of the Nobility that were within, & also the drummes striking vp to armes, there was daunger least the souldiers in that libertie would put to sacke the residue of the Citie: yea that day had bene verie vnhappy for the *Florentines*, if the ready wit & counsell of Lieutenant *Guicciardine* had not cut in sunder the knot that of it selfe was verie hard to be vndone: he seeing to come towards them *Federike Bossolo*, and comprehending in his imagination the cause of his comming, left the others with whom he was deuising, and ran to meet him, to the end to be the first to speake to him. In the beginning of the mutiny *Federike* went vp to the pallace, hoping to reappeale the ryot, as well through his authority, as for the familiaritie he had with the most part of the youth: but much lesse that he profited by that labour, seeing of the contrarie he receiued from some of them words iniurious and reprochfull, such as the humour of men drawne into rebellion could afford, yea being kept retained certaine houres, he found great difficultie to be set at libertie: but being got from them more full of disdain then of compassion, and bringing away a true discouery and information how easie it were to take the place, both for the litle forces they had, and for the lesse order they kept, he perswaded the residue to assault it presently: but the Lieutenant cutting off that deuise, stepped in, and with verie short speeches told him what grieve the Pope would conceiue by those disorders, together with the damage that consequently would follow vpon all the affaires of the Confederates: in which regards, as it were better to labor rather to appease & settle then to kindle and incense the hearts of men, so also it was a matter not a litle preiudiciall to make knowne to the Duke of *Urbino* and others so great a facilitie to carie it. In so much as raunging him to his opinion, he procured him so to temper with the residue, and to reconcile the mutiny without the helpe of armes, that they all approoued his deuise, and made choise of them two to go vp to the pallace to deale with the Conspiratours, and assure them in generall and particular, that whatsoeuer they had committed against the lawes of the state that day, should not in any sort be imputed against them: and being gone vp to the pallace vnder safeconduct of those that were within, they induced them at last after many difficulties, to condescend to abandon the pallace which they could no longer keepe. Thus was the tumult appeased more by industrie then by armes, and the Citie that earst was full of insolencie and furie, was thus by counsell deliuered from daunger, and all things returned to the same estate wherein they were before the mutinie: But oftentimes as ingratitude and reproch are farre more readie then the remuneration and praise of good workes, so albeit for the present the operation and wit of the Lieutenant *Guicciardin* was highly esteemed and commended, yet not long after the Cardinall of

Cortona burst out into murmure and complaints against him, that holding more deare the safety of the Citizens, and particularly *Lewis Guicciardin* his brother, being at that time chiefe Magistrate, then carefull ouer the greatnesse of the house of *Medicis*; his artificiall dealing had bene the cause why the estate had not bene that day established for euer in the house of *Medicis*, with the armes and bloud of the Citizens: and on the other side, the commons and populars followed him with accusations and complaints, for that bringing backe from the palls reports that the dangers were farre greater then they were, he had betrayed the valour of the Nobility, by inducing them for the benefite of the family of the *Medicis*, to render without anie necessitie: So hard it is to do the thing that beareth a cleare sight in the eyes of all men, for that no good action what dignitie soeuer it hath, if it bring not with it the fauour of the time wherein it is done, and the opinion and iudgement of those into whose hearts it seeketh to insinuate and winne place, it is but a candle that burneth dimme, and whose shadow seemeth more then the light. Albeit you see the tumult of *Florence* appeased the same day without murther and blood, yet from that originall ground did ensue successiuelly many great disorders: yea it may be inferred, that had it not bene for that accident, the ruine that hapned immediatly after, had bene accompanied with his euasion: for both the Duke of *Urbino* and Marquis of *Salussa* abiding still at *Florence* for the occasion of the mutinie, went not on according to the first resolution to view the lodging of *Ancisa*: and also the day after the appeasment, *Louis Pisan* and *Marke Foscaro* Embassadour for the *Venetians* with the *Florentines*, taking occasion vpon the inconstancie of the Citie, protested that they would not suffer the armie to passe *Florence*, vnlesse there were made a conclusion of the confederation which had bene negociated: in which they demaunded contribution for ten thousand footemen, seeking through the oportunitie of the time to serue their turnes of the necessities of the *Florentines*: but in the end the conclusion was accomplished the eight and twentieth day, referring the matter of the contribution to the sentence of the Pope, who was beleecued to be already reunited with the Confederates. Besides, the time being accomplished for the payes of the *Swissers*, and *Louis Pisan* hauing no money to furnish them, for the ill ordinance and adresse which the *Venetians* had giuen, there passed certaine dayes before he could make prouision of money: in so much as through these variations and other impediments subsisting, the good counsell to draw with the armies to *Ancisa*, was made vaine. But in this estate and condition of affaires, the Pope looking with better eye into the wiles wherewith the Duke of *Burbon* had abused the *Viceroy*, and also seeing him to aduaunce forward into the heart of *Tuscane*, turned by necessitie all his cogitations to the warre, and in that humour discerning on all sides nothing but visions of daunger and feare, after the xxv. day, he made a new confederation with the French king and the *Venetians*, by the which as they were bound to minister to him a great summe of money, so he would not restraints himself nor the *Florentines* to any further obligation then their faculties were able to beare, alleaging that vpon them both had bene laid already heauie burthens of expences and trauels: but albeit these conditions verie grievous of themselves, were approued by the Embassadours of the Confederates, to separate entirely the Pope from the accords made with the *Viceroy*, yet they had not their perfection and confirmation by their maisters and heads principall, in whom either their authoritie or their will did much to dissolve the conditions of the action: for the *Venetians* charged *Dominicke Venerio* with a great error, for that without commission of the Senate he had concluded a confederation of great expences and litle fruite, since they gathered by the Popes inconstancie, that in all occasions he would estoones turne to his first desire to accord with the *Viceroy*: and touching the French king, both drayned of money, and driuen more to wearie the Emperour with the longnesse of the warre; then with the victorie, he iudged it would suffice now to entertaine the warre with a small expence: and which more is, albeit in the beginning when he vnderstood the Pope had made truce with the *Viceroy*, both the matter and maner of the truce were grievous to him, yet looking better afterwards into the estate of affaires, he wished that the Pope would dispose the *Venetians* (without whom he could make no conuention) to imbrace the truce. But at this time the Pope was not a litle discontented to see the body of the warre transferred into *Tuscane*, and yet lesse griued then if it had embraced the towne of *Rome*: and in that regard he leauied bands of souldiers, and made prouisions for money, but not with that propertie of diligence which the estate of his daungers required: he had also a purpose to send *Ransede Cere* against

The Pope compelled to hear-
ken to the war.

them of *Sienna*, and also to invade them by sea, to the end that the Duke of *Burbon* being entangled in *Tuscane*, might be stopped for taking his way to *Rome*: of which expedition none the lesse he had euery day so much the lesse feare and doubt, by how much more he hoped, the both for the difficulties of the Duke of *Burbon* to leade his army to *Rome* without victuals and money, and for the commoditie of the estate of *Sienna*, where at the least his souldiers would be refreshed, he would be driuen to stay himselfe vpon the enterprise against the *Florentines*. But the Duke of *Burbon*, either for that his first counsell was otherwise, which he had secretly determined at *Finale* by the authority of the Duke of *Ferrara* and aduise of *Ierome Moron*, or distrusting to driue to any good issue the enterprise of *Florence*, for that the maine forces of the League were assembled neare there for the defence of the citie: and lastly being no longer able to entertaine the armie without money, which he had till that day caried through so many difficulties with promises and hopes, and now seeing time had reduced him to this straite, either to perish amid the murmures of his souldiers, which could not but be miserable to a man of his heart, or else to hazard the fortune of battell in so great a weakenesse & disorder, wherein if there were any certainty, it was in the losse of the victorie: he determined to march with all diligence to surprise the towne of *Rome*, where the rewards of the victorie would be equall with the danger of the aduenture, and to the Emperour it would bring no lesse renowme and honour, then to the souldiers a full satisfaction of their long and weary trauels. He was pushed on to this enterprise by a hope which he felt to carie the towne, seeing the Pope with an euill counsell had first decassed the *Swissers*, & afterwards dismissed the blacke bands, and begunne so slowly to refurbish himselfe at such time as the accord was desperate, that it was thought he could not in good time assemble forces sufficient to defend his dangers: and so the Duke of *Burbon* with whom nothing was more familiar then the enterprise of *Rome*, departed the xxvj. of Aprill from the countrey of *Aretze*, with his armie no lesse speedy in marching then swift in hope: his celeritie to march and win time, tooke from him all care to carie artilleries, or any traine or baggage of campe, so well was he disposed to see executed the thing which in his hart he had determined, or rather so violent was his destiny, to call him to the end of his life, which he could now no longer prolong. In so much as marching with this incredible diligence, neither being hindred by the raines, which in those dayes fell in great abundance, nor with the want of victuals, which is no small impediment to all great actions, he drew neare to *Rome* at a time when the Pope was scarcely aduertised of his comming: all the wayes where he passed were as free from resistance, as his desire was farre from alteration and change, seeing he found no impediment neither at *Viterba*, whither the Pope had not sent strength in time, nor in any other place apt to stay the resolution of the armie so well prepared to endamage him. Now began the Pope to haue recourse to those remedies, which if he had vsed in their due time & place, might haue bene to speciall purpose to turne away so great a storme: & now found he too late the effect and truth of the counsels of some wise men about him, prophesying that he would defer the ministracion of those helps vntill either his necessities were greater then his remedies, or at least they would profite litle, being applied out of due season. Now did he create three Cardinals for money, which either could not be leauied for the speedie importunity of the affaires, or else if he should receiue it, the vse would be vnprofitable, by reason of his dangers that hastened on so fast: he called together the people of *Rome*, whom in great compassion he besought, that in so great a hazard of their countrey, they would readily run to armes to defend it, wherein he disposed the bodies of the popular sort to protect their libertie, and imposed vpon the richer loanes of money to wage souldiers; a taxation which ran amongst the people with no authoritie, seeing vpon the leauying of the imposts one *Dominicke Maximo* of the greatest wealth amongst the Romanes, offered to lend but an hundred duckets: for which couetousnesse he bare a sharpe punishment, for that his sonnes were made a pray to the souldiers, and himselfe falling into the calamitie of a prisoner, was rated at a huge rancome to redeeme his liberty. But after they vnderstood at *Florence* the newes of the discamping of the Duke of *Burbon*, which being writtē by *Viselli*, lying then within *Aretze*, lingred a day in comming more then ordinarie: the Captains determined that the Count *Guido Rangon* with his horsemen, and with the troupes of the Count *Caiazzo*, together with a thousand footemen of *Florence* and the Church, should march speedily without baggage towards the towne of *Rome*, and that the other part of the armie should follow after: they hoped that if the Duke of *Burbon* drew with him his artilleries, that proportion of succours would be at *Rome* before

The Duke of
Burbon draw-
eth his army
directly to
Rome.

before him, and if he marched with expedition, it would arrive so soon after him, that having no artilleries, and the Citie of *Rome* being furnished with sixe thousand footemen by the Popes report, the towne would be able to maintaine defence vntill the first succours were come, which being arrived, there could be no daunger of the loosing of *Rome*. But the celeritie of the Duke of *Burbon* and the slow provisions made at *Rome*, prevented the effect of all those deuises: for as *Ranse de Cere* to whom the Pope had recommended the principall charge of the defence of *Rome*, had according to his short time leauied verie few footmen of seruice, but gathered a great crew of men ignorant and vntained in warre, whom he had drawne by force out of the stables of Cardinals and Prelates, and shops of artificers, besides Innes and other domesticall places of the towne: so he laboured to cast ramparts in the suburbs, such as in his iudgement were sufficient for defence, though in the account of others they were farre too weake to hold out the danger that was toward: his confidence was such to defend them, that he would not suffer (for the safetie of the towne) to breake vp the bridge of *Tyber* in case the suburbs and quarter beyond *Tyber* could not be defended: and in that humour of securitie holding for superfluous all other sorts of succours, when he was aduertised of the comming of Count *Guido*, he wrote letters to him in the Popes name by the Bishop of *Verona*, that seeing the Citie of *Rome* was furnished and fortified sufficiently, he should onely send a proportion of fixe or eight hundred harquebuziers, and for him selfe with the residue of his people, he aduised him to go ioyne him selfe to the armie of the League, where he should do more profit, then if he were inclosed within the towne of *Rome*. Which letter though it did little harme, for that the Count was not so farre aduanced as he might arrive in time, yet it made good declaration what slender sense or feeling he had of the present dangers. But if it may be referred to a wonder that mortall men neither cannot nor know not how to resist destinie, it was a matter no lesse maruellous that the Pope, who before was wont to despise *Ranse de Cere* aboue all other Captaines, threw himselfe now into his armes, and reposed his life and estate wholly vpon his confidence and iudgement: and yet this was a matter more strange and contrarie, that he who in farre lesser dangers was wont to be vexed with feare and terror, being euen vpon the point to abandon the Citie at such time as the *Viceroy* drew with his campe to *Frusolone*, now in so great a tempest of perill and hazard, contrary to his custome, his nature, and all expectation, did not onely constantly remaine in *Rome*, but had so great a hope to defend it, that being as it were the aduocate and somner to sollicite for the enemies, he did not only forbid men to go away, but also in the same obstinacie he gaue out ordenance, that there should not be transportation nor outcarying of goods, such as Marchants with other natures of artificers would haue sent for safetie downe the riuer.

The fift day of May the Duke of *Burbon* encamped within the medow neare to *Rome*, from whence with the insolencie of a soldier he sent a trumpet to demand passage of the Pope through the Citie of *Rome*, to go with his armie to the Realme of *Naples*. The morning following vpon the point of the day, by the consideration of his case and the aduersities thereof, he found there remained no other hope for his affaires, then to be resolute to relecue the afflictions of his armie, and according to the oportunitie that was offered by the Citie of *Rome*, either to die or vanquish. In which resolution, pushed on more and more by the murmures and exclamations of his souldiers, in whom he could not discerne which was greater either their insolencies or their necessities, he drew neare the suburbs by the way of the Mountaine and *Santo Spirito*, where he began to giue a furious assault: wherein he seemed to haue the fauor of fortune, who made him present the armie in more suretie by the benefite of a thicke mist, which being risen before day, and increased with degrees of fogge and thicknesse, became such a couer to his whole campe, that his souldiers were not discerned till they were neare the place where they began to giue the assault. The Duke of *Burbon* through a last despaire of his estate, aduanced before all his companies, either for that he had no other expectation of refuge in case he returned not victorious, or else by his own example, he thought to call on with a greater courage the Launceknights, who it seemed went not resolutely to the seruice. But such was his destinie, to determine his life and glorie together, or rather such the reward of his wilfull forwardnesse, which for the most part heapeth wretched effects vpon such as seeke not to accompanie their valour with counsell and discretion. In the beginning of the assault hee was stricken with a bullet of an harquebuze, of which wound he fell downe dead to the earth, receiuing iustly vpon his bodie and life, the price of the action

*The Duke of
Burbon slaine
at the assault
of Rome.*

Rome taken &
sacked.

which contrary to all iustice and piety he went about to execute. But much lesse that his death did abate or diminish, seeing it did inflame and redouble the courage of his souldiers, who fighting with a wonderfull constancie the space of two houres, made way at last by their hands and weapons to enter the suburbs, wherein they were not onely holpen by the weaknesse of the rampiers which were great and generall, but also they found helpe in the slender resistance which the defendants made: An experience of right good doctrine to such as haue not as yet gotten by the benefit of examples past, the knowledge of things present, who in that action may discern what propertie of difference is betweene the vertue of souldiers exercised and trained in warre, and armies newly and hastily leauied and compounded of the multitude of a people more wilfull then skilfull, and by so much lesse apt to be drawne vnder discipline, by how much more by their nature and custome they are seldome conformable to any good order. For there was at the defence of the suburbs one part of the youth of *Rome* vnder the ensignes of the people, notwithstanding that manie of the *Gebelins* and faction of *Colonne* desired or at least did not feare the victory of the Imperials: they hoped in regard of their faction, to receiue no harme or offence by the victors, the same being the cause why they proceeded so coldly in the defence. Neuertheles for that according to the rules of warre, it is a hard matter to take townes without artilleries, there died of the assailants, partly by that want, & partly through their wilfull forwardnesse, about a thousand footmen: who hauing once by their valour made the way open to entet in, all the defendants fled before them, as men whose feare was farre aboue any other sense or passion in them. In which disorder some tooke the way which his fortune and not his wit laid out for him: some in the astonishment seeking to flie who durst no more fight, was slaine by the enimie afore he could resolue vpon the way of his safety: some either better prepared or more happily preserued, found that safety in running away which they could not but doubt if they had longer endured the fight: and some with that resolution which their present calamitie would suffer, ranne by heapes towards the Castle, where in place of rescue they found a feare conformable to their own. In so much as all things being reduced to confusio & manifest flight, the suburbs were entirely abandoned and left a pray to the victors: and the person of the Pope, who expected with great deuotion in the pallace of *Vatican* what would be the issue of the assault, hearing that the enemies were entred, had also (with the others) his passions of feare and fraitie, and in that timorous contemplation of his owne perill, he fled with certaine Cardinals to the Castle. His feare kept him from being resolute in perill that was so desperate, neither did he thinke that with the presence and maiestie of his person, though it was couered with the vaile of the highest dignity vpon earth, he was able to put by the danger, which the valour and fidelitie of his souldiers could not defend with their weapons: there he consulted with the Cardinals, whether it were more for his safetie to remaine there, or during the furie of the astonishment to retire with the light horsemen of his gard into some place of more suretie by the way of *Rome*. But he who was appointed by destinie to be an example of the calamities that may thunder vpon Popes, and how fraile is the authoritie and maiesty of that sea, being certified by the relation of *Bernard de Padoa* who was fled from the armie Imperiall, that the Duke of *Burbon* was dead, and that the whole armie standing abated in courage for the death of their Captaine, desired to come to accord with him: in which matter they sent out men to parley with the principals there, he wretchedly left there all his counsels to go away, both he and his Captains remaining no lesse irresolute in the prouisions for defence, then they had bene slow in the expeditions: so that the day following, the *Spaniards* neither seeing order nor counsell to defend the quarter beyond *Tyber*, entred the place without any resistance: and from thence, not finding anie impediments to stop their victorie, the same euening they entred the Citie of *Rome* by the bridge *Xisto*, where except such as reposed in the confidence of their faction, and certaine Cardinals, who for that they bare a name to embrace the Emperours quarell, beleeued to find more surety then the others: all the residue of the Court and Citie (as hapneth in accidents so furious) was conuerted into flying and confusion. But the souldiers being within the Citie, which they knew wanted nothing to make them right glorious, and well satisfied of all things appertaining to their desires, they began to omit no time to execute the thing they had so dearely bought: euerie one ranne to pillage with the same vnbridled libertie which in such cases maketh souldiers both insolent and impious: there was small care or regard borne either to the name of friends, factions, or fauourers,

and

fauorers, and much lesse was respected the authority of Cardinals and Prelates, or dignitie of temples and monasteries, and lastly not reserved from violation the holy relickes brought thither from all parts of the world, yea euen things sacred and specially dedicated, were prophaned from their shrines and holy places, and made subiect to the furious willes and discretion of the souldiers: it is not onely impossible to recount, but also to imagine the calamities of that Citie raised to a wonderfull greatnesse, and appointed by Gods ordinance to suffer many fortunes and directions, hauing bene sacked by the *Gorbes* within nine hundred and fourescore yeares. It is hard to particulate the greatnesse of the pray, both for the generall wealth and riches which the greedie hands of the souldiers had made vp in heapes, and for other things more rare and precious drawne out of the storehouses of Merchants and Courtiers. But the matter which made the spoile infinite in value, was the qualitie and great number of prisoners, redeemed with most rich and huge ranfomes. And to make vp a full tragedie of miserie and infamie, the Launceknights being so much the more insolent and cruell, by how much they bare hatred to the name of the Church of *Rome*, tooke prisoners certaine Prelates, whom with great contempt and indignitie they set vpon Asles and leane Moyles, and with their faces reuerfed to the crowpe of the beastes, they ledde them through the Citie of *Rome* apparelled with the habites and markes of their dignitie: yea they passed many of them to cruell torments, who either died in the furie of the action, or at least with the painefulnesse thereof they liued not long after, first yeelding a raunfome, and afterwarde rendring their liues. The generall slaughter, as well at the assault as in the rage of sacking, was about foure thousand bodies. All the pallaces of the Cardinals were sacked, except some particulars, who to saue the Marchants that were retired thither with their goods, together with the persons and goods of many others reserved of the generall calamitie, made promise of great summes of money: to whom notwithstanding was vied this iniquitie, that some of them that had compounded with the *Spaniards*, were afterwards sacked by the Launceknights, or at least constrained to a second raunfome. The Ladie Marquisse of *Nantua* compounded for her pallace for the summe of fiftie thousand duckets, which were payed by the Marchants and others retired thither: of which summe the rumour ran that *Ferrand* her sonne had tenne thousand for his share. The Cardinall of *Sienna* dedicated in a perpetuall deuotion to the name of the Emperour, after he had agreed with the *Spaniards*, as well for himselfe as for his pallace, was afterwards made prisoner by the Launceknights, who made bootie and pray of his pallace, and afterwards leading him all naked with buffets and bastonadoes into the borough, he was driuen to redeeme his life out of their hands with a promise of fise thousand duckets. The Cardinales *Minerva* and *Ponfero* passed vnder almost the like calamitie: who being prisoners to the Launceknights, were rated at a raunfome which they payed, after they had bene in a vile spectacle caried in procession through the towne of *Rome*. This furie of souldiers executed in a place of so great riches and greatite, could endure no dispensation of anie sort or qualitie of men, seeing the Prelates and Cardinales Spanish and Germanes, who made themselves assured that the souldiers of their Nation would spare them from oppression and taxation, were taken and passed by the same measure of miserie and calamitie as others did. Right pitifull were the cryings and lamentations of the women of *Rome*, and no lesse worthe of compassion the calamitie of Nunnes and Virgines professed, whom the souldiers rauished by troupes out of their houses, to satisfie their lust, no age, no sexe, no dignitie or calling was free from the violation of souldiers, in whom it was doubtfull whether bare more rule the humour of crueltie to kill, or the appetite of lust to defloure, or lastly the rage of couetousnesse to rob and spoile: yea in the violation of these women might be discerned a confirmation of the iudgements of God hidden from mortall men, for that he suffered to be deliuered vp to the vilenesse of men barbarous and bloudie, the renowned chastite of women professed and virgins. To this compassion was ioyned the infinite clamours of men forced against all law of humanitie, partly to wrest from them vnreasonable raunfomes, and partly to disclose their goods which they had hidden from the rauine of the souldiers. All holy things, Sacraments and relickes of Saints whereof the Churches were full, being dispoiled of their ornaments, were pulled downe and layed vpon the earth, suffering no small prophana-tions by the vile hands of the Launceknights: and what so euer remained vpon the prayes and spoylings of the Imperials, which were things but base and vile, were raked and caried away by the paifants and tenants of the lands of the *Colonnos*, whose insolencie caried them into *Rome*

during the generall furie: onely the Cardinall of *Colonna* arriuing the day after, preserued in his compassion the honour of many women, that haply were fled for rescue into his house. The rumour went that the valuation and prise of this sacke, in gold, siluer and iewels, amounted to more then a million of duckets, but the matter of ransomes contained a greater quantitie.

The same day that the Imperials tooke *Rome*, Count *Guido* arriued with his light horsemen and eight hundred harquebuziers, thinking to enter the same night by the bridge of *Salarno*; but hearing of the accident and dolorous estate of the towne, he retired to *Otricoli*, where the residue of his forces came to him: for notwithstanding the letters he had receiued from *Rome*, by which he vnderstood that there was no reckening made of his succours, yet he forbore not to keepe on his way, retaining this speciall deuotion, to be reputed the man that should giue rescue to *Rome* in greater afflictions, & yet like as it is the nature of men to be gracious and easie interpreters of their owne actions, but hard and seuer censurers of the actions of others, so there wanted not some who in that humour reprehended the Count *Guido* for not knowing how to vse a faire occasion: for that as the Imperials being wholly disposed to follow so rich a pray, to rob houses, to search out treasure that was hid, to take prisoners, and to reduce to places of suretie such as they had taken, were dispersed into all the parts of the citie, without order for their lodging, without knowing their Ensignes, and without obeying the commaundements of their Captaines: their confusion was such, as if Count *Guido* with his rescues had made a sudden entrie into *Rome*, and shewed their faces to the Castell which was neither besieged nor garded, it was beleued that they had not onely obtained the deliuerance of the Pope, but also in that oportunitie had done some braue exploit: wherein they should haue had so much the more facilitie, by how much they might haue commaunded ouer the disorders of the souldiers, who were so vniuersally drowned in the action of pillage, that for anie accident that might happen, there could be scarcely reordered or drawne together anie notable number, the same being verified by the experience of certaine dayes after, when vpon sounding the alarme, not a souldier was in readinesse to resort to his Ensigne: But such are the errors and imperfections of men, that being caried with selfe opinion, without the ground of reason or example, they oftentimes beleue that if things had taken another course, the issue had bene otherwise, whereof if the experience might be scene, their iudgements would oftentimes be found fallible and false. But now there remained onely to those that were inclosed within the Castle, a hope to be rescued by the armie of the League, who being departed from *Florence* no sooner then the third of May, for the long time the *Venetians* tooke to pay the *Swissers*, disposed their marching in such sort as the Marquis of *Salussa* went a dayes iourney before the *Venetian* regiments, but vnder this ordenaunce and agreement betweene him and the Duke, that he should follow him the same way: neuerthelesse the Duke contrarie to that resolution, tooke the seuenth day the way from the lodging of *Cortona* to *Peronsa*, to arriue at *Lodi*, and afterwards at *Otrio*, and there passing *Tyber* to ioine with the residue: who as they marched along the way appointed; forced and sacked the borough of *Pienza*, refusing in their obstinacie to lodge the *Swissers*, in which conflict were passed to the sword fixe or eight hundred of those that were within. By reason of this disorder which drew the souldiers to consume time in pillage and spoile, the armie arriued no sooner then the tenth day at the bridge of *Graniola*, where they had aduertisement of the taking of *Rome*, and the eleuenth day they came to *Oruieto*, where by the counsell of *Federike de Bossolo*; he and the Marquis, and *Hugo Peppoly* with a great troupe of horse drew towards the Castell, with this intention, that he and *Hugo* should go vp euen to the Castell, and the Marquis to remaine behinde to backe them. In which deuice they had this hope, that finding the Imperials disordred, the suddenesse of their arriuing, both not looked for, & in their greatest heate of spoile and pillage, would haply fauour them with occasion to draw out of the Castell the Pope and his Cardinals, wherein they seemed chiefly to take the aduantage of the disorders of the souldiers, in whom was more care to rob and spoile, then to foresee daungers. But that deuise drew to no effect, both for that being not farre from *Rome*, *Federikes* horse falling vnder him, he receiued such a hurt, as he was not able without greater hazard to go from the place, and also *Hugo* shewing himselfe before the Castell at high day, where by his direction he should haue arriued in the night, retired his companies, alleaging that that enterprize was discovered, but as *Federike* sayd, he forsooke the action committed to him, because his feare was greater then his valour.

In this meane while the Duke of *Vrbm* vnderstanding the accidēt of *Rome*, albeit he assured that he would succour the Pope with all his forces, yet taking the fauour of the time and occasion to deprive the estate of *Peroufa* out of the hands of *Gentill Baillon*, who was supported and confirmed in it by the Popes authoritie, and to restore it to the arbitration and disposing of the sonnes of *Iohn Paule*, made his approches to *Peroufa* with the *Venetian* regiments, &c. what with threats which were sharpe and rigorous, and with the terrour of his armie standing prepared in their presence, he compelled *Gentill* to depart from the thing which he kept by vsurpation. He consumed three daies in that action, and leauing there certaine commanders, such as depended vpon *Mala-testa* and *Horatio*, of whom the one was inclosed in the Castle *S. Angelo*, and the other managed the warre in *Lombardy* with the *Venetian* regiments, he departed from thence the sixteenth day to *Ornietta*, the waie which he tooke at comming out of *Cortona* to go to *Rome* beyond *Tiber*, being the cause that he had lingred long. At *Ornietta* all the Captains and commanders of the armie tooke counsell together, to set downe a resolution of their proceedings hereafter: amongst whom the duke of *Vrbm*, after many protestations of his deare and right great affection, propounded many difficulties, recommending them chiefly to think vpon the suretie of their retraite in case the succours of the Castle sort to no good successe. In which reason he vrged of them of *Ornietta* to giue him ostages for assurance not to releue the army with victuals at their returning: and interposing in all the affaires of that enterprise a temporising and tract of time, he resolved at last to be at *Nepes* the xix day, and that the same day the Marquis with his people and the Count *Guido* with his *Italian* footmen, should likewise be at *Braciano*, to the end to go the next day in one strength to the Ile, which is a place nine miles from *Rome*. The Pope vnderstanding of the approaching of these succours by the relation of *Guicciardin* writing to him from *Viterbo*, tooke occasion, that hauing almost concluded the accord with the Imperials, he refused to subsigne the articles: not somuch for the hope he receiued by the letters, which (albeit they were aduisedly written) made some discouerie to him of things which by discoursing of matters past he was to looke and hope for of the time to come, as to auoid the imputation and note of ignominie, to lay vpon his fearfulness and rashnes the fault that he had not bene rescued. There was in the French an vniuersall readines to succour the Castle, in whom the *Venetians* with letters and relations of great affection, augmented the same disposition, the Prince soliciting the matter with great vehemencie in the counsell of the *Pregati*: so that all excuses being taken away from the Duke, he consented that the day following a muster should be made of all the armies and men of warre, hoping perhaps that finding such diminution of numbers amongst the regiments and particular bands, that he might make it a iust cause to refuse the fight; a deuise which he could not reasonably be to serue his turne, since vpon presenting the armies to the musters, there were found fifteene thousand footmē strong, with an vniuersall resolution to fight and do the office of souldiers. Immediately after the muster and suruey of the armies a generall counsell was taken for the manner of their proceeding further, which drew to this determinatiō to leade the army to incampe at the crosse of *Montmary*, according to the great instance and sollicitation of those of the Castle: they alleaged that in respect of the strength of the place and the small distance thereof from *Rome* containing but three miles, together that there was no feare of the Imperials to issue out of *Rome* to incampe, they might not only remaine therein safetie, but also retire without danger: and lastly that by the oportunitie of that place they might better take a view, and better execute the occasion to succour the Castle. But this resolution nothing pleasing the Duke of *Vrbm*, he embraced an other deuise propounded by *Guido Rangon*, who offered to approach the Castle the same night with all the horsemen and footmen of the Church, and in that action to aduenture to rescue the Pope out of the Castle, so farforth as the Duke of *Vrbm* with the residue of the maine armie would march vp to the three *Cauarnes* to backe him. But that deuise was not executed that night, because the Duke went vp to suruey the lodging of *Montmary* being effectly pressed by the importunities of the Pope: and albeit he offered to make his approches that night, yet either for his want of valour, or his too much ielousie of his owne safetie, he passed not the three *Cauarnes*; in so much as many hours being vainly spent in that temporising, they were driuen to deferre the execution of the enterprise till the night following. But the same day they were aduertised by their espials (whether true or suborned) that as the trenches which the Imperials had made in the medowes were more strong and braue then they were indeed: so also that they had broken

vp in manie places (which also was false) the gallery was that leadeth from the *Vatican* to the Castle *Sant Angelo*, to the end to minister succours of many sides, in case any inuasion were offered. Vpon which report the Duke tooke occasiō to alleage many difficulties, which were all consented vnto by *Guido* and approued almost by all the other Captains: wherupon ensued the conclusion that it was a matter impossible to giue succours to the Castle for the present, wherein some other of the Captaints that rose vp to dispute and defend the contrarie opinion, were bitterly reprehended of the Duke, who wanted patience to be drawne to that by reasons and arguments, whereunto he had no inclination of will and valour. In this sort the person and presence of the Pope remained in pray, not one Launce being broken to rescue and recouer out of prison, him who to succour others had leauied so many bands of souldiers, expended such huge masses of monie and treasure, and stirred vp to warre almost all the Nations of the world. Neuertheless they disputed if the helpes that were not to be giuen presently, might be ministred at another time with more forces, a deuise which being proponed by the Duke, was also answered by himselfe, that vndoubtedly the Castle might be succoured when so euer the armie were possessed of a strength of sixteene thousand *Swissers* leauied by ordinance of the Cantons, not comprehending in the reckning such as were there already, as being become vnprofitable for the seruice by their long abiding in *Italy*: and besides this complement of *Swissers*, he required a new proportion of ten thousand harquebuziers *Italians*, three thousand Pioners, and fortie peeces of artilleries: with which resolution he required the Lieutenant to comfort the Pope, whome they knew to be furnished with victuals for a weeke, that amid his aduersities he would temporise & deferre to make anie accord till his forces might be assembled together. The Lieutenant answered, that as he liked of his deuise so farforth as in the meane while the estate of affaires did not change: so being verie likely that those within *Rome* would make the rescue more hard with new trenches and fortifications & also that from *Naples* would come to *Rome* the bands which the *Viceroy* had led thither by sea, he desired to know what propertie of hope he could giue to the Pope in case matters drew that successe according to the sensible apparances and coniectures that were discerned. But the Duke replied, that in such case should be omitted no indeuour or action tending to so good an office, adding withall, that if the bands that were at *Naples* were ioined with those of *Rome*, their strength would be in all more then twelue thousand Launceknights, and eight or ten thousand *Spanish* footmen, and that if the Castle were lost, there could be made no reckning to remaine maisters of the warre, if there were not at least xxij or xxiiij thousand *Swissers* strong. Which demandes being contented of all the Captains as vnreasonable and impossible, the armie being diminished in footmen, retired the first day of Iune to *Monterga*, notwithstanding the great instance which the Pope made, not to depart so soone, to the end to make his aduantage of the armie in the practise and negociation of the accord: the same night *Peter Mariarossa* and *Alexander Vitelly* with two hundred light horsemen passed vp to *Rome* towards the enemies. But now the Pope hauing small expectation of succours, and no lesse feare and ielousie of his life by the rage of the *Colonnas* and furie of the Launceknights, sent for the *Viceroy* who was at *Sienna* to come to *Rome*, and as the Pope hoped that by the interposing of the *Viceroy*, his composition would be both more easie and reasonable, so the *Viceroy* went with great will and readines to find the armie, with intention and hope to be created Captaine general: but being arr'ued at *Rome* whither he passed vnder safeconduct of the Captaines of the army, he found no good inclination in the Launceknights and *Spaniards*, who after the death of the Duke of *Burbon* had elected to that place the Prince of *Orange*. By reason of which preuention together with the euill disposition of the armie continuing, he had no reason to abide at *Rome*: and yet as he went towards *Naples*, he was encountred in the way by the Marquis of *Gust*, *Don Hugo*, and Captaine *Alarcon*, by whose counsels he returned estoones to *Rome*: neuertheless for that he was not agreeable to the armie, he bare no more authoritie neither in the affaires of the warre, nor in the negociation of accord with the Pope, who being by his aduersitie made naked of all helpe present, and lesse expectation to be rescued where was so great want of valour and order, was driuen to runne the race of his fortune, compounding the sixt day of Iune with the Imperials almost vnder the same condicions with the which he might haue accorded before: That the Pope should pay to the armie foure hundred thousand duckets in this order: one hundred thousand presently to be defraied of the gold, monie, and treasure referued in the Castle:

The Pope being
abandoned of
all hopes com-
poundeth with
the Imperials.

fiftie thousand within twentie daies, and two hundred and fiftie thousand within two moneths, assigning to him for these desraiments, an impost of monie to be charged vpon the whole Church state; That he should deliuer into the power of the Emperour to retaine them so long as he thought good, the Castle *Saint Angelo*, the Rockes of *Ostia*, of *Cinita vecchia*, and of *Cinita Castellano*, together with the Cities of *Parma*, *Plaisance*, and *Modena*: That the Pope together with all those Cardinals that were with him, which were thirteene in nūber, should remain prisoners within the Castle vntill the first payment of an hundred and fiftie thousand duckets were satisfied: That afterwards they should go to *Naples* or to *Caietta* to expect what the Emperour would determine of them: That for assurance of the paiments whereof the third part appertained to the *Spaniards*, he should deliuer in for ostages, the Archbishops of *Siponto* and *Pisa*, the Bishops of *Pistoia* and *Verona*, together with *Iames Saluatio*, *Simon de Ricafola*, and *Lawrence* brother to Cardinall *Rodolfo*: That *Ranfe de Cere*, *Albert Pio*, *Oratio Bailon*, the knight *Casalo*, the Embassadour of *England*, with all others that were saued within the Castle, except the Pope and the Cardinals, should depart in suretie: That the Pope should giue absolution to the *Colomnois* of the censures they had incurred: And that when he should be led out of *Rome*, a Legate should remaine there for him with authoritie to dispose and administer iustice. As soone as this accord was passed, Captaine *Alarcon* entred within the Castle with three bands of Spanish footmen, and three companies of Launceknights, who because there was put vpon him the confidence and deputation to gard the Castle and the Pope, he performed it with a very strait and seuer watch, such as shut vp from the prisoners almost all libertie. But touching the other castles and townes promised, they were not so easily consigned, for that as the Castle of *Cinita vecchia* was kept and defended in the name of the Cōfederates, so *Andrew Dore* notwithstanding he had receiued warrant and commandement from the Pope, refused to deliuer vp the Castle of *Cinita Castellano*, vnles he were first satisfied of fourtene thousand duckets which he said were due to him for his paie. *Iulian Leno* a Romaine was sent to *Parma* and *Plaisance* in the Popes name, and *Lodowike* Count of *Lodron* accompanied in the name of the Captaines, with commandement to those cities to obey the will of the Emperour, notwithstanding the Pope had giuen them secret aduertisement to the contrarie: and accordingly, those Cities abhorring the iurisdiction of the *Spaniards*, refused to receiue them. Touching them of *Modena*, they stood not in their owne power, for that the Duke of *Ferrara* letting not passe any occasion which the calamities of the Pope offred him, threatned them to ouerrunne and waste all their corne which was now ripe, by which cōpulsion he constrained the to reder vp to him the town the sixt day of Iune, not without the infamy of Count *Lodowike Rangon*, who notwithstanding the Duke had but a small strength with him, left the towne abandoned without making any signe of resistance. In this action the Duke respected not the authoritie of the *Venetians*, who perswaded him to attempt or innouate nothing against the Church in such troubled times. And yet they themselves entertaining intelligence with the *Guelfes* of *Ravenna*, after they had sent certaine bands of footmen vnder colour to defend the towne for feare of those of *Cosignola*, conuerted to themselves the iurisdiction and possession of that Citie, and vnder the same cloke tookethe Castle, after they had made secret slaughter of the Captaine, publishing that they would hold it in the name of the whole league. Not many daies after they possessed themselves of *Cervia* and the salts that were there, appertaining to the Pope, whose estates being neither garded nor defended further then the people & inhabitantes for their owne interests stood in defence of their places and libertie, *Sigismond Malatesta* with the same facilitie seized vpon the towne and Castle of *Rimini*.

The affaires of the Pope proceeded with no better courie in the Citie of *Florence*, where when the accident and losse of *Rome* was related to them, the Cardinall *Cortono*, whose feare was farre greater then his assurance, resolved to giue place to necessitie and fortune: he saw he was abandoned of those partakers and Citizens who made profession to be friends to the house of *Medicis*: he saw there remained no meane for him to leauy monie without vsing meanes violent & extraordinary: and lastly lacking deuotion to employ his owne purse, at least till he saw a further euent and issue of the armies who were marched to succour the Pope, he stood possessed with passions of feare and cowardise, and gaue scope to the aduersities of the towne without laying to his hand to restraine or moderate the vniuersall perill. In which disposition, after he had made an assemblie of the Citizens together, he deposed vnto them the free administration of the

common weale, hauing before obtained certaine priuiledges and exemptions, together with facultie to the Popes Nephewes, to remaine at *Florence* as Citizens priuate, being clearly absolved and pardoned of all things past, which they had committed ioyntly or seuerally against the estate. Vpon the conclusion of which grants, the sixt day of May he went to *Lucqua* with the Popes Nephewes, where reprehending and repenting his departure in so great timorousnes, he practised to retain to himself the Castles of *Pisa* & *Linorna*, being already in the hands of Captains of the Popes confidence, who neuerthelesse, hauing no hope of succours by reason of the Popes captiuitie, and being corrupted with some secret summe of monie, within verie few daies after deliuered vp those Castles to the *Florentyns*. In the meane while the people of *Florence* had reduced their Citie to a popular gouernment, and in that humor had created *Gonsalonier* and chiefe Magistrate of the pollicie for one yeare, with facultie of confirmation for three yeares, one *Nicholas Cappony*, a Citizen of great authoritie and a louer of the publike libertie: this man desiring wholly the concord and vnitie of the Citizens, and no lesse zealous to reduce the gouernment to the most perfect forme of a common weale that was possible, debated the action with reasons graue and resolued, in a conuocation of the great counsell, in whom rested absolute power to establish lawes & create all Magistrates, and sure if the Citizens had giuen faith to the persuasions of this man, their new libertie had haply endured longer: But as for the most part the passion of spite and disdain is stronger in him that recouereth libertie, then in another that defendeth it, so the hatreds being great against the house of *Medicis* for many causes, but especially for that they had bene driuen to beare out for the most part with their owne monie, all the enterprises that they had begunne: the people began to persecute immoderately all those Citizens that were friends to the *Medicis*, together with such as bare affection to the name of the Pope: they called into remembrance how the Citie had expended not onely in the occupation but also in the defence of the Duchie of *Vrbis*, more then fise hundred thousand duckets, and as much in the warre which Pope *Leo* managed against the French king, and in matters hapning after his death depending vpon the same warre: neither did they forget the three hundred thousand duckets which were paid to the Captains Imperials and to the *Viceroy*, before the creation of *Clement*. And lastly they reduced into reckning the sixe hundred thousand duckets disbursed aswell since that time, as employed in this last warre against the Emperour. These reckonings being ioyned to the humor of their vniuersall hatreds, so aggrauated their rage and furie, that they defaced and reuerfed through all the partes of the Citie, the armes and ensignes of the house of *Medicis*, not forbearing in that course of insolencie to pull downe euen thole scutchions which were affixed and embossed to the publike pallaces builded by themselves. They brake the images or portraites of *Leo* and *Clement*, set vp in so great glorie in the temple of *Annuciado*, so much celebrated through all the world: yea the most part of them omitted nothing appertaining to moue the Popes disdain, and to nourish the diuisions and discordes of the Citie, which they had risen into greater degrees of disorder, if the authoritie and discretion of the *Gonsalonier* had not bene interposed, which yet was not sufficient to remedie manie insolencies.

But by this time were come to *Rome* with the Marquis of *Guast* and *Don Hugo*, all those footbands of Launceknights and *Spaniards* which were in the Realme of *Naples*: so that it was said they had strong within the towne of *Rome* eight thousand Spanish footmen, twelue thousand Launceknights, and foure thousand *Italians*; an armie sufficient to do in *Italy* what they would, aswell for the reputation they had gotten, as for the vniuersall astonishment of those regions, together with the weake prouisions that were made to oppose against them: onely the armie tooke such libertie in their insolencies and disorders, the Prince of *Orenge* being Captaine generall in title and name, but not in authoritie and effect, that they tooke litle care of the interestes of the Emperour, being wholly caried with the humor of pray and spoile, and to ransome prisoners and racke the purse of the Pope; matters whose sweetnesse detained them still in *Rome*, where running a race of tumult and mutinie, the *Viceroy* and the Marquis of *Guast* feared least they would extend their furie vpon their persons to the danger of their liues: in which feare they fled, leauing the souldiers to the hazard and stroke of the plague, which being already begun, kindled amongst them greater brands of infection to their vniuersall damage. For these reasons the Imperials lost the occasion of many enterprises, but especially they omitted the oportunitie to conquer *Bologna*; a citie which albeit the Count *Hugo de Tepoly* went thither after the losse of

Rome with an army of a thousand footemen payed by the *Venetians*, yet it stood and persevered in the obedience of the sea Apostolike, though not without difficulty, by reason of the tumult which *Lawrence Malvezzo* made by the secret consent of *Ramassotto* and the fauour of the faction of the *Bentinoleis*, yea (which was of no lesse importance then the residue) their disorder and carelesnesse gaue time to the French king to dispatch into *Italie* a most mighty army, with great danger to the Emperour to loose the Realme of *Naples* after he had triumphed gloriously in so great a victory: for, matters going on long time before in *Fraunce* to a preparation of a new warre, there was established the foure and twentieth of Aprill, a conclusion of the confederation solicited many moneths betweene the French king and the king of *England*: wherein one condition was, that the daughter of the king of *England* should be married to the French king, or to the Duke of *Orleans* his second sonne, the election of which should be resolved at the time of the enteruiew of the two kings, which was to be performed at *Whitfontide* betweene *Callice* and *Bollegne*. Another article was, that the king of *England* should renounce the title of king of *France*, receiuing in recompence a yearly pension of fifty thousand duckats. The third article bare that the king of *England* should enter league made at *Rome*, and to be bound by the next moneth of Iuly, to moue warre beyond the Mounts against the Emperour with nine thousand footemen, and the French king with eighteene thousand, and a convenient number of iauces and artileries: That in the meane while both the one and the other of them, should send Embassadors to the Emperour, both to signifie the confederation made by them, to summon him to restore the kings children, and to enter into the peace with comely conditions: which in case he would not accept within one moneth, their Embassadors should denounce warre to him, and begin it. As soone as this accord was passed, the King of *England* entred the League, who together with the French king dispatched two Gentlemen in post to present to the Emperour conuenient summons; matters which were done by the Embassadors of the French and English with a farre greater readinesse then they were performed by the Popes commission: for that his Nuncio *Baltasar Castillon*, sparing to sharpen the minde of the Emperour, would not consent to denounce warre against him. But afterwards the Court of *Fraunce* being possessed with the newes of the losse of *Rome*, and the displeasure of the accident of the Pope being ballanced with the gladnesse of the death of the Duke of *Burbon*, and lastly the French king not holding it good pollicie to suffer the things of *Italy* so to decline, he contracted the fifteenth day of May with the *Venetians*, that they should wage in common ten thousand *Swissers*, he to furnish the first pay, and the *Venetians* the second, and so forward according to that rule: That he should send into *Italie* tenne thousand Frenchmen, vnder *Peter Nauarre*: That in like sort the *Venetians* ioyntly with the Duke of *Millan* should wage tenne thousand footemen *Italians*: That he should send thither a new supplie of fise hundred Launces and eighteene peeces of artilerie: And because the king of *England* notwithstanding the articles of the contract, shewed no great readinesse to make warre beyond the Mounts; a dealing which was not very agreeable to the French king, they dispenced with that obligation, and in place of that, they covenanted: That the king of *England* to furnish the war of *Italy* should defray the pay of ten thousand footemen for fixe monethes full: And at the speciall instance of the sayd king of *England* *Monsieur de Lawtrech* almost against his will, was declared Captaine generall of the whole army, during whose preparation to march and passe with conuenient prouisions of money and other things necessarie, there was nothing done in *Italie* that was of any consequence: for, both the Emperours army stirred not out of *Rome* notwithstanding that many perished daily by the rage of the plague, which at that time ranne also with great mortalitie in *Florence*, and through many parts of *Italie*: and also the army of the League, into which at the instance of the Marquis of *Salussa* and the *Venetians*, the *Florentins* were entred of new with obligation to defray fise thousand footemen, wherewith the Emperour felt himselfe grieuouly offended, for that hauing at their instance giuen to the Duke of *Ferrara* authority to compound in his name, was almost as soone aduertised of their contrary deliberation. This army being greatly diminished in numbers, for that the regiments of the *Venetians*, of the Marquis, and the *Swissers*, were ill payed; was retired towards *Viterba*, and looking altogether to temporise and entertayne, they laboured to hold in the deuotion of the League, *Perousa*, *Oruietta*, *Spoleto* with other places thereabouts. And afterwards hauing vnderstanding in that place, that one part of the Emperours army was issued out of:

Confederation
betweene the
French king &
the king of
England.

Rome somewhat to take breath with the largenesse and scope of ayre, fearing least the residue should do the like, after the first payments were made, they retired to *Orvieto*, and afterwards neare to the borough of *Pienza*: and in that inclination they had retired vpon the lands of the *Florentins*, if they would haue giuen consent. In this rage of the plague the Castell of *S. Angelo* was visited, to the great daunger of the life of the Pope, about whom died certaine speciall men that did seruice to his person: who amid so many afflictions and aduersities, and no other hope remaining to him then in the clemency of the Emperour, appointed for Legat with the consent of the Captaines, Cardinall *Alexander of Farnese*, who notwithstanding being issued out of the Castell and *Rome*, refused vnder that occasion to go in the said legation. The Captaines desired to cary the person of the Pope with the thirteene Cardinals that were with him, to *Caietta*, but he labored against that resolution with great diligence, petitions, and art.

Monsieur
Lawtrech
Captaine ge-
nerall of the
league.

At last Monsieur de Lawtrech, after he had giuen order to things necessary, departed from the Court the last of Iune with eight hundred launces, and honoured with the title of Captaine generall of the whole league. And the king of *England* in place to present ten thousand footemen, was taxed to pay in money for euery moneth, beginning the first of Iune, the summe of thirthe thousand duckats, which money should be conuerted to the payment of then thousand Launce-knights vnder Monsieur Vaudemont, which was a regiment of very good exercise and practise, for that they had many times broken the bands of the *Lutherans*. The French king tooke also to his pay Andrew Dore with eight gallies and fixe and thirthe crownes for euery yeare. But before Monsieur Lawtrech was past the Mounts, the regiments of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* ioyned together, marched to *Marignan*, whom *Anthony de Lema* issuing out of *Millan* with eight hundred *Spaniards* and the like number of *Italians* together with a very few horsemen, contrayned to retire. About which time *Iohn Iames de Medcis* Captaine of *Mus*, who was in pay with the French king, and expected vpon the lake the comming of the *Swissers*, made himselfe Lord by suttile meanes of the Castell of *Monguzzo* seated betweene *Lecqua* and *Coma*, wherein dwelt *Alexander Bemisolo* as in his owne house; for the recovering of it, *Anthony de Lema* sent thither *Lodowike de Belioyense*; who hauing assaulted it in vaine, turned to *Monceo*: but afterwards *Anthony de Lema* hauing espiall that the sayd Captaine *Mus* with two thousand & fife hundred footmen, was come to the village *Carato* fourteene miles from *Millan*, returned to *Millan*: where leauing onely two hundred men (notwithstanding the *Venetians* were almost ten thousand) and issuing out by night with the rest of the armie, he charged suddenly vpon the rising of the Sunne) the bands of Captaine *Mus*, who at the alarme leauing their houses wherein they were lodged, they retired into a plaine place enuironed with hedges not farre from the village, not thinking that all the bands were there: and albeit they cast themselues into order, yet by the disadvantage of the place being low and strycted as a prison, they fell all without anie resistance into the calamitie of the sword or prisoners, except many who in the beginning sought their safetie by flying, taking their example of the Captaine.

In this meane while, the Emperour had aduertisement of the Popes captiuitie, by letters which his high Chauncellor wrote to him from *Monaco*, as he went into *Italie*, whither he was sent by his authoritie: and albeit by his speeches and outward forme of behauior he expressed how grievous that accident was to him, yet it was discerned by his secret motions and affections, that he was not much discontented with it, which he well declared in publike demonstrations, not forbearing to follow the feastes and torneyes begun before for the birth of his sonne. But as the deliery of the Pope was vehemently desired by the king of *England* and Cardinall of *Yorkes*, and for their authority no lesse displeasing to the French king, who in case he could otherwayes haue recovered his children, would haue taken litle care and grieve for the calamities of the Pope and vniuersall domages of all *Italy*: so in a cause so generally inducing to compassion, both the one and other the king sent Embassadors to the Emperour, to demaund the deliuerance of the Pope as a matter appertayning in common to all the Princes Christian, and particularly due by the Emperour, vnder whose faith he had bene reduced to that estate of miserie, by his Captaines and by his army. About this time the Cardinals that were in *Italy* made a motion, that as well they as the other Cardinals beyond the Mounts might assemble together at *Avignon*, to take counsell in so troublesome a time, what course to hold for the stability of the Church. But because they

they would not all at one time range themselves vnder the power of so mightie Princes, they refused to go thither though with diuerse excuses: by whose example also the Cardinall *Saluatio* Legate in the French court, being required by the Pope to go to the Emperour to helpe his affaires in the comming of *Don Hugo*, who according to the capitulation, was to go vp to the Emperour, refused to accomplish that legation, as though it had bene a matter hurtfull to deliuer vp to the power of the Emperour at one time so manie Cardinals: only he sent by one of his seruants of credite the instructions he had receiued from *Rome*, to the Auditor of the Chamber resident with the Emperour, to the end he might negotiate with him, who brought from him verie gracious words, but such as promised a diuerse and vncertaine resolution. And albeit the Emperour could haue desired that the Pope had bene led into *Spaine*, yet for that it was a matter full of infamie, and greatly tending to incense the king of *England*: and withall for that all the Potentates and prouinces of *Spaine*, and principally the Prelates & Lords, detested not a litle that an Emperour of *Rome*, Protector and Aduocate of the Church should with so great indignitie to all Christendome, hold in prison the man in whom was represented the person of Iesus Christ in earth. In those regards he made gracious answers to all the Embassadors which occupied his presence thereat whose instance also to go through with a peace, he said he was content to referre the action of it to the king of *England*, which was accepted by them: and seeming to confirme this good inclination with correspondencie of effects, he dispatched into *Italy* the third day of August the Generall of the gray Frears, and foure dayes after him *Veri de Mighan*, enabling both the one and other with commissions sufficient to the Viceroy for the deliuerie of the Pope, and restitution of all such townes and Castles as had bene taken from him: he consented also for the better releuing of the Pope, that his Nuncio should send him a certaine summe of money exacted vpon the collection of his realmes, who in their Courts and Parliaments had refused to contribute money to the Emperour.

In this time about the end of Iuly, the Cardinall of *Yorke* passed the sea to *Calice* with twelue hundred horse: the French king who had great desire to receiue him with all shewes of honour, sent to meete him at his landing the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and went afterwards in person to *Amiens*, where the Cardinall of *Yorke* made his entrie the day after with very great pompe: wherein one thing that much augmented his glorie and reputation, was the treasure he had brought with him amounting to three hundred thousand crownes, both to furnish the expences occurring, and to impart it with the French king by way of loane if need were. They debated betweene them aswell of matters appertaining to the peace, as of occasions tending to nourish the warre: wherein albeit the ends and intentions of the French king were different from the purposes of the king of *England*, for that to haue his children restored, he cared not to leaue abandoned to manifest pray both the Pope and all the estate of *Italy*: yet what by the authority of the king of *England*, and necessitie of his owne affaires, he was driuen to promise to make no accord with the Emperour without the deliuerie of the Pope: and therefore the Emperour hauing sent to the king of *England* the articles of the peace, answer was made to him by both the kings, that they would accept the peace vnder conditions of restitution of the children of *France*, receiuing for rancome of them two millions of duckets within a certaine time, and deliuerie of the Popes person with the state Ecclesiastike, together with the conseruation of all the governments & estates of *Italy*, as they were at that present, & lastly, vnder condition of an vniuersall and generall peace. And because the marriage of the French king with the Emperours sister should still continue, there was set downe a speciall couenant that the Emperour accepting these articles, the Daughter of the king of *England* should be married to the Duke of *Orleans*: but in case the peace succeeded not, the king himselfe should take her to wife. After these articles were sent, they refused to giue safe conduct to a man whom the Emperour required to send into *France*, answering that they had done enough to send him the articles of their resolution: which being not accepted by the Emperour, the peace and confederation betweene the two kings was sworne & published solemnly the eighth day of August. They determined to employ all their forces in the warre of *Italy*, hauing for their principall object the deliuerie of the Pope: and touching the maner to proceed in that warre, they reposed themselves vpon *M. Lamiréch*, to whom according to the confidence they had in him, they gaue absolute power, and before he tooke his leaue to depart with his expedition, they suffered him to obtaine of the French king all his demands, for that the king meant in that warre to set

The Cardinall
of Yorke in
France.

vp his last rest. The Cardipall of *Torke* would also that the knight *Casalo* should go to the campe on the behalfe of his king, and that the thirtie thousand duckets which were his monethly contribution should bee deliuered to him, to the end to be assured if the number of *Almaines* were complete. Thus after the resolutions and directions of the warre were established, the Cardinal of *Torke* returned, and at his departure he dispatched the Pronotarie *Gambaro* to the Pope, to induce him to make him his Vicar generall in *England*, in *Fraunce*, and in *Germany* so long as he was in prison: whereunto though the French king seemed by demonstrations to consent, yet secretly and in effect he did impugne so great an ambition.

In this meane while there passed but verie few actions and exploits of warre in *Italy*, the expectation of the comming of *Lawirech* being verie great: the reason was, that as the Imperiall army full of disorder and disobedience to their Captaines, and no lesse chargeable to their friendes and townes that were rendred, made no great mouing, and gaue no feare at all to their enemies: so the footebands of *Spaniards* and *Italians* flying from the infection of the plague, lay disperfed and wandring about the confines of *Rome*: and the Prince of *Orenge* with an hundred and fiftie horsemen was gone vp to *Sienna*, aswell to eschue the daunger of the plague, as to keepe that citie in the deuotion of the Emperour: and for the better containing the Citie in fidelitie and order, he had sent thither before certaine bands of footemen, the rather for that the people being drawne into commotion at the incensing of certaine seditious Citizens, had in that tumult sacked the houses of such as were of the family of *Montenono*, and had slaine in their rage *Peter Bourgeo* a Citizen of authoritie, together with one of his sonnes, and seuentene or eightene others. There remained only within *Rome* the Launceknights, as full of infection and plague, as ripe in disorder & insolvency, who being satisfied by the Pope with verie great difficulty of the first hundred thousand duckets, which were partly paid in money, and part to be answered vpon bills of Marchants of *Genes*, being to be repayed vpon the tenths of the realme of *Naples*, and vpon the sale of *Benenent*, required for the residue of their paies due other sureties, and other assignation then the imposition of the state Ecclesiastike; a matter impossible to the Pope being a prisoner: by reason whereof, after many threatnings made to the ostages and sureties whom in great cruelty they kept in chains, they led them in a manifest ignominie to the field of *Flora*, where they set vp a gibbet, as though they would haue made present execution of them: afterwards they issued all out of *Rome* without anie Captaines of authoritie, rather to lodge abroad and refresh themselves, then to execute anie exploit of importance. In which inhumanitie and insolencie, after they had sacked the Cities of *Ferno* and *Narno*, *Spoletto* agreed to giue them passage and victuals: by which occasion the armie of the Confederates, to assure *Peroufa*, went to lodge at *Pontenono* beyond *Peroufa*, they were encamped before vpon the lake of *Peroufa*, but they were much diminished in numbers, in regard of the obligation of the Confederates: for the Marquis had with him three hundred Launces, and three hundred French archers, three thousand *Swissers*, and a thousand footmen *Italians*: the Duke of *Vrbino* had with him five hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, a thousand footmen *Almaines*, and two thousand *Italians*: the *Venetians* alleaged for their excuses, that they supplied their promise and obligation with the bands of soldiers whom they held in the Duchie of *Millan*: the *Florentines* had fourescore men at armes, an hundred and fiftie light horsemen, and foure thousand footmen: and as they were constrained to maintaine a better prouision then all the others, for a continuall feare they had, least the Emperours armie would assaile *Tuscane*: so in that respect they fayled not to make payes to their soldiers in times due, wherein they did contrarie to all the residue: but the Duke of *Vrbino* ouer and besides his auncient difficulties, was not without his passions of griefe and disquietnesse, tending almost to dispaire, for that he knew that both the French king and *Monsieur Lawirech* spake not of him to his honour, and also the *Venetians* were drawne into a verie ill opinion of him: who, suspecting either his fidelitie or his inconstancie, had set a diligent and carefull guard vpon his wife and children that were at *Venice*, least they should depart without their leaue: and in that humor of ieaiousie and suspition they reprobued openly his counsell, which was that *Lawirech* should draw directly to *Rome*, without attempting any thing in *Lombardie*.

So that all matters of action or enterprise lay asleepe in that armie, who interpreted it to a speciall grace that the Imperials passed not further. And the Imperials hauing a litle afterwards received two crownes a peece of the Marquis of *Gualf*, who went to the armie, returned, the Launceknights

(who agreed not well with the *Spaniards*) to *Rome*, and the *Spaniards* were severally dispersed to *Aluiano*, *Tegliano*, *Chastillon*, and *Bolseno*: only the generall number were so much diminished, especially the *Launceknights*, by the stroke of the plague, that it was thought the whole army of the Emperour contained not above ten thousand footmen: here is not to be omitted the report of an act worthy of perpetuall infamie, committed by the Imperiall Captaines before their departure, the discourse of it was this: *Gentill Baillon* being returned to *Perousa* with the will & consent of *Horacio*, who perswading that the disorders betweene them were hurtfull to euerie one, had made shew that he would reconcile himselfe to him: thither went *Federike Bossolo* with the priuie and authority of all the Captaines, to signifie vnto him, that forasmuch as they had found out that he practised secretly with the enemies, they thought good to be assured of his person, notwithstanding he iustified himselfe, and promised that he would go to *Chastillon*: he was left in the guard of *Gigant Corse* Coronell of the *Venetians*, supposing though his liberty was restrained, yet there was no daunger to his life: but the malice of his enemies pulling on by violent hands, the last degree of his destinie, he was the same night slaine with two of his Nephewes by certaine murderers of *Horacio*, suborned by his commission; which bloody accident he caused to be also accompanied at the same time with the slaughter of *Galeotto*, brother to *Braccio*, & one of the nephewes of *Gemill*. After this the Confederates sent souldiers to enter within *Camerino*, by reason they had aduertisemēt that the Duke was dead, but they were preuented by *Sforce Baillo* in the name of the Imperials: inso much as *Sera Colomo* made his entrie on the behalfe of *Rodolph* his son in law, bastard son to the late Duke. Afterwards the Marquis of *Salussa* & *Federike* with many horsemen and a thousand footmen assaulted by night the Abbey of *S. Peter*, which is neare *Ferno*, wherein were *Peter Maria Rossa* and *Alexander Vitelli* with a strength of two hundred horsemen and foure hundred footmen: this enterprise verie rash of it selfe, since for the garrison that was there the place was not pregnable but by artilleries, succeeded well to them, either by fortune, which is vainly supposed to beare some sway in actions, or by indiscretion, which leades all things in error and confusion, or else through the couetousnesse of the Captaines, who hauing sent out the same day an hundred and fiftie harquebuziers to make pillage of a towne fast by, had depriued themselves of a strength necessarie to defend it: inso much as after they had maintained resistance for certaine houres, they yeelded to discretion, reseruing only the persons and goods of *Peter Maria Rossa* and *Alexander Vitelli*, who in defending the place which they could not keep had receiued wounds with the bullet, the one in the leg, and the other in the hand. About this time the riuer of *Tyber* rising in two or three places about the bankes, ouerflowed with great hurt the cāpe of the League, which went to lodge at *Ascesa*, the Imperials being as yet betweene *Farno* and *Narno*: and then passing further, the Duke of *Urbino* lodged at *Narno*, the Frenchmen at *Benigno*, and the blacke bands commaunded by *Horacio Baillon* Captaine generall of the infanterie of the *Florentines*, seeing there was no lodging prepared for the, entred into the towne of *Montefalcon* and sacked it: in which course of insolencie certaine bands of his footmen inuaded afterwards *Pressia*, whither were retired *Rodolfo de Varano* and *Beatrice* his wife, who in so great an aduersity hauing no meane to defend themselves, yeelded to discretion: neuertheless not long after they recovered their liberty, for that *Sera* being not able to remaine longer within *Camerino* for the displeasures he receiued of that armie, compounded to abandon it vnder condition to recouer his son in law and his daughter. And in this enterchange of actions & affaires, the Marquis of *Salussa* and *Federike* made a practise with the French horsemen and two thousand footmē to surprise and strip the Spanish horsemen, who were lodged at *Monte Rozondo* without gard & watch, as *Maria Vrsini* reported: they had three dayes marching to the place where the exploit should be done, wherein they proceeded with so litle order, that they were disclosed and returned without doing anything, notwithstanding they had determined, the better to take from the *Spaniards* all meanes to flie away, to breake downe at the same time the bridge of *Fenerono*.

During the whole time of this sommer the actions of the souldiers that were in *Lombardie*, were of the like propertie: for as the bands of the *Venetians* and the Duke being drawne into one strength neare to *Millan*, with intention to leaue and take away the corne of that countrey, had overthrowne the eskart or gard of victuals, and slaine an 100 footmen, taken thirty men at armes and three hundred horse of seruice & others: so they forbore to proceed any further against their corne, for that the bands of the *Venetians* according to their custome, did immediatly disperse

and diminished. *Andrew Dore* was retired with his fleet towards *Sanona*, and the *Genowayes* under that occasion had reconquered *Spesia*: but afterwards the affaires of *Lombardy* began to take a new life for the descending of *Monsieur Lawirech* into *Piemont* with one part of the armie: who having no mind to remaine idle whilest he expected the residue of his forces, went to encamp in the beginning of August afore the towne of *Bosco* in the countrey of *Alexandria*, wherein were left for garrison a thousand footmen; the most part of them were Launceknights, who defended their liues with so much the more obstinacie and resolution, by how much *Lawirech* made angrie for that they had slaine certaine *Swissers*, would not receiue them to rendring, vnlesse they referred themselues wholly to his discretion, wherein the more to confirme them in hart & courage, *Lodowike* Count of *Lodron* to whom was committed in charge *Alexandria*, sent to them oftentimes and comforted them by all the meanes they could: in which good office he had speciall interest, for that his wife and children were besieged also within *Bosco*: neuerthelesse their aduersitie being farre aboue their power, at last after they had day and night for the space of ten dayes endured the importunate furie of the artilleries, the minds that through their valour were no longer able to make resistance, were compelled through the malice of their calamities to submit wholly their liues and goods to the arbitration of *Monsieur Lawirech*: who tempering his seueritie and iustice with compassion and clemencie, retained the Capitaines prisoners, and saued the life of the souldiers, but with this condition, that the *Spaniards* should returne into *Spaine* through *Fraunce*, and the Launceknights to take their way into *Germany* by the countrey of *Switzerland*, and euerie particular of euerie nation of them, according to the brauerie of warre, to go out of *Bosco* without armes, euerie one bearing a white rod in his hand: only in this his magnanimitie exceeded his iustice, that he liberally rendred to the Count *Lodron* his wife and his children. This conquest was accompanied with a happie successe of the affaires of *Genes*: for five ships, whereof foure were laden with corne, and the fift with marchandise, which went to *Genes*, being arriued at *Portofino*, and to the end they might passe in safety, nine Galleys being sent out of *Genes* to accompanie them, it hapued that by reason of an aduertisement that *Cesar Fregosa* approached to *Genes* by land with two thousand footmen, almost all those that were at *Portofino* went to *Genes*, leauing the fleet abandoned, the same giuing occasion to *Andrew Dore* to enclose it with his Galleys in the same port: at which place the *Genowayes* knowing that they were not able to resist, disarmed their Galleys, and set their souldiers on land: by which meane, of the nine Galleys (one being burned) the others fell into the power of the enemies, together with the ships laden with corne, and the Caracke *Iustinian*, which being come out of *Leuant*, was supposed to haue a lading in value worth an hundred thousand ducques: at this exploit were also the other French Galleys, who hauing taken before five ships laden with corne which were bound for *Genes*, were afterwarde drawne behind *Codomont*, betweene *Portofino* and *Genes*. Moreouer, at that instant certaine bands of footmen which the *Adornes* had leauied to bestow within *Genes*, were ouerthrowne at *Priacroce*, a place situated in the same mountaines. This calamitie ioyned to many other losses of money and sundrie vessels, tooke from the *Genowayes* being now reduced to extremitie, all hope to make good any further resistance, notwithstanding that at the same time *Cesar Fregosa* being drawne neare to *Saint Peter de Rene*, was constrained to retire himselfe: but the stroke of famine being ioyned to the forces and vexations of the enemies, and no further necessitie remaining to make their calamitie more wretched, they sent Embassadours to *M. Lawirech* to capitulate: *Anth. Adorney* who was Duke of *Genes*, retired within the Castle: insomuch as the tumults being appeased principally by the industrie of *Philip Dore* who was prisoner there, the Citie diuolued to the obedience of the French king, who created Gouvernour there *Theodor Trunilce*. By the example of this felicitie, *M. Lawirech* drew neare to *Alexandria*, hauing in his armie eight thousand *Swissers*, who diminished dayly in number, and the tenne thousand footmen commaunded by *Peter Nauarre*, together with three thousand *Gascons* whom the Baron of *Bear* had newly brought into *Italy*, and also three thousand footmen of the Duchie of *Millan*. There were within *Alexandria* fiftene hundred footmen, who for the ouerthrow & losse of the *Almaines* of *Bosco*, were both much weakned, and no lesse terrified, but being releued afterwards with five hundred footmen entring by the fauour of the hilles next to the Citie, and guided by *Alberig de Beldoyense*, they resumed their spirits and made a valiant defence: neuerthelesse what by the fury of the batteries

*Genes re-
turneth to the
obedience of the
French king.*

batteries redoubled in manie places, & fresh courage of the *Venetian* bands newly arriued in the armie (who notwithstanding did nothing answer neither by sea ~~nor~~ the numbers they were bound vnto) and also the defendants at the same time being much trauelled and weakened with the trenches and mines which *Peter Nauarre* cast, their aduersities compelled them to yeeld vp the place with safetie of goods and life. This conquest of *Alexandria* bred amongst the Confederates a beginning of some contention: for as *Monsieur Lawtrech* laid his plot to leaue there in garrison five hundred footmen, to the end that in all euent, his bands and regiments might haue a sure retreat there, and also such companies as should come out of *Fraunce* might orderly reassemble and refresh themselves in that Citie: so the Embassadour of the Duke of *Millan*, who began to suspect least that beginning extended to vsurpe and occupie that estate for his king, opposed against it with manie protestations and words full of efficacy wherein the Embassadour of *Venice*, concurring with him in that mind, and the English interposing in the action, *Monsieur Lawtrech* at last agreed, albeit with great indignation; to leaue it freely to the Duke of *Millan*; a matter which haply was of great prejudice for that enterprize, for that according to the opinion of many he vsed a greater negligence in the conquest of *Millan*, either through disdain, or else to reserue himselfe to do it in a time when without regard of others, he might make his profit of it. But after the losse of *Alexandria*, it was not doubted but *Monsieur Lawtrech* would conuert his forces eitherto *Millan* or to *Pauia*, and therefore that *Antbo. de Lema*, who had there with him an hundred and fiftie men at armes and five thousand footmen Spanish and Launceknights, distrust-
ing to be able to defend *Millan* with so small forces, and amid so manie difficulties, should retire his companies to *Pauia*. Neuerthelesse, considering that *Pauia* gaue small reliefe or store of victuals, and lesse expectation to maintaine the armie there with robberies and extortions, as had bene done rudely and iniuriouly at *Millan*, he changed purpose and stayed at *Millan*, sending to the guard of *Pauia* *Lodowike Belioyense*, and to the *Millanois*, who with mony would buy liberty to depart, he sold for corruption and gaine the thing that he could not lawfully giue. But *Monsieur Lawtrech* notwithstanding he was much weakened in numbers of *Swissers*, marched on and tooke *Viguenena*, and afterwards making a bridge vpon the riuer of *Tesin*, and by the aide of the same past his army ouer, he drew towards *Benerolo*, which is a Village within foure miles of *Millan*. In this order of proceeding he made shew as though he would incampe before that Citie, wherunto he was also counsell'd by the *Venetians*, but indeed he was resolu'd to take that course which seemed most easie: and because he vnderstood when he was within eight miles of *Millan*, that *Lodowike Belioyense* had sent thither the night before foure hundred footmen, by which meane there remained no more then eight hundred within *Pauia*: he turned way, and went the day following, being the xxviij. of September, to the Monasterie of Charterhouse, and fro thence with great celerity he went to incampe before *Pauia*: to the succours or rescue of which Citie *Anthony de Lema*, taking occasion vpon the alteration of *M. Lawtrech*, and chaunging his way, dispatched thither three Ensignes of footmen, who could not enter: by which impediment, together with the small numbers of men of warre that were there, it seemed the towne could make no great resistance: and in that weaknesse and feare, notwithstanding they of the towne besought *Belioyense* to make some composition to auoide the sacke and destruction of the Citie, yet he refused to graunt them that compassion: but when he saw with what importunitie *Lawtrech* continued his batterie by the space of foure dayes, hauing reuerfed so much of the wall, that the small number of men that were within sufficed not to reenforce it, the necessity of the place ioyned to the complaints of the townesmen, compelled at last *Belioyense* to send a Trumpet to *Lawtrech*, who hauing no speedy access to him, by reason that he was by chaunce gone to the *Venetian* campe: the souldiers drawing neare the towne, entred into it by the ruines of the wall: which being a spectacle grievous to *Belioyense*, and no meane to remedy or resist it, he set open the gates of the towne, and issued out in his misfortune to yeeld himselfe to the Frenchmen, who sent him prisoner to *Genes*. The Citie was sacked, in which action the Frenchmen spent eight dayes in pillage and crueltie, putting fire into diuerse houses, which in their furie they consumed, in reuenge of the battell which they lost within the parke: then they drew to counsell, whether they should execute the enterprize of *Millan*, or addresse their forces to *Rome*: the *Florentines* made instance to passe further, for feare least *Lawtrech* staying in *Lombardy*, the Imperiall armie issued out of *Rome* to distress them: the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, who was expressly come from

Alexandria
taken.

The sacke of
Pauia.

Demaunds
which the Em-
peror made to
the army of the
Confederates if
the accord
went on.

Millan, impugned it, alleaging what great oportunitie there was to take *Millan*, and the profit that would rise by it for the enterprise of *Naples*: for that as *Millan* being taken, there remained no hope to the Imperials to haue succours out of *Germanj*, so that gate being laid open, it was to be alwaies feared that a great army comming from that part, would either put *Lamirach* in danger, or at least diuert him from the enterprise of *Naples*: but he answered that he must necessarily passe further by the comhandements of his king and the king of *England*, who had sent him into *Italy* chiefly to deliuer the Pope. To which resolution it was beleueed he might be induced by suspicion, that if the Duchie of *Millan* were got, the *Venetians* thinking themselves assured from all daunger of the greatnesse of the Emperour, would be negligent to aide the king in the enterprise of the realme of *Naples*: and haply he was no lesse induced by this, that the king supposed it wold be for the benefite of his affaires not to suffer *Frauncis Sforce* to recouer wholly that state, to the end that retaining the power to offer to the Emperour to leaue it, he might the easier obtaine the deliuerance of his children by way of the accord, which continually was negotiated with the Emperour by the Embassadours of *Fraunce*, *England* and *Venice*: but in the negotiation of the same appeared many difficulties, for that the Emperour made instance that the cause of *Frauncis Sforce* should be referred to the sentence of the law, and that during the trial, the estate of *Millan* to be holden by him, promising in all accidents not to appropriate it to himselfe: he required that the *Venetians* should pay to the Archduke the residue of the two hundred thousand duckets which were due to him by the capitulations of *Wormes*, which the *Venetian* Embassadour refused not, so farre forth as the Archduke would accomplish the said capitulations, and render such places as he was bound by the obligations of the same: he demaunded of the said *Venetians* to giue to their exiles according to couenant an hundred thousand duckets, or at least assignation for fife thousand duckets of reuenuue: that they should pay that which they ought him for the confederation made with him, which he wished might be renued: that they should render *Rauenna* to the Church, and wholly to giue ouer all that he held in the Duchie of *Millan*: he required thirtie thousand duckets of the *Florentines*, in recompence of the defrayments and expences made, and for damages receiued by reason of their inobseruancy: he consented that the French king should pay for him to the king of *England* a debt of foure hundred and fifty thousand duckets, and for the residue, amounting to two millions, he required ostages: he required to be provided for him the twelue Gallies of the French king for the conuey of his person into *Italy*, onely he cut off all proportions of horsemen and foote men: lastly he demaunded that as soon as the accord were resolued, all the French regiments should issue out of *Italy*: an article which the French king refused, vnlesse his children were first restored to him: yea when it was hoped that he would mitigate these demaunds for the losse of *Alexandria* and *Pania*, it was then he shewed himselfe more firme and resolute, following his custome, which was not to yeelde to difficulties. In so much as when the Auditor of the Chamber came to him out of *England* the fifteenth of October to solícite the Popes deliuerie in the name of the king of *England*, he answered, that he had taken order for that by the Generall: and that touching the accord, he would not either for loue or by force alter the conditions he had established before. But it was discerned manifestly that the Emperour bare no great inclination to the peace, for that many things gaue him courage against the puissance of his enemies: for, he called into consideration that in *Italy* he might make resistance through the vertue of his armie, and for the facility to defend townes: that he could alwayes with small difficulty make passe new supplies of Launceknights: that the long tract of expences had drayned of money and treasure the French king and the *Venetians*: that according to the custome of Leagues, their prouisions were defectiue and diminished: he had confidence to draw out of *Spaine* sufficient store of money, seeing he bare out the warre with farre lesse expences then did the Confederates, being much impouerished by the pillage and robbery of souldiers, and also for that he hoped by separating the Confederates to make them more weake or negligent: lastly, he promised much to himselfe of his great felicitie, both approved by the experience of so manie yeares, and had bene assured from his infancie by manie predictions.

But in this time *Monsieur Lamirech* solicited that the armies by sea prepared to inuade either *Cicilia* or the realme of *Naples*, should aduance and come on: of which, the fleete of the *Venetians* (whose prouisions either by sea or land answered nothing the obligations) was at *Corfou*, and
fixteene

sixteene gallies were to ioyne with *Andrew Dore*, who expected in the riuer of *Genes Ranse de Cere*, appointed to the footmen of that enterprife. After *Lawtrech* sent backe againe into *France* 400 Launces, and three thousand footmen, and contracted with the *Venetians* whom he counselled to render *Rauenna* to the Colledge of Cardinals, and with the Duke of *Millan*, that to defend that which had bene conquered, they should retaine their bands with whom were *Ianus Fre-gosa* and Count *Caazze*, in a place well fortified at *Landriano*, which is a village within two miles of *Millan*. By reason of whose neighbourhood for that the companies that were within *Millan* could not go abroad, it was supposed an easier gard would be made of *Pania*, *Moncia*, *Biagrassa*, *Marignan*, *Binasquo*, *Vigenena* and *Alexandria*. After he had established these things, the xvij. of October he marched with fifteene hundred *Swissers*, the like number of Launceknights, and fixe thousand as well French as *Gascoins*, and with this strength he passed the riuer of *Paw* right ouer against the borough of *Saint Iohn*, with intention to abide there the comming of the Launceknights, of whom till then was arriued but a very slender number, and also another regiment of footmen of the same nation, which the French king had sent to leuie of new in place of the *Swissers*, who were almost gone away: but from this place he was driuen to send backe againe beyond *Paw*, *Peter Nauarre*, with the bands of footmen *Gascons* and *Italians*, to the succors of *Biagrassa*, before which towne garded by the Duke of *Millan*, *Anthony de Lena* was gone to incampe the eight and twentieth of October with foure thousand footmen, and seuen peeces of artilleries, taking his reason of that enterprife vpon the wants and ill prouisions of the towne: which being yeilded to him the second day by accord, he prepared to passe into *Lomelino*, to the ende to reconquer *Vigenena* and *Nouaro*: but being aduertised by good espiall, that *Peter Nauarre* was come with a greater supplie of forces, he returned backe againe to *Millan*. By which retiring he made easie to *Peter Nauarre*, to get againe *Biagrassa*, in which *Francis Sforce* bestowed better prouisions. It was now discerned that *Monsieur Lawtrech* deferred with great industrie and art, to depart: wherein albeit he alleaged that the thing that retayned him, was the tarying of the Launceknights, of whom one band being at last arriued vnder the charge of *M. Vaudemont*, he abode the comming of the others, and albeit he cunningly accompanied that excuse with a complaint of the slender prouisions of the *Venetians*, yet it was supposed that the onely cause that held him in deferring and lingring, was the money which he expected out of *Fraunce*: but the true and most strong reason was, that the French king hoping much in the peace, the negociation whereof was still continued with the Emperour, he gaue direction to *Lawtrech* to dissemble vnder slow proceedings, his aduancing on: whereupon also it came to passe that the king was not readie to satisfie his part of the pay of those *Almains* which were leuied in place of the *Swissers*, and much lesse the other bands that were before referred to go with *M. Vaudemont*. With these necessities or rather excuses *M. Lawtrech* sojourning at *Plaisance*, and his companies being bestowed betweene *Plaisance* & *Parma*, the difficultie which before was had of the Duke of *Ferrara* was now taken away. This Duke, like as *M. Lawtrech* as soone as he was entred into *Italy*, had solicited to enter into the League, which was a matter desired by the one side of the Duke in respect of the alliance that was offered to him with the French king, and on the other side the same retayning him, both for a distrust he had of the valour of the French, and for a suspicion he had least the king for the recouerie of his children, would at last accord with the Emperour: so neuerthelesse fearing the threats of *Lawtrech*, he was reduced conformable to the will of the French, demanding onely that the negociation of those affaires might be performed at *Ferrara*, for that he would in his owne person manage a cause that imported him so much. So that the Embassadors of the whole confederates went vp to *Ferrara*, together with Cardinall *Cibo* in the name of those Cardinals that were assembled at *Parma*: and the Duke being not a little moued to see *Lawtrech* aduance, after he had laboured to insinuate his reasons, and make them seeme good to Captaine *George* and *Andrew de Burgo* (these were within *Ferrara* and greatly honoured and entertayned by him) he left them satisfied of the necessitie that compelled him to compound, and at last he accorded, but with conditions well shewing either his industrie and knowledge how to negotiate, and that it was not in vaine that he sought to draw the *The Duke of Ferrara entred into the league.* action into his presence, or else by the conditions were well declared the great desire the other party had to draw him into confederation: wherein he entred with obligation to paie monethlie for the space of sixe monethes, sixe or ten thousand crownes according to the arbitration.

of the French king, who resolved afterwards vpon sixe thousand, with bond to deliuer to *Monsieur Lawirech* a company of hundred men at armes payed. On the other side, the confederates bound themselves to the protection of him & his estate: To deliuer to him *Cosignolo* (which a little before the *Venetians* had taken from the *Spaniards*) in exchange of the auncient and almost desolate Citie of *Adria*, which he demaunded with great importunity: To render vnto him the Pallaces which before time he had possessed in *Venice* and in *Florence*: To giue them sufferance to win vpon *Albert Pio* the Castell de *Nouy* standing vpon the confines of *Manua*, which he held besieged at the same time: That they would pay the frutes of the Archbishoprike of *Milan* to his sonne, who was Archbishop there, if the Imperials gaue no impediment to him to receiue them: The Cardinal *Cibo* in the name of those Cardinals who promised the ratification of the Colledge, bound the Pope to renew the inuestiture of *Ferrara*: To renounce the rights of *Modena* in regard of the purchase he had made of it with *Maximilian*: To cancell the obligations for the saltes: To consent to the protection which the confederates tooke of him and his: To promise by Bulls Apostolike to suffer as well him as his successours to possesse all that they now enjoyed: and that the Pope should create his sonne Cardinall, and bestow vpon him the Bishoprike of *Modena* vacant by the death of the Cardinall *Rangon*. To this confederation was added that *Renée* the daughter of king *Lewis* should be giuen in mariage to *Hercules* his eldest sonne, and to indue the mariage with the Duchy of *Chartres* and other honorable conditions. By the example of the Duke of *Ferrara*, concurring also the instance and solicitation of *Monsieur Lawirech*, the Marquis of *Manua* entred into the league, notwithstanding he had put himselfe before into the pay of the Emperour.

But at this time the confederate army was very weake, and lay many dayes without doing any thing, betwene *Fuglinò*, *Montsalcon*, and *Benagno*: and the Duke of *Vrbino* who had aduertisement of the restraining of his wife and children at *Venice*, being departed from the army against the commission of the Senate to iustifie his cause, was told by the way that they were deliuered, and that the Senate being well satisfied of his gouernement desired him to passe further: by reason of which aduertisement he returned to the army, in which the *Swissers* and the footebands of the Marquis were not payed: neither did the *Venetians* either there or in *Lombardy*, where they were bound to maintaine nine thousand footemen, aduance the third part: by which negligence accompanied with an vniuersall sparing of expences, the army was declined to great debility: in which weakenesse they retired afterwards to the territory of *Lody* and the confines thereof. And the *Spaniards* vpon the end of Nouember were gone vp towards *Corneto* and *Toscanello*, and the Launceknights remained at *Rome*, to whom the Prince of *Orenge* was rendered from *Sienna*, where he had made but small abode, for that he saw he could not be apt to render that gouernement as he thought he could haue done. Assuredly it was not to be doubted that if the Emperours army had aduanced, the Duke of *Vrbino* and the Marquis of *Salussa* had not retired with their forces to the wals of *Florence*, notwithstanding they had made many vaunts that to stop them from entring into *Tuscane*, they would plant a campe either within *Ornatto* or *Viterba*, or else vpon the territorie of *Sienna* towards *Chiusa* and *Sartiano*. But *Monsieur Lawirech* notwithstanding the bands of Launceknights were arriued, proceeding, for the expectation of the issue of the peace, so slowly as he was wont, made his abode within *Parma*: where albeit he had reduced into his power the Castles of that City, and had leuied vpon that towne and *Plaisance* and their territories about fiftie thousand duckats, yet it was beleued that he had an intention not onely to subdue to his deuotion and power *Parma* and *Plaisance*, but also to the end to draw *Bologna* to depend vpon the authority of his king, he had impression to conuert the iurisdiction of that City into the family of the *Pepolies*: but those deuises sorted to no effect by reason of the Popes deliuey. To the which albeit it seemed at the first that the Emperour was not to condescend readily (for since the newes of his calamitie he had temporised one whole moneth before he would resolve) yet both vnderstanding that *Lawirech* was passed into *Italy*, and also not ignorant of the king of *Englands* readinesse to the warre, he had dispatched into *Italy* the Generall of the gray-freers and *Verio de Migliato*, with commission to the *Viceroy* to debate that action. But the Generall finding the *Viceroy* dead before he arriued at *Caietto*, he was then to transfer the negociation of those affaires to *Don Hugo de Moncado*, to whom as the Emperours commission did also extend, so the *Viceroy* had orderly substituted him in his place vntill the Emperour

Emperour should send some new addresse for the gouernement of the realme : and after the Generall had communicated with *Don Hugo*, he went to *Rome*, accompanied with *Migliaro* who was come out of *Spaine* with the like commissions. This businesse and negociation contained two principal articles, the one that the Pope should satisfie the army, to whom was owing a very great summe of money, and the other that the Pope being deliuered should not be adherent to his enemies. To which two articles were tyed hard conditions of ostages and townes for assurance : which difficultie as they drew a long tract and delay in the generall matter, so to make the issue easie, the Pope failed not by secret meanes to sollicite continually *Monsieur Lawtrech* to aduance, assuring him that as his intention was to promise nothing to the Imperials but by force, so also in that case, being once out of prison, he would obserue nothing so soone as his person were once transferred into a place of surety, which he forgot not to bring to passe in giuing to them the least oportunities he could : but in case he did accord, he besought him that the compassion of his aduersities and necessities might serue him for excuse. But during the solicitation of these matters, the ostages stole away secretly from *Rome* in the end of Nouember, not without the great indignation of the Lauceknights.

Long was the disputation vpon this matter, euen those being not of one opinion and aduise, in whom was most power to determine : for albeit *Don Hugo* had sent to *Rome* *Serenon* his Secretary together with the others, yet what for his ill nature and the little loue he bare to the Pope, he had no great inclination to his deliuey. The Generall bare a contrary affection, either in true regard of office and compassion, or for that he aspired to be Cardinall : and *Migliaro* impugned it as a matter most dangerous for the Emperour, and being not able to resist it, he went from them to *Naples*, of which impiety he bare a right punishment, for that at the first besieging of *Naples* leading the skirmish, he was slain with the shot of an harquebuz. The Pope omitted nothing that by industry might be made for his purpose, for he allured to his opinion, and won on his side the wit and tongue of *Ierome Moron*, the counsels of whom bare great authority with the Imperials in all their deliberations. The meane with the which he did allure him, was, that the Pope transferred the Bishoprike of *Modena* to his sonne, and corrupted him with the promise of certaine corne which he had at *Cornetta*, amounting in value to aboue twelue thousand duckats : he made fauourable the Cardinall *Colonne* with a lesse industry, both by promising him the legation of *la Marqua*, and also assuring him at such time as he came to visite him in the Castell, that he would principally acknowledge so great a benefit of him : wherein he forgot not to worke vpon the humor of the man, that he could not with a greater degree of glory & felicity, then to let all the world know that it was in his power to pull downe Popes, and being once embased and reuersed, that it was in his hand to remount them and raise them to their former estate of greatnesse. With which insinuations, of themselves full of compassion, and for the party that preferred them, of no lesse piety and deuotion, ioyned to the property of the Cardinal, being by nature haughty and glorious, inclined him to a ready disposition to deliuer the Pope, beleeuing that it would be as easie for the Pope in his liberty to forget so many wrongs and iniuries, as being prisoner he was apt with prayers and teares humbly to recommend vnto him his deliuerance. But all sorts of difficulties were somewhat eased by a new commission from the Emperour, by the which he gaue order that the Pope should be deliuered to his contentment as much as was possible, wherein it seemed he held it sufficient, that being in his liberty, he would be for the Confederates no more then for him. Neuertheless the matter that more then all other wrought for his deliuey, was, necessitie they had, which made them fearefull, least *Monsieur Lawtrech* would leade his army to the defence of the realme of *Naples* : which was a matter impossible vnlesse they were first assured of the payes due to them, in recompence whereof they would not suffer so many payes and great gaynes as they had made at the sametime. This necessitie to prouide for the payes, was also the cause why there was made lesse account to be assured of the Pope in time to come. At last after long negociation and practise, and many accidents and difficulties occurring, there was concluded in *Rome* the last of October, a resolution of accord with the Generall and with *Serenon* in the name of *Don Hugo*, who afterwards ratified it. These were the articles of the composition : That the Pope should be no party against the Emperour, neither in the affaires of *Mislan*, nor in the kingdom of *Naples* : That he should accord vnto the Emperour the Croysade in *Spaine*, &c. a tenth of the reuenues Ecclesiastike through all his dominions : That to assure the obseruation of

Accord betweene the Pope and the Emperours Agents.

these things, *Ostia* should remaine in the hands of the Emperour, and *Civita vecchia* which *Andrew Dore* had left to him before: That he should assigne ouer to him *Civita Castellana*, a towne which had refused to receiue the Imperials, *Mario Perusquo* procurer of the fiske being entered within the rocke by secret commission from the Pope, notwithstanding he made semblance of the contrary: That he should also deliuer ouer to him the rocke of *Furly*, and to put into his hands for ottages *Hipolito* and *Alexander* his nephewes, and till they were come from *Parma* the Emperour to be possessed of the Cardinals *Pisani*, *Trinulco*, and *Gaddi*, whom they led to the realme of *Naples*: That he should make present payment to the Launceknights of threescore thousand duckats, and to the *Spaniards* thirty and five thousand: That in so doing they should let him come out at liberty with all the Cardinals, and they to go out of *Rome* and out of the Castell, alwayes interpreting to liberty when so euer they should be conueyed in safety to *Oruieto*, *Spolitto*, or *Perousa*: That within fiftene dayes after his going out of *Rome* he should pay the like quantity of mony to the Launceknights, and afterwards the residue within three moneths to the *Spaniards* & Launceknights ioyntly, according to their shares and portions: which residue together with the summes payed amounted to more then three hundred and fifty thousand duckats. The Pope to haue the better meane to obserue these payments, and withall to deliuer himselfe of the heauy yoke of his imprisonment, had recourse to those remedies, which he would not apply before to keepe him out of that calamity: and in that necessitie he created for mony certaine Cardinals, of whom the most part for their doctrine or vertue were vnworthy so great honour. The same property of extremity forced him also to consent to the Article of the tenths through the realme of *Naples*, with power to alienate the goods of the Church: in so much that that which was dedicated to the seruice of God (so deepe and profound are his iudgements) was conuerted to the vse and entertayning of Heretikes, and that by the premissiō and consent of the Vicare of Christ: with which meanes hauing assured the payments of the money according to the times promised, he deliuered also for ottage for the surety of the souldiers, the Cardinals *Cesio* & *Vrsini*, who were led by the Cardinall *Colonna* to *Grattasera*: and so all things hauing their orderly expedition, and the resolution set downe that the tenth of December the *Spaniards* should accompany him into a place of surety, he fearing some variation either for the ill minde which he knew *Don Hugo* bare to him, or for any other accident that might happen, the night before he stole secretly out of the Castell in the closing of the euening, disguised in the attire of a Marchant: *Lewis de Gonfaguo* who was in the pay of the Emperour, taried for him in the medowes with strong company of harquebuziers, and with that gard did accompany him to *Montefalcon*, where dismissing almost all his bands of footemen, he was led by the same *Lewis* euen to *Oruieto*, into which City he entred by night without the company of any one Cardinall; an example worthy of consideration, and perhaps neuer hapned since the Church was great, that the Pope should in that sort fall from so great a puissance and reuerence, his eyes to behold the losse and sacke of *Rome*, his person to be turned ouer into captiuitie, and his whole estate reduced to the disposing of another, and within few moneths after, to be restored and reestablished in his former greatnesse: so great towards Princes Christian is the authority of the Pope, and the respect which mortall men do beare to him.

The Pope goeth out of prison.

About this time which was immediatly after *Monsieur Lawtrech* was departed from *Plaisance*, *Anthony de Leua* sent out of *Millan* the bands of Spanish and Italian footemen, both to feede and refresh themselues, and also to recouer such places of the countrey as were most weake, to the end to open a way and commodity to bring to trafficke of victuals to *Millan*. These bands exchanging the captiuitie of the towne wherein they were kept strait, for the liberty of the countrey which gaue them scope, tooke that part of the countrey which is called *Spesio*. He sent out also at the same time and to the same ends *Philip Troniello* with eleuen hundred footemen and certaine light horsemen to *Nonaro*, in which City was a garrison of foure hundred footemen of the Duke of *Millan*: *Troniello* made his entry by the rocke which had bene alwayes holden in the name of the Emperour, and finding a very slender defence, he made himselfe maister of the towne, where making pillage of some of the footemen, and sending the residue to their houses, he kept within *Nonaro*, holding it for a retraite to ouerrun all the countrey thereabout. But there were part of the Launceknights got into *Arona*, and another part bestowed within *Moraro*, to whom for that the Duke had sent a strength of other footmen for the defence of *Lomelina* and the countrey.

country, they became impediments to *Tornuello* that he had no liberty to make his incursions safe off. In so much as that winter running forth in no other exploits then in many skirmishes, both parts made pillage aswell vpon their friends as their enemies, and in that liberty of warre ran ouer the whole country with an vniuersall ruine of all sorts of people. In like sort at that time were ioyned and assembled at *Liurne* the gallies of *Andrew Dore*, and fourteene French gallies, with sixteene gallies of the *Venetians*: who after they had receiued in *Ranse de Cere*, with three thousand footmen to put on land, they weighed anker the thirteenth of Nouember, to depart out of the port of *Liurne*: and albeit it was determined before, that they should make an inuasion vpon the Ile of *Sicile*, yet that resolution being innouated, they were conuerted to the enterprise of *Sardignia*, at the perswasion as was supposed of *Andrew Dore*, who haply had in his mind other conceptions. *Monsieur Lawirech* contented easily to embrace this enterprise, hoping that *Sardignia* being taken, the conquest of *Sicile*, would be of lesse difficulty: but whatsoeuer the cause was, the issue and effect was straunge and diuerse, for that falling into the rage of a very violent storme, they were seperated and turned to their seuerall hazards of the sea: one of the French gallies perished neare the shores of *Sardignia*, and foure of the *Venetians* being fore beaten with the fury of tempests, returned to *Liurne*: the other gallies of the French were driuen into *Corsa* by the rage of the winds, against which the skill of the Pilots had no force, and afterwards they reassembled with the foure *Venetian* gallies within *Portopecchio*: the other eight of the *Venetians* were caried by violence of sea and storme into *Liurne*: so that after many perils by storme and weather that enterprise stood dissolued, *Andrew Dore* and *Ranse de Cere* remaining in great discord together. But *Monsieur Lawirech* being within *Reggia*, as soone as he was aduertised of the Popes deliuary, he left the Castell of *Parma* to the officers of the Church, and went vp to *Bologna*, in which City he made his abode, expecting the comming of the last bands of the Launce-knights, who within few dayes afterwards arriued vpon the countries of *Bologna*, not in number of sixe thousand as was appointed, but only three thousand, which was farre lesse then was looked for. And neuertheless after they were arriued *Lawirech* sojourned twenty dayes within *Bologna*, attending the kings aduertisement for the last resolution touching the negociation of the peace. He vsed in the meane while a great diligence, wherein was also interposed the authority of the king of *England*, to draw the Pope to make an open protestation to cleaue to the confederates. But immediatly after he was arriued at *Ornetta*, like as there went to congratulate with him the Duke of *Vrbino*, the Marquis of *Salussa*, *Federike Boffolo* who died a litle after at *Lody*, and *Lewia PIANO* Commissary for the *Venetians*: so he besought them with great instance to retire their companies and bands of men of warre from the estate Ecclesiastike, assuring them that the Imperials had promised him to withdraw their forces, if they might discerne the armies of the Confederates to do the like. And in that compassion he wrote also a letter to *Monsieur Lawirech* tending to thanke him both for that he had done to purchase his deliuerance, and also for his counsell he gaue him to procure his liberty in any sort what so euer. He debated with him that his actions and industry had bene of so great consequence to constrain the Imperials to resolute vpon the deliuary, that he did no lesse acknowledge himselfe bound to the king and to him, then if his person had bene taken out of that calamity with the force of their armies: the ayde and proceedings of which he would willingly haue taried for, had not his necessity compelled him to abandon all temporising, the rather for that the conditions that were proponed were alwayes changed from ill to worse, the same testifying vnto him in cleare apparance that his fortune had left vnto him no other meane of deliuary, then by the benefit & operation of accord: which by how much more it was deferred & put off, by so much more the authority & estate of the Church was to fall into manifest reuersement: but the chiefeest matter that induced him to determine his aduersity by accord, was a hope he had conceiued that being at liberty, he should be made an apt instrument to sollicite a comon tranquility both with his king and the other Princes of Christendome: Such were at first his phrases and manner of speeches protested in simplicity and roundnesse, as became the office of a Bishop, but especially a Pope, who had receiued at the hands of God so seuerer and sharpe admonitions: neuertheless it was not long ere he returned to his naturall custome, having not left for the calamitie of his imprisonment, neither his subtleties wherein he could deeply dissemble, nor his couetousnesse which he could not auoyde: for when the Agents which *Lawirech* sent together with the Embassador of the king of *England* were come before him

The Pope
thanketh Mon-
sieur Law-
irech for his
deliuary.

to sollicite him to confederate with the residue, he began to giue them diuerse aunswers, sometimes he dismissed them with hope, that he would be reduced conformable to their desires, and sometimes he would inferre excuses, that hauing neither men, money, nor authority, as it could not helpe them much to haue him to ioyne with them, so the action could not but be prejudiciall to himselfe, for that the Imperials would take occasion to vex him in many places: and sometimes he shewed a readie inclination to satisfie their demaunds, so farre forth as *Monsieur Lawtrech* did aduance; a matter which he desired greatly, to the ende the Launceknights were compelled to depart out of *Rome*, who going on consuming the remainders of that miserable City and all the countrey confining, would not be brought to giue ouer to hunt the pray which they found so sweete, but in their insolencies neither respecting their Captaines with obedience, nor forbearing ciuill tumult and mutinies amongst themselves, they demaund new payes.

But from the end of the yeare going before, and much more in the beginning of the yeare following, the industrie and solicitations of the peace began to appeare vaine, and by that reason the minds of Princes and states began to be so much more incensed and kindled, by how much lesse they saw themselves excluded from the hope of peace. For as all the difficulties were almost resolved, seeing the Emperour refused not to render to *Francis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*, and to compound with the *Venetians*, the *Florentins*, and the other confederates: so this rested onely in question, which of these two things should be put first in execution, either the withdrawing of the French army out of *Italy*, or the restitution of the kings children: the king would not be bound to reuoke his army out of *Italy*, if first he recovered not his children, offering to put hostages into the hands of the king of *England*, to assure the obseruation of the penalties wherein he was bound, if vpon the returning of his children he retired not presently his army. But the Emperour made instance to the contrarie, offering the same cautions into the king of *Englands* hands: wherein the question and disputation running, in whether of them it would be more comely or honest to trust the other: the Emperour sayd it was not reasonable to repose confidence in him who had once deceiued him. To the which the French Embassadors answered, that by how much more he pretended to be deceiued by their king, by so much lesse could their king repose confidence in him: they alleaged also that the Emperours offer to consign into the hands of the king of *England* the same assurances which their king offered, was neither equall nor indifferent: for that both the case varied in this, that the thing which the Emperour promised to do, was of farre greater consequence then the obligation of their king, and therefore not reasonable to be assured vnder the same cautions: and also they added, that the English Embassadors who had authority to bind their king to obserue what so euer the French king should promise, had no commission to tie him to the obseruation of the Emperours promises: and that their faculties and authoritie being limited and restrained to tearme and time, they could neither exceede nor anticipate. Vpon which disputation could soart no resolution, for that the Emperour had not the same inclination to the peace, which his Councell had, the rather for that he entertained himselfe with this opinion, that though by warre he should loose the kingdome of *Naples*, yet he should be apt to recouer it by rendring the children of *Fraunce*: yea the great Chauncellour, who long time before was returned into *Spaine*, was touched much by imputation, to haue troubled greatly the solicitations of the peace with cauillations and interpretations sophistical. At last the Embassadors of *England* and *Fraunce* following their commissions in case they dispayred of the accord, determined to demaund leaue of the Emperour to depart, and immediately afterwards to denounce warre against him: and with that conclusion being brought to his presence the one and twentieth of Ianuary, his Court being then at *Burgos*, and being followed with the Embassadors of *Venice*, of the Duke of *Millan*, and *Florence*, the English Embassadors demanded of him the foure hundred and fiftie thousand duckats which their king had lent to him, and fixe hundred thousand for the penalty imposed vpon him in that he had refused his daughter, together with fise hundred thousand for the pensions of the French king & for other causes. Which demands being proponed for greater iustification, all the Embassadors of the confederates asked leaue to depart away: but he told them he would take aduice of his Councell before he would aunswere that demaund, being in deede necessary afore they departed, that his Embassadors were in places of suretie. The Embassadors were no sooner departed his presence,

then

then the Heralds of *England* and *Fraunce* entred to denounce war against him, which he accepted with a great shew of gladnesse and bravery: and in that hurrie he gaue present direction that the Embassadors of *Fraunce*, *Venice*, & *Florence*, should be conueyed to a towne fifteene leagues from the Court, where, being garded with archers and halberdiers, they were forbidden either to communicate or to write any thing what so euer: touching the Duke of *Millans* Embassador, he imposed vpon him a commaundement as vpon his subiect, that he should not depart from his Court: only on the behalfe of the Embassador of *England* there was nothing innouated.

Warre denounced against the Emperour by the kings of *England* and *Fraunce*.

Thus the negotiations and hopes of peace being broken, there remained only inflamed and kindled the cogitations and thoughts of the war: which as it declared it selfe in manifest preparation through all the regions of *Italy*, so to reduce to action and beginning the thing that as yet was but in apparance and shew, *Monsieur Lawtrech* pushed on by the king, but much more by the king of *England*, since the hope of peace began to diminish, was departed from *Bologna* the ninth of Ianuary, to march to the kingdome of *Naples* by the way of *Romagnia* and *la Marqua*. This way after long consultation was chosen by him contrary to the instance of the Pope, who desired vnder the occasion of his marching, to restore into *Sienna*, *Fabio Petrucci* and *Montenouo*: that election of the way was also against the instance of the *Florentins*, who to the ende to haue that army more ready to succour them in case the Imperials marched to inuade *Tuscane*, desired them to take the way of *Tuscane*: but *Monsieur Lawtrech* chose rather to make his entry into the realme of *Naples* by the way of *Taranto*, both for the commodity of that way to leade the artilleries, & also for the fertility of the countrey yeelding plenty of victuals: & lastly because he would not giue occasion to the enemies to make head at *Sienna* or in any other place, hauing a speciall desire to make his entry into the kingdom of *Naples* before he should encounter any impediment. And as soone as he was departed from *Bologna*, *Iohn Sassatello* rendred to the Pope the rocke of *Imola*, of which he had made himselfe Lord in the time of his imprisonment: and drawing neare afterwards to *Rimini*, *Sigismund Malatesta* son to *Pandolfe*, contracted with him to giue vp that City to the Pope, vpon condition that he should be bound to suffer his mother to enioy her dowry, to giue to his sister who was not married fixe thousand duckats, and to assigne for his father and for him two thousand duckats of reuenue: That *Sigismund* should depart immediatly out of *Rimini*, & his father to remaine there vntill the Pope had sent the ratification: and that in the meane while the rocke should abide in the hands of *Guido Rangon* his cosin, who being in the pay of the French king followed *Monsieur Lawtrech* to the warre. But the Pope deferring to accomplish these promises, *Sigismund* repossessed and occupied againe the rocke, though not without a great complaint of the Pope against *Guido Rangon*, as though he had secretly suffered him, and not without suspicion that *Lawtrech* and the *Venetians* had consented; seeming they had desired to keepe him in continuall difficulties. The suspicion of the *Venetians* grew vpon the cause of *Rauenna*, which the Pope as soone as he was deliuered out of the Castell hauing sent to summon and vemaund it of the Senate by the Archbishop of *Siponto*, he was answered with words generall, referring the matter to the arbitration of *Iasper Contarin* Embassador elect resident with him: for notwithstanding they had giuen assurance before that they retained it for the sea Apostolike, yet they had no desire to restore it: wherein they were moued as well by interests publike as priuate, for the commodity of that City, to augment their iurisdiction in *Romagnia*, fertill of it selfe in graine, and for the plenty of the countries adioyning, of great oportunitie to draw to *Venice* euery yeare good quantities of corne: besides many of the city of *Venice* had in that territory, great & goodly possessions. And touching *Monsieur Lawtrech*, the Pope doubted no lesse of him, for that besides many instances which had bene made to him before, *Lawtrech* notwithstanding he had sent to him after he was come from *Bologna* *M. Vandemon* Captaine generall of the Launce-knights, together with *Monsieur Longueuille*, whom the king sent to sollicite him earnestly to declare against the Emperour, could not obtaine so much of him, the Pope not refusing expressly, but vnder delays and excuses: and in that cunning he had offered to the French king to giue his consent, but vnder this condition that the *Venetians* should render to him *Rauenna*; a condition which he knew could not take effect, both for that it behoued not the *Venetians* to be induced to it by the kings perswasions, neither was it agreeable to the time that the king should make them his enemies, to satisfie the Pope. Moreouer he gaue no inclination to the instance which *Lawtrech* made to him to ratifie the accord made with the Duke of *Ferrara*, alleaging that it was a matter

far vnworthy of him to approue in his lifetime, conditions made in his name whilst he was dead, and yet he alleaged that he would not refuse to contract with him. By reason whereof the Duke of *Ferrara* taking that occasion, made difficulty (notwithstanding the king and the *Venetians* had receiued him into their protection) to send to *Monsieur Lawtrech* the hundred men at armes and the mony which he had promised: wherein he stood vpon this obseruation, that doubting the issue of affaires, he would not be so much for the French king, as not to reserue place and meane to appease in all euent the minde of the Emperour, to whom he had excused himselfe by his necessity: besides, he entertained continually at *Ferrara* *George Fronspergh* and *Andrew de Ruogo*. Neuerthelesse the army for all this ceased not to aduance, which vnder the leading of *Monsieur Lawtrech* arriued the tenth of February vpon the riuier of *Tromo*, which separateth the estate Ecclesiastike from the kingdome of *Naples*.

But in *Fraunce* after aduertisement was brought that the Emperour had retained the kings Embassador, by his example the king caused the Emperours Agents to be restrained within the Castell of *Paris*, and all Marchants subiects to him to be stayed throughout all the regions of *Fraunce*. The king of *England* did the like by the Emperours Embassadour resident with him, whom he estoones redeliuered, after he was made to vnderstand that no restraint was made vpon his. And as the war was now published in *France*, in *England*, & in *Spaine*, so the French king stood vpon this request, that the first action might begin ioyntly in *Flanders*, in which resolution he sent certaine bands of souldiers to make incursions into that countrey. Neuerthelesse the *Flemings* for all those prouocations, made no emotion nor rising, vnlesse to defend themselves, for that the Lady *Margaret* of *Austria* laboring to auoid all occasions to enter war with the French king, would not suffer her people to issue out of their bounds and confines. But it was a matter grieuous to the king of *England* to haue war with the people of *Flanders*, for that notwithstanding there were to be confined to him as soone as they should be conquered, certaine townes promised before by the Emperour for assurance of the mony he had lent him, yet he held it also a matter no lesse prejudiciall as wel for his particular reuenues, as for the general interest & benefit of his realme, to breake the trade and entercourse of his Marchants with those prouinces: notwithstanding according to the obligations of the contract, as he could not apparantly refuse it, so yet he temporised and deferred it as much as he could, taking the aduantage of the capitulations, by the which it was lawfull for him to linger forty dayes after sommons made, to the ende to giue time to the Marchants to retire themselves. This excuse of his and inclination being both well knowne and approued by the French king, he solicited him that in place to make warre in *Flanders*, he would with an army by sea, inuade the sea coastes of *Spaine*, where he assured him he had right good intelligence. By which alteration of counsels it hapned at last, that as the king sending to the French king a Bishop to perswade him to giue ouer the enterprize of beyond the mounrs, and to increase and make strong the warre of *Italy*: so by his perswasions and his authority there was an order established, that for the space of eight moneths next ensuing, there should be done no vexation nor harmes by the French and English, vpon the countries of *Flanders*, nor any of the estates or subiects of the Emperour confining vpon those prouinces. Wherein for the more easie induction of the French king to condescend to this order, the king of *England* was bound to pay thirty thousand duckats monethly for the war of *Italy*, in which was determined the contribution promised before for sixe monethes.

The lie giuen
by the French
king to the
Emperour.

But by how much were augmented and enforced the preparations of the warre, by so much and by the same degrees were kindled and redoubled the hatreds of both the Princes hauing especially interest in this warre: either of them tooke occasion to multiply iniuries and enforce quarrels, in which passions they contended no lesse with courage and malice, then with force & armes: for, whereas the Emperour about two yeres before in the towne of *Grenado*, when in like sort the peace was solicited betweene the French king & him, spake to the Presidēt of *Grenoble* the French Embassadour then, certaine words inferring that he would willingly put end to all quarrels betweene the king & him by a singular combat of both their persons, to the end to auoyd so much bloud and affliction of Christians and persons innocent: and whereas also since that the time he had confirmed the same words to the Herald the last time he signified the war to him, with this addition, that the French king had dealt with him villanously and cowardly in falsifying the faith he had giuen to him. These speeches being now deliuered ouer to the king, he thought he could

not

Not let them lie in silence without his ignominie and dishonor: and therefore albeit the challenge might better become the persons of knights, then to be performed by Princes of their estate and greatnesse, yet being no lesse guided with the enuie of the challenge, then desirous to purge and iustifie his honour, he caused to assemble the xxvij. of March in a great hall of his pallace at *Paris*, all his Princes, attending his person, all the Embassadours resident from the foraine, and the whole presence of his Court: and in that aspect and stately view of nobles & Embassadours, the king in his time disceded into the hall with a great pompe and furnishment of sumptuous attife, and no lesse honorably accompanied with a traine of Barons: where after he was with all ceremonies of state and dignitie set in his seate royall, he caused to be called before him the Emperours Embassadour who sued for his dispatch, for that it was determined that being conuied to *Bayon*, he should be deliuered at the same time that the other confederate Embassadours were set at libertie, who for that purpose were conducted to *Bayon*. When the Embassadour stood in his presence, the king spake to him, excusing & alleading that the Emperour had bene principally the cause of his restraining, for that in an example new & against humanity, he had kept retained his Embassadours & the agents of his confederates: but seeing he was now to go to *Bayon* to the end there might be an vniuersall deliuerie at one time, he desired him to carie from him a letter to the Emperour, and to deliuer a message from him of this tenor: That whereas the Emperour had said to his Herald that he had falsified his faith, *he had said falsely, & that how many times he had spoken it, so manie times had he lied, and that for answere to the end not to linger the triall of their quarrels, he would assigne him the place where they might together performe the combate.* But the Embassadour refusing either to carie the letter, or to deliuer the message, the king said he would send to signifie no lesse to him by a Herald: he added also to the message, that albeit he was not ignorant that the Emperour had spoken words against the honor of his brother the king of *England*, yet he would make no mention of that, knowing that the said king was wel able to deale in his owne defence: & yet if through the indisposition of his body he had any lawfull impediment, he offered to present his person to hazard for him. Not many daies after the king of *England* gaue the same defiance, and with the same solemnities and ceremonies: the same somewhat offending the honor of the Princes of Christendome, who in their rage of malice could not forbear to defile their minds with such passions, hauing running amongst them a warre of so great importance & so much preiudiciall to all the common wealth of Christendome. But amid these great heates and furies of warre & armes, the order of our storie draweth into discou:le some report of the king of *England* touching the refusing of the Lady *Katherine of Aragon*.

The said king had to wife the said Ladie *Katherine* daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* For what occasion the king of England refuseth his wife the Lady Katherine of Aragon. kings of *Spain*; a Queene worthy of such parents, and for her vertues and good behauiour vniuersally beloued and reuerenced of the whole estate of the realme. In the time of the father of that king, she was married to Prince *Arthure* eldest sonne to the Crowne, but being almost no sooner married then she was made a widow by the hasty death of her husband, she was estoones by the consent of her father and father in law, married to Prince *Henry* the yonger brother, but with dispensation of Pope *Iulio*, in regard of the affinitie that was neare and strait: of which marriage was procreated a sonne, who died immediatly, and afterwards there succeeded no other generation of children then a daughter: the same giuing occasion to the Court to murmure, that for the vnlawfulness of the marriage, being not dispensable in the first degree, the crowne was by miracle deprived of issue male. This occasion was aptly taken and managed by the Cardinall of *Torke*, who knowing the kings desire to haue sons, began to perswade him, that refusing his first wife who iustly was not his wife, he might dispose himself to marrie another: wherein much lesse that he was induced by conscience, or of a simple desire to bring issue male to the king, but he was caried in that action with a secret opinion that in drawing his king to embrace a second marriage, he might haply induce him to fix his affection vpon the Lady *Renea* daughter to king *Louis*; a matter which was desired by him with no small industrie and ambition: for that knowing he was generally hated of all the Realme, he sought to prepare remedies for his owne estate against all accidents that might happē both during the life & after the death of the king: he took also one strong Inducemēt to that practise vpon the great malice he had conceiued against the Emperour, for that neither in demonstrations nor with effectes, he did not satisfie his incredible pride: neither did he doubt for the great authority the king and he had with the Pope, to dispose him to

publish iudicially the diuorce. The king opened readily his eares to this counsell, not that he was caried with these ends which the Cardinall of *Yorke* had fashioned: but according to the opinion of many) he tooke the chiefeft reason of his inducement vpon the loue he bare to a lady of the Queenes traine whom he determined to make his wife. In which course of loue and chusing, the king was so secret and priuate, that his pretence was neither knowne to the Cardinall nor communicated with others, but when it beganne to burst out either into knowledge or into coniecture, the Cardinall of *Yorke* that first insinuated the motion of diuorce, had no meane to dissuade him from it, and lesse authority to leade him in another counsell then such as he had perswaded him before. But the king seeking to establishe his conscience vpon good grounds, searched out of the opinions of Diuines, Lawyers, and men religious, by whom he was answered that his first mariage was not found nor lawfull, and vpon their learning iustified it for such. Therefore as soone as the Pope was deliuered out of prison, he dispatched Embassadours to induce him to enter the league, and to labour according to the ordenaunce giuen for the restitution of *Rauenna*: but the chiefeft end and industrie of these Embassadours consisted, to obtaine facultie to proceede in the diuorce, which he sought not by way of dispensation, but by declaration that the mariage with *Catherine* was of none effect. The king beleeued that the Pope, for that his estate was weake in forces, and his person voyd of reputation, and hauing no stay nor support vpon the puissance of other Princes, and lastly in recordation of the great fauours receiued of him for his deliery, he would not be vnease to consent to the thing whereunto he was deeply bound by so many obligations.

To which the king adioyned the consideration of the Cardinals credite; whom he knew for that he had alwayes fauoured his affaires and afore him the doings of Pope *Leo*, he was very gracious and mighty with the Pope. And to cut off from the Pope all excuses of feare for any offence that might happen to him by the Emperour being sonne of the sister of *Catherine*, and the better to allure him with surety, the king offered to wage for his safety a gard of foure thousand foote-men; an offer which the Pope harkened vnto, and in that inclination though he considered the importance of the matter, and the infamy that might redound to him, yet being at *Oruietta* and as yet in the condition of a Newter betweene the French king and the Emperour, and of little confidence with either of them, and in that regard esteeming much to preserue the amity of the king of *England*, he had no stomacke to impugne the kings demand. And albe it he declared in shewes & demonstrations a ready desire to be agreeable to the king, yet holding things in suspence for the difficulty of the meanes that were proponed, he kindled so much the more the hope and importunity of the king and his Agents, which well-spring or originall of many aduersities, tooke augmentation and increasing dayly.

As soone as the Pope had giuen audiēce to *Monsieur Vaudemont* & *Monsieur Longueville*, and answered them with words generall, he dispatched to the king together with *Longueville*, the Bishop of *Pistoia*, to signifie vnto him, that being without mony, without force, without authority, and wretched by all other priuations, it could little profit the Confederates to haue him to declare: That only he might do a better office to sollicite a peace, to which end he had giuen him commission to go to the Emperour to exhort him with words sharpe and rigorous to embrace it; a matter which the king would not consent vnto, not for that he remained ill contented of the Popes neutrality, but that he doubted the negociation was extended to some further matter: neither the Emperour complained that the Pope in so great a dissention stood indifferent.

Lawtrech entering into the realme of Naples, Andrew Dore retireth from Genes.

But now at such time as *Monsieur Lawtrech* marched and came on, and direction giuen that the armies by sea should do the like, there were found many difficulties to giue impediment to the enterprise: for, the twelue gallies of the *Venetians* which before were reduced to *Liorno*, hauing suffered many vexations in the exploit of *Sardinia*, both by the rage of the sea, and for want of victuals, departed the tenth of Februarie from *Liorno* to go to *Corfu* to readresse and returnish their wants: Neuerthelesse the *Venetians* promised in their place, to send twelue other gallies to ioine with the French army by sea, which was not without their difficulties for the perplexities they had passed, and for the controuersies happened betweene *Andrew Dore* and *Ranſe de Cere*: by reason of which accidents albe it *Ranſe* remayned sicke at *Pisa*, yet it was set downe that *Andrew Dore*, who with all the gallies was come to the shores of *Liorno*, should with his flecte of gallies set his course for the Realme of *Naples*: and *Ranſe* with

the

The other French gallies and the foure of Frear *Bernardine*, together with the foure of the *Vene-
tians*, which were all assembled into one fleete, should prepare for the enterprife of *Sicile*. But
Andrew Dore with his eight gallies accompanied with eight otler of the French kings, crossed
saile and retired to *Genes*, taking this excuse, that it was necessarie both for him and his gailies to
take some rest, either for that such was the true ground and occasion, or else the interestes of the
affaires of *Genes* caried his mind with an inclination to new thoughts: for, where the *Genowayes*
had demaunded of the king to suffer them to gouerne freely of themselves, and for that gift of li-
bertie did offer him two hundred thousand duckets; the king refusing to gratifie a demaund so
farre from the common weale of his affaires, it was beleeued that *Andrew Dore* either the author
or at least the furtherer of these demaunds, held it not reasonable that the king should accomplish
the conquest of *Sicile*, if first he did not consent to the libertie of the *Genowayes*. There was also
brought in question another cause of controuersie which was of importance: for, the king hauing
dismembred the Citie of *Sauona* from the *Genowayes*, it was doubted least most part of the enter-
course and traffike of Marchants, being transferred in short time to *Sauona* in fauour of the king,
and for the oportunitie and situation of the place, and that the king making there his staple, and
building vessels for his seruice, the Citie of *Genes* would stand depriued of most part of her inha-
bitants and plentie of riches: *Andrew Dore* employed all the arte and industrie he could to induce
the king to restore *Sauona* to the auncient subiection of the *Genowayes*.

But a farre better successe and felicitie followed the enterprife of *Lamirech*, then the expedi-
tions of the sea, for that as soone as he was arriued at *Ascoly*, and had sent *Peter Nauarre* with
his footebands to *Aquila*, *Ieramo* and *Iulia Nona* were rendered to him at the first brute of his
comming. The Marquis of *Salussa* by the same direction followed him with his regiments by the
way of *Lionessa*: and last of all succeeded *Horatio Baillon* with an hundred and fiftie light horse-
men, and foure thousand footmen *Florentines* of the blacke bands. The *Venetians* had also prom-
ised to send him without the person of the Duke of *Vrbis*, foure hundred light horsemen & foure
thousand footmen of those bands which they had in the towne of *Rome*: and in supply of the o-
thers which they were bound to administer and employ to the warres of *Naples*, they had accord-
ed to pay three and twentie thousand duckets for euery moneth: assuring also that for the regard
of the nauie at sea, they would aduaunce xxxvj. vessels to giue aide to the enterprife of *Sicile*.
Neuerthelesse they gaue manifest signes that they were wearie of the burthen, & proceeded verie
slowly in the matter of expenses, by whose example the French king did the like: seeing at the
same time complaints were come from *Monsieur Lamirech* that the assignation for an hundred
and fifty thousand crownes monethly for the charges of the warre which the king had made
to him at his departure out of *Fraunce*, of which was to receiue aboute two hundred thousand
crownes, was reduced to threescore thousand crownes onely the moneth, and that but for three
monethes to come; a matter which as it brought no small grieue and dispaire to him, so he burst
out in complaints against the king and his omission and carelesnesse, as not to be moued neither
with reason, nor with his faith, nor with the memory and example of his proper damage. This was
one especiall point of his grieue and complaying, that where the king had conuerted to the en-
terprife of *Fontarabie* his treasures and forces which ought to haue serued him for the defence of
Millan, it was the cause to make him to loose the whole estate and Duchy of *Millan*. The en-
terprife of *Aquila* succeeded happily; for that as *Peter of Nauarre* made his approches, so the
Prince of *Melfa* went out of it, & for the French king, did enter the son of the Count *Monteiro*. In
like sort the Lanceknights of the *Venetians* tooke by composition *Ciuitella*, a litle towne, but well
fortified, and hath his situation seuen miles beyond *Tronto*. The taking of this towne was further-
ed by the preuentio of two hundred harquebuziers Spanish who were sent for the defence of it.
All *Abruzza* followed the example of *Aquila*, & the whole residue of the realme of *Naples* had
done the like, had not the Imperiall army issued out of *Rome*. This army after passion of many dif-
ficulties & tumults, & the souldiers fully satisfied of all their payes from the time of the Popes de-
liuery, marched out of *Rome* the xvij. day of February; a day which had bin most ioyfull & of spe-
ciall respiration to the long miseries of the wretched people of *Rome*, if their calamities which they
supposed to be ended by the departure of the Launceknights, had not estsoones recontinued
in a new course by the Abbot of *Farsa* and others of the familie of the *Vrsins*, who entering the
towne with the paynants of their dominions immediatly vpon the breaking vp of the others,

*Peter Na-
uarre taketh
Aquila.*

*The Imperiall
army issueth
out of Rome.*

did for many dayes many great insolencies. By reason of these calamities, gricuous for their continuance, and lamentable for their wretched succession, descending from one enimie ill, to another that was worse, the Citie of *Rome* was not onely made naked of a great part of her inhabitants, with the desolation of many houses and pallaces, but also it stood rent and defaced, in image of worthie and auncient presence, of pillars representing the monument and memorie of great Princes and conquerors, of many singular stones, for their value precious, and for their raritie greatly esteemed, and lastly of many ornaments of antiquitie, such as drew delight to the eyes of the beholders, and gaue great reputation to the towne that so long had preferred them. Neuertheless the Lanceknights continuing in their mutinies, & wold not depart without imprest for two payes, where the *Spaniards* were satisfied with more facilitie, the Pope desirous to purge the towne of such a contagion, was constrained to furnish them with twentie thousand duckets more, which he payed vnder colour to deliuer the two Cardinals hostages: and afterwards they retained twentie thousand more as from the people of *Rome*: and albeit it was doubted that this pay was made by the Pope, yet it passed vnder that name to the end to giue lesse occasion of complaint to *Lawirech*, who notwithstanding complained not a litle, that the Pope with that money was the cause that the Imperiall armie went out of *Rome*, by which action his victorie which was before manifest & certaine, was now reduced to doubtfull termes and vncertaine euent of warre. There issued out of *Rome* according to computation, fiftene hundred horse, foure thousand footmen Spanish, two or three thousand footmen *Italians*, and fife thousand Launceknights: so great diminution had the plague brought vpon that nation.

By the remouing of the Imperials out of *Rome*, *Monsieur Lawirech* who otherwise wold haue taken the straight way to *Naples*, was constrained to fetch a circuite more long by *Powilla* along the sea coast: he had some reason to take that march, for the difficultie to draw his artilleries if in these places he should haue found impediment of enemies to passe the mountaine: but much more to make prouision of victuals, least he fell into want if he haply were driuen to plant the course of his victorie before the wals of *Naples*: so that partly by compulsion, & partly vpon those reasons inducing, he tooke his way to *Ciuita de Chiora* the capitall towne of the furthermost *Abruzz*: for the water of *Pescaro* makes separation of the hithermost *Abruzz* from the furthermost. There did render vnto him *Sermonio* with many other townes of the countrey, and in that propertie of inclination, either for affection they bare to the French name, or for hatred to the *Spaniards*, there was almost no towne which sent not out at least xxv. and xxx. miles before, to yeeld themselves. And yet because he wold passe with a greater suretie and stabilitie, he forbore to aduance with that diligence which both by his felicitie he might, and by his fortune was offered. And it was beleueed, to the end to gather in safetie during the moneth of March, the reuenue of the tribute of *Powilla* amounting to fourescore thousand duckets, and was leauied in fife townes, that he would send thither *Peter Nauarre* with his regiments, for whose disagreements and controuersies which *Monsieur Lawirech* was compelled to endure, there was litle good order in the armie. But being departed from *Gualt*, and vnderstanding that one part of the enemies to whom was ioyned the Prince of *Melfe* with a thousand of those Lanceknights which the *Viceroy Don Charls* had brought out of *Spaine*, and two thousand *Italian* footmen come out of *Aquila*, was arriued at *Nocero* fortie miles from *Termini* drawing towards the sea: and another part of the enemies to be passed to *Campo Basso* which is thirtie miles from *Termini* vpon the common or ordinarie way to *Naples*: he sent out before *Peter Nauarre* with his regiments of footmen, and went himselfe the last day of Februarie to *Sera* within twelue miles of *Termini*, from whence the fourth day of March he arriued at *Saint Senero*. But *Peter Nauarre* according to the addresse that was giuen him, passed on, and in one day entred within *Nocero*, and in another he got into *Foggio*, making his entrie at one gate when the *Spaniards* who were retired to *Troya*, *Barletta* and *Manfredonia*, would haue entred by the other. The conquest of these places serued greatly for the reuictualling of the armie.

The contents of
Monsieur Lawirech's
armie.

The armie that was with *Monsieur Lawirech* contained in the whole foure hundred launces, and twelue thousand footmen, men not verie well prepared and trained for the warre: but there were to ioine to him, the Marquis of *Salussa* who marched before all the others, the regiments of the *Venetians*, and the blacke bandes of the *Florentines*, whom *Lawirech* desired not a litle to ioine with him: for that bearing a name to be a Colonie of footmen as apt & resolute for assaults
as anie

As any infanterie that then was in *Italy*, they serued as good examples and whetters on of the residue of his armie, wherein were bodies strong and stable for the fight. But when he vnderstood by the report of *Peter Nauarre* whom he sent to take the view, that there were within *Troya* and the confines about it, fise thousand *Almains*, fise thousand *Spaniards*, and fiftene thousand *Italians*: and that for the bitternesse of the cold that then was, he was not able to keepe the field, *Monsieur Lawtrech* the eight of March went to *Nocero* with all the footmen and light horsemen, and the Marquis of *Salusso* newly arriued, put into *Foggia* with the men at armes and a thousand footmen: Vpon which dispersing of the armie, *Monsieur Lawtrech* gaue it out that he would giue battell if occasion offred, aswell for manie reasons genetally mouing, as chiefly for that the assignations which the king had giuen to him, being withdrawne and diminished, he was not able long time to sustaine the expences of the warre: he left within *Saint Seueno* with a slender gard all the Embassadours and other natures of people that were not apt for the warre; and so he seemed to be there in furetie, without anie necessitie or compulsion to giue battell but vpon aduantage, neither had he want of victuals, though he lacked meale. Afterwards he issued out the xij. of March, and tooke the field three miles beyond *Nocero* and within fise miles of *Troya*; for, *Nocero* and *Barletta* which are distant one from another xij. miles, are not further from *Troya* then eight miles. The Imperials who had now assembled together all the companies that were within *Manfredonia* and *Barletta*, and had plentie of victuals within *Troya*, issued out to skirmish, though all the bands of footmen except the Launceknights, were not paid: and the day following, they tooke the field without artilleries, in a strong place vpon the hill of *Troya*; but *Lawtrech* the xiiij. day enuironed that hill on the part aboue that looketh to the South drawing towards the mountaine, and turning his face to *Troya*, he began to ascend, where after he had wonne the hill in a hot skirmish, he encamped in a place that commanded them, from whence he compelled them with his artilleries to retire some into the towne and some backe againe: so that both the towne of *Troya* and the Imperiall armie remained betweene the French armie and *Saint Seueno*: which both made yneasie the passage of succours that might haue come to *Naples*, and also stopped for the most part the victuals that might haue bene brought to them: notwithstanding they consumed not much, as being discharged of all vnprofitable mouths and the generall baggage and traine of the armie: and on the other side was stopped by them the traffike of victuals that passed from *Saint Seueno* to the French campe, besides that they held in danger *Saint Seueno*, which they might assault with part of their people and the French not to perceiue it.

The armies lying incamped in this sort, that is to say, the Frenchmen beyond *Troya* towards the mountaine, and the Imperials on this side towards *Nocero* at the backe of the towne, and the most part of the places thereabouts being commanded by the French, they remained there in that order vntill the xix day, all the nights being spent in alarmes, and the daies running out in skirmishes, of one of which was taken prisoner *Martio Colonne*. The Imperials oftentimes cut off the victuals that went from *Saint Seueno* and *Foggia* to the French armie, which for that impediment felt some incommoditie & had need of a strong eskort or conduit to defend the victuallers. Here the Imperialists drew into counsell what was to be done, amongst whome the Marquis of *Gnaft* perswaded to offer the battell, seeing the French armie went on increasing daily, and theirs was more & more weakned. But the counsell of Captaine *Alerfon* caried most authoritie, who proued by reasons and arguments that there was more hope of the victorie in temporising and suffering the time, then by aduancing to referre things to the arbitration of fortune. The xix. day the Imperials retired within *Troya*, to eschue the continuall vexations of the artilleries of the enemies: but hauing afterwards rampared their place against the furie of the shot, they repaired thither againe in good season, and returned in euill time within *Troya*: but the xxj. day at the appearing of the morning, they brake vp and went towards the mountaine to *Ariano*, making a great daies march: they found within *Troya* a great quantitie of victuals farre surmounting that which the Frenchmen beleeued before, and hauing cut off all passages by the which victuals might be brought them, they made to them selues a vaine promise of the victorie. It was then they leauied and brake vp, either to draw the French into a place where they might find want of victuals, or for an intelligence they had, that the day following they expected in their campe the blacke bands, who as they marched being lodged in *Aquila*, had in their insolencie sacked that Citie,

not being prouoked by iniurie, or other occasion. The xxij. day *Lawtrech* incamped at *Lyonelle* vpon the riuer of *Ophanto*, which the *Latyns* call *Aufidium*, six miles from *Ascoly*, hauing sent the black bands & *Peter Nauarre* with his regiment & two Cannons, to take *Melfa*: where after they had battred a small breach, the *Gascons* presented theselues to the wall, & the black bands with more furie then good direction of their Captains did the like: wherein the one nation seru- ing with an emulation of the other, and they both being well beaten in flanke by small shot, the assault was repulsed with the death of manie *Gascons* and threescore of the black bands: and the same furie continuing, they ran the like fortune the next day in another assault which they gaue, after the batterie had executed: but in the night there came to the campe a succour of artill- eries sent by *Monsieur Lawtrech*, with the which hauing made two great batteries the morning following, the paisants within *Melfa* began in their feare to draw into tumult: by which accident the souldiers being in number six hundred, and troubled in their ordinarie office of seruice by the mutinie of the paystants which still redoubled into worse degrees, they abandoned the de- fence of the place: in somuch as the whole campe entring where no resistance was made, they turned their felicitie into bloud, slaying in their furie all the paystants and men of the towne: onely the souldiers retired into the Castle together with the Prince, who not long after yeilded simply as was said, to discretion notwithstanding they pretended that their liues were excepted. The Prince was saued with a verie few of his followers, all the others were put to the sword, contain- ing three thousand bodies, and the towne deliuered vp to sacking. In the towne was found great store of victuals to the great commoditie and comfort of the French men, who, for their hard prouision, suffred no small wants in *Pomilla*. The xxiiij. day the *Spaniards* departed from *Ariano* and incamped at *Tripaldo*, which is xxv. miles from *Naples*, vpon the high way, and xl. miles from *Ofanto*, with whom ioyned the *Viceroy*, the Prince of *Salerno*, and *Fabricio Marano* with a regiment of three thousand footmen and twelue peeces of artilleries: it was thought also that Captaine *Alarson* issued out of *Naples* with two thousand footmen to succour *Dogania*: but *Lawtrech* staied vpon the territories of *Ofanto* to make great prouisions of monie, and had all his companies incamped betweene *Ascalo* and *Melfa*: and since the accident of *Melfa*, were rendred to him *Barletto*, *Trany* & all the townes thereabouts except *Manfredonio*, wherein was a strength of a thousand footmen. In this successe and rendring of townes, he sent out *Peter Nauarre* with foure thousand footmen to take the Rock of *Venosa*, which being garded and va- liantly defended by two hundred & fiftie Spanish footmen, he tooke it at last to discretion, and retaining the Captaines prisoners, he sent away the others without weapons: and there he had giuen order that the reuenue of the tribute of *Pomilla* should be receiued for him, which for the troubles and impediments which the warre brought, answered not the value and price that were wont to rise by it. In this place the commissarie *Pysano* with the *Venetian* regiments containing about two thousand footmen, came to *Monsieur Lawtrech*, who in this sort was busied to assure himself of victuals and prouisions; a matter which was made more easie to him, after he had got into his power *Ascoly* by the meane of the *Venetian* regiments: and at this time rising into cou- rage by the happy euent of his affaires, he vrged the Pope with haughty words to declare himself for the league: who notwithstanding they of *Viterba* would not before receiue him for their go- uernour (of which *Ostianian Spirsto* was the cause) yet being afterwards ranged and made plia- ble through feate, he had transported his Court to *Viterba*. And *Vespasian Colonno* being dead at the same time, who ordained by his testament that *Isabell* his onely daughter should be maried to *Hipolito de Medicis*, the Pope vnder that colour got possession of all those places which he held in the territories of *Rome*, notwithstanding *Askario* pretended that they appertained to him by the ceasing of the line masculine of *Prosper Colonno*. About this time *Monopoly* was ren- dred to the *Venetians*, for whom, and to whose vse according to the last couenants made with the French king, were gotten all those ports of the Realme of *Naples* which they possessed before they were ouerthrown by king *Louis* the xij. in *Guizaradadda*.

By reason of these prosperities of the French, the Duke of *Ferrara* was induced to send his sonne into *France*, to accomplish and giue perfection to the mariage; a matter which he had de- ferred before by great indoltrie, refusing with the same pollicie to be Captaine of the League. But the Emperour who sent no men out of *Spaine* to releue the dangers of the kingdome of *Na- ples*, had giuen ordenance that the Duke of *Brunswick* should passe out of *Germany* into *Italy* with
new

New supplies of Launceknights for the succour of that kingdome. These supplies were prepared with so much the more care and diligence, by how much they vnderstood the necessity to rescue it was great for the coming on of *Monsieur Lawirech*. But to the end the aduancing of those supplies should not trouble the hope of the victory, it was agreed by the consent of the king of *England*, the French king, and the *Venetians*, that the Lord *Francis* of *Saint Poll*, descended of the house of *Burbon*, should passe into *Italy* with foure hundred launces, fūe hundred light horsemen, fūe thousand footemen French, two thousand *Swissers*, and two thousand Launceknights, of *Italy*. This army was appointed to follow them if they passed to *Naples*, and otherwise, to make the warre vpon the Duchy of *Millan*, adioyning to them the regiments of the *Venetians* and the bands of *Francis Sforce*. For the defrayment of this army, was set downe a pay of threescore thousand duckats monethly: of which the king of *England* was to contribute euery moneth thirty thousand: and the *Venetians* had resolved in the counsell of *Pregati*, to wage ten thousand footemen.

Monsieur S. Poll appointed to the warres of Italy.

In this time the inhabitants of *Millan* were reduced to an extreame and miserable subiection for the intollerable exactions imposed by *Anth. de Lena*: who the better to provide for the payes of his souldiers, had drawne into his owne hands all the victuals of the City, and hauing bestowed them in publike store-houses and Garners, he sold them in his owne name at what rate or price he would, the inhabitants being driuen to buy them according to his law, or else to die for hunger: and yet the money rayfed vpon that extreame meane, being not sufficient to pay the Launceknights that were lodged in houses, they were suffered to make dayly raunfomes of the maisters and owners, of whom such as would yeeld no money, were kept in chaynes and irons: And because to auoyd so great cruelties and intollerable importes, many did fly continually out of the city notwithstanding the rigour of the commandements and diligence of the warders, there was confiscation of goods published against such as were absent, who were so many in number, that to auoyd the trouble to set them downe in writing, they caused them to be put in print. The Nobles and best sort of Citizens such as remained there, were seene in their garments poore and ragged, and in their countenances astonished and desolate, expressing by a lamentable compassion, the calamities they endured, & their pallsaces and places of best frequentation were reduced to ruines & rubbege, such as were heauy testimonies of the cruelty of the *Spaniards*. And yet all things succeeded happily to him that was the causer of all these miseries: for where Captaine *Mus* lay incamped at *Lecqua* with six hundred footemen as a souldier of the League, and hauing taken away the barkes to the end the *Spaniards* that were within *Coma*, could not rescue it by the way of the lake, *Anth. de Lena* with the bands of footmen that were within *Nonaro* issued out of *Millan* and incamped fūteene miles beyond with the Launceknights: and after he had taken the rocke of *Olgina* standing vpon the shores of *Adda*, which Captaine *Mus* had taken before, he sent *Philip Troncello* with the bands of footmen Spanish & Italians, to giue succors to *Lecqua* standing vpon the other shore of the lake, where Captaine *Mus* with the ayd of the souldiers whom he had drawne from the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, and with certaine peeces of artilleries from the *Venetian* campe, had taken and fortified all the passages, of themselves containing many difficulties, for the steepenesse of the mountaines and other places of hard access. But the Imperials who tooke the mountaine opposite that commaundeth *Lecqua*, after they had made many vaine attempts to passe in many places, at last they forced that place whete the *Venetian* souldiers garded; companies whom the Captaine either for that he had lesse confidence in their vertue, or at least to bestow them where was least danger, had dispersed into places most steepe & inaccessible. Captaine *Mus* with his souldiers and artilleries, was estoones remounted vpon the barkes and saued himselfe, not without suspicion that the *Venetians* had made a light defence to gratify the Duke of *Millan*, to whom it was nothing agreeable that he tooke *Lecqua*. And afterwards to the end to cary by accord that which he could not win by armes, he changed both the seruice & pay wherein he was, and goeth to the Imperials, obtayning of *Anth. de Lena* by way of accord for reward of that infidelity, both *Lecqua* and many other places: and he got of *Ierom Moron*, who by letters & intelligence had bin the author of this practise, cession of his rights. By reason of this accord *Anth. de Lena* who before had bin much afflicted by hunger, was releued both with victuals & mony: for the Captaine who aspiring to high and great things, tooke afterwards vpon him the title of Marquis, payed thirty thousand duckats, and sent into *Millan* three thousand sackes of corne.

Miserable condition of the city of Millan.

During all this while *Monsieur Lawtrech* marched towards *Naples*, and by the third day of Aprill was come to the Rocke *Manarda*, hauing left for the gard of *Pouilla* (where chiefly *Manfredonia* held for the Emperour) fiftie merrie armes, two hundred light horsemen, and xv. hundred or two thousand footmen, all bands of the *Venerians*. But the Imperials who had followed in abandoning all the countrey thereabout, to lay onely for the defence of *Naples* and *Caietta*, and to cut off victuals from the enemies, after they had sacked *Nola*, and caried to *Naples* all the victuals that were within *Capua*, they encamped vpon the hill of *Saint Martin*, and the day following entred within *Naples* with ten thousand footmen Spanish and Launceknights, hauing decassed the bands of the *Italians*, except sixe hundred who were vnder *Fabricio Alaramo*, for that *Sero Colomno* was gone to *Abruzzza* with his bands of footmen. *Naples* waserie naked of inhabitants, for that almost all men of qualitie, and such to whom their fortune had yet left anie meane, were retired into *Ischia*, *Capria*, and other Ilands confining. It was supposed that there was within the towne sufficient prouision of corne for more then two moneths, but for flesh and other natures of victuals, the quantities were very small. *Capua*, *Nola*, *Aceras Auerfa*, and all the places therabout yeilded to *Monsieur Lawtrech*, who remained foure daies with his armie in the Abbey of *Aceron* which is seuen miles from *Naples*. He had aduanced and did still march with a verie slow pace, to the end to tarie for the victuals which could not obserue the speed of the armie for the impediment of fowle waies and raines, such as had made all the countrie full of waters: besides, it behoued him to make great prouisions of victuals, for that the bruter an that his armie according to the corruption of the discipline of warre at this day, contained more then twenty thousand horsemen, and fourescore thousand footmen, of whom two parts were men vnprofitable for seruice. From this place he sent out to the enterprise of *Calabria*, *Simon Roman* with an hundred and fiftie light horsemen, and fwe hundred *Corfikans* not payed, but were come from the Campe of the Imperials: and *Philip Dore* who with eight galleyes of *Andrew Dore* and two ships was come into the waters of *Naples*, both tooke a ship laden with graine, and with his artilleries draue the Imperials from *Magdelaine*: and albeit with the same valour and fortune he tooke a litle afterwards two other ships laden with graine, and brought vpon the enemies many other discommodities, yet his gallies onely were not sufficient to hold the port of *Naples* wholly besieged: for the helpe whereof *Lawtrech* solicited that the sixteene galleyes of the *Venetians* might be ioyned with the flecte of *Philip*. These after they were with flow diligence assembled in order at *Corfu*, were now come vp to the port of *Trany*: but notwithstanding the Cities of *Trany* and *Monopoly* were already rendred to the *Venetians*, yet those gallies preferring their particular profits before foreine interests, though they knew that all things depended vpon the victorie of *Naples*, yet they were slow to aduaunce, to the end to take also *Pulignano*, *Otronto*, and *Brinduso*. The seuenth day of Aprill *Lawtrech* encamped at *Chusiano* within fwe miles of *Naples*; and the same day the light horsemen of the Imperials whose celeritie and diligence appeared farre greater then the negligence of the Frenchmen tooke from the French a great quantitie of victuals; a prouision which they were not well furnished of. They had also fortified *Saint Hermon*, which is in the top of the mount *Saint Martin*, and commaunds much the towne of *Naples*, to the end to take from the Frenchmen all commodities to vex it with their artilleries: and for that they were maisters of that mountaine, they gaue impediment to the French to approach neare the most partes of the Citie. The Frenchmen tooke some hope of good euent by the discords that were amongst the enemies, of whom the Marquis of *Guast* for some particular quarell, hurt the Count *Potenza* and slue his sonne. But the one and twentieth day the French armie came to *Casoria* within three miles of *Naples* vpon the way of *Auerfa*: and the same day was embraced of both parties a skirmish vnder the walles of *Naples*, wherein was slaine *Atigliato*, he who had impugned by all his induttrie the deliuerie of the Pope, for the which he was the bearer of the Emperours Commission to his Captaines. The two and twentieth day the armie encamped within a mile and an halfe of *Naples*, where *Monsieur Lawtrech* forbad his souldiers to skirmish, as a matter vnprofitable to the estate of the seruice: there was *Pozzolo* rendred to him. At last, being the last but one of Aprill, he brought his armie verie neare the Citie of *Naples*, and encamped betweene *Poggio Royall*, which is a stately house for pleasure, and builded by *Alfonso* of *Aragon* the second, when he was Duke of *Calabria*, and the hill of *Saint Martin*: the campe was extended euen within halfe a mile of *Naples*, & the person of *Monsieur Lawtrech* lay

The French besiege Naples,

lay somewhat before *Poggia Royal* at the palace of the Duke de *Monte Alto*: in this place he had made great fortification, stretching out the face of his lodging towards the way of *Capua*. It was a place of verie good situation, and aptly serving to cut off from them of *Naples* the commoditie of the water conduits that come from *Poggia Royal*. He made account to plant another lodging somewhat before that, about the hill that is beneath the mount *Saint Hermo*, to the end to cut off more comodities from those of *Naples*, and to vex the towne more nearer. But to haue a more true and perfect information of these matters, it were necessarie to set downe by description the situation of the Citie of *Naples*, and the countrey thereabouts.

The end of the eighteenth booke.



THE NINETEENTH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

Lawtrech besiegeth Naples. In the meane while Anthony de Leua taketh Paia, and besiegeth Loda. Andrew Dore leaueth the pay of the French. Monsieur Lawtrech dieth. The French breake up from before Naples. Monsieur de Saint Pol reconquereth Paia. Andrew Dore taketh Genes. The Genowayes take Saona, and put them selues in libertie. Monsieur de Saint Pol is taken by Anthony de Leua. The Emperour falleth to accord with the Pope. Peace is made at Cambray betweene the Emperour and the French king. The Emperour passeth into Italy, where the warre is made against the Florentines, and peace is solicited with all others.

THus Monsieur Lawtrech hauing reduced his whole armie vnder the wals of *Naples*, the first thing he drew into consultation was, whether it were best to attempt the expugnation of the towne with the furie of artilleries and valor of men, as many of his Captaines aduised him, wishing that for the better execution of the enterprise, the regiments of footemen might be increased with new numbers: they alleaged many difficulties, in regard of which there could be no hope to entertaine the armie any long space before the towne. The first difficultie consisted in victuals, the traffike and resort whereof was alwayes in danger by the inrodes of the enemies, who hauing many companies of light horsemen, commaunded by their incursions all the wayes and passages of the fields. The second impediment rested in the hope verie vncertaine that *Naples* would render for famine, by reason the gallies of *Philip Dore* being not sufficient to hold the port besieged or restrained, and the *Venetian* gallies not arriuing notwithstanding they were promised daily, there came from *Caietta* to *Naples* foure gallies laden with meale, and by the weake defence of the haven, other vessels entred the towne daily with reliefe. The third doubt was referred to the cold prouisions of the *Venetians*, who being taxed to pay monethly to Monsieur Lawtrech two and twentie thousand duckets, were already become behind with him for threescore thousand. The successe of the enterprise stood also desperate, both by the slender releefe of money that came out of *France*, and also by the maladies and diseases that generally rained in the armie, such as did not proceede so much by the stinch and ordinarie corruption of that aire, which by custome beginneth to deliuer infection in the end of Sommer, as through the great quantities of raines that fell, which by so much more offended the armie, by how much most part of the soldiers lay in the open fields, hauing no other couer then the skie: yet neuerthelesse Lawtrech considering that in so great a multitude and vertue of defendants, wherein he knew to consist not the least difficultie, & for the fortification

of the mount *Saint Martin* which lay apt to be secured, it would be an action verie hard either to take the hill, or to force the towne; and simply foreseeing not to expend his monie with small hopes, fearing to want for the furnishment of expences ordinarie, tooke this resolution, not to assault the towne, but to besiege it: hoping that in verie short time the enemies would fall into the want of victuals to feed their bodies, or monie to containe the souldiers: for that vnder those hopes, and the reasons and considerations of them, he conuerted his whole mind and all his prouisions to the besieging of *Naples*, cutting off all meanes of accessse or resort of victuals by land, and soliciting the coming of the *Venetian* gallies to reduce the towne to an absolute priuation of reliefe by sea and yet altering his resolution in some points, he set the campe at liberty to skirmish, least the souldiers liuing without action might become effeminate and abated in valour: insonmuch as there passed manie skirmishes betweene the campe and the defendants of the towne, to the great commendation of the souldiers of the black bands, who being most resolute and ready in that kind of fighting by the discipline of *Iohn de Medicis*, had not as yet made anie shew of their valour in the plaine field in anie battell pitched and ranged, where they were to keepe their ground, and either to be found dead or liuing in the places appointed to them. About this time came to the armie fourscore men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, and an hundred from the Duke of *Ferrara*, who notwithstanding he had bene amply receiued into the protection of the French king and the *Venetians*, yet he deferred so long as he could to send to the armie, reseruing to him self to dresse and regulate his deliberations according to the coniecture and iudgment of the accidents and euent of the warre.

Resolution of the
Imperials with-
in Naples.

In this estate and condition of affaires the Imperials were not without their hopes to be able to breake the fleet of *Philip Dore*, who rode with his gallies in the gulse of *Salerne*: in which enterprise they reposed not their foundation and hope so much in the numbers and goodnesse of their vessels, as in the valour and dexteritie of their souldiers: for they furnished fixe Gallies, foure Foistes, and two Brigantines, with a thousand harquebuziers Spanish, and that of the most approued and best choise of the armie: and with them entred as commanders, *Don Hugo Viceroy* accompanied almost with all the Captaines and personages of authoritie. To this armie by sea, disposed and gouerned by the direction of *Gobbo*, a stout and famous Captaine for sea seruice, were adioyned manie Barkes of fishermen, to the end to astonish the enemies a farre off through the multitude and number of vessels appearing. This fleet departed from *Possilipo*, and by a direct course made with the Ile of *Caprio*, where *Don Hugo* to the great preiudice of that exploit, lost time to heare a Spanish Hermit, who vnder reasons and perswasions of his profession, inflamed them to fight according to the glory of that nation gotten in so many victories. From thence, leauing on the left hand the Cape of *Minerna*, they entred into the maine sea, and sent before two Gallies with this direction, that being come within sight of the enemies, they should make shew as though they would giue backe and flie, to the end to draw the enemies into the maine to fight. But *Philip Dore* being aduertised the day before by verie faithfull and assured espials of the intention and stratageme of the enemies, dispatched a messenger with diligence to *Monsieur Lawtrech*, to send to him forthwith three hundred harquebuziers, who being commanded by Captaine *Croché*, were arriued with *Philip Dore* a litle before the Nauie of the enemies were discovered: which when he beheld a far off resembling (for the number of vessels) a huge wood,

Fight at sea be-
tweene the Im-
perials and
French.

notwithstanding he had before with great courage aduanced all necessarie preparations to execute the fight, yet the consideration and view of the vessels giuing him manie timerous impressions, he stood long suspended betweene hope & feare: but he was presently deliuered of that perplexitie, when by the drawing neare of the fleet of the enemies, he discerned them to containe not aboute fixe vessels of helme: therefore with a courage resolute, and as a Captaine well experienced in the wars by sea, he caused to enlarge and as it were he cast off as though they would run away, three other Gallies of his, to the end that with spooning afore the sea and winning the wind, they might in their time charge the enemies both in side and in powpe: and the person of himself with fixe gallies made directly with the front of the enemies, who were to discharge their artilleries to take from him by the thicknesse of the smoke, both his leuell and his view: but *Philip* to turne vpon themselves the danger he saw prepared for him, gaue fire to a very great Basiliske, whose force caried his charge with great violence through the gallie Admirall of the enemy, wherein was the person of *Don Hugo*, and at the first shoot, killed fourtie men, of whom the

The Captaine of the gallie was one, with many officers and men of place. This furie of the Basilisk he followed with all his other sorts of artilleries, by whom were executed and hurt many bodies of the enemies: who for their partes lost no time both to defend and endamage, for that the artilleries of the gallie of *Don Hugo* being fired at a token giuen, slue the Captaine, and hurt the Patron of the gallie of *Philip*. In which medly the great artilleries hauing done their execution, the gallies by the helpe of their oares, drew neare one to another, & with their small shot & other furies which men in fight do vse, began a bloudie fight: in which the *Genowais* who were not without training and experience in such encounters, had better meanes to auoid the perill, by fighting low, and as it were bowing downe, standing vpon their gards within the bodie of the pauilhes or couerts. As these two gallies were in fight together with a wonderfull furie and astonishment, three other gallies of the Imperials obseruing their aduantage, inuironed straightly two of the *Genowais*, and had already got the vpper hand: but the three first gallies of *Genes* that made as though they ran away, were got into the maine sea, and with the fauour of the wind came with a fierce charge vpon the enemies, and playing in flank vpon the gallie Admirall, they reuerfed with a shot the maine yard of the gallie called the *Neptune*, which did no small damage to her seruice: there *Don Hugo* hauing already a wound in his arme, whilst he was laboring to encourage his souldiers, and neuer was free from the danger of stones and wildfires which were throwne from the tops of the enemies gallies, was slaine in fighting, giuing by his death an honorable testimony of his valour and fidelitie: there the Admirall of *Philip* and the gallie called the *More* rent in peeces the Admirall of *Don Hugo*, and the other two, with their artilleries sunke the gallie of *Gobbo* wherein *Fieromosquo* died; and in the meane while the other gallies of *Philip* had rescued and recovered two gallies of their companie sore pressed by the *Spaniards*, & in that action had taken their Foistles: onely two Spanish gallies not without some grieuous testimony of the encounter, fell off from the fight, seeing the absolute victorie of the enemies. The Marquis of *Guaft* and *Askario*, their gallie being in perill both of water and fire, their oares broken and their souldiers bleeding in their deadly wounds, were made prisoners, the shining of their armours being gilt preserving their liues, which their valour could not do. In this battell *Philip* was much holpen by certaine captiues whom he deliuered, who being for the most part *Turkes* and *Mores*, shewed their crueltie in the fight, according to the custome of those nations. The dead bodie of *Don Hugo* was cast into the sea, without other ceremonie or regard of his greatness, and likewise *Fieromosquo*. The principals of the prisoners of this battell, were the Marquis of *Guaft*, *Askario Colomo*, the Prince of *Salerne*, *Saint Crosse*, *Camille Colomo*, *Gobbo*, *Serenou*, with many other Captaines and gentlemen of marke: the dead bodies of this battell contained more then a thousand footmen, and of the *Spaniards* there were verie few, who were not either slaine or grieuously wounded: the prisoners with three gallies were sent by *Philip* to *Andrew Dore*, and one of the two gallies that escaped, passed not long after to the pay and seruice of the *French*. By this victorie, as the Frenchmen rose into great hopes of good successe for the generall enterprise, wherein haply their presuming was not without preiudice, for that it reduced *Lamirech* to a more negligence or omission in the prouisions that were to be made: so on the other side it replenished the Imperials with no small feare and astonishment to fall into want of victuals, seeing both they remained depriued of all commandement by sea, and also the fauours of the land were taken from them in many partes, but especially since the losse of *Pozzolo*, a place which administered a great traffike of victuals to *Naples*: and the towne of *Naples* was already fallen into great wants of meale and flesh, and the store of their wine well watted: insomuch as being through their necessity driuen to follow the examples and cruelties of men of warre in that case, the day after the ouerthrow at sea, they put out of the Citie no small numbers of mouths vnprofitable, and establishing orders for the distribution of victuals, they provided in any wise that the Launceknights should haue lesse wants then the other souldiers. By these expulsions & good information of their other doings within the towne, *Lamirech* nourished his first hope, which was also well increased and confirmed by a surprise made of a Brigantine the seuenth day of May, wherein he found by certaine letters written to the Emperour by his Captaines, that the flower of the armie was lost: the towne was not provided of corne for a moneth and a halfe: that they were driue to grind their meale with the force of their hands; that the Launceknights began to incline to tumult: that there was no monie to furnish their pay: & that there remained no remedy.

Death of the
Viceroy, Don
Hugo Monca-
do.

Discommodi-
ties aswell of
the Imperials
as the Fr. dur-
ing the siege
of Naples.

for his affaires, vnlesse he comforted them with speedie prouision of monie and succours both by sea and land. To which extremities was not forgot to be adioyned the stroke of the plague begun in *Naples*, which is so much the more contagious where Iauceknights do frequent, by how much in their rudenesse they forbear not to conuerse with such as are infected, and such lesse to manage and vse in their owne persons, any thing that was theirs. On the other side the French men were not free from those afflictions and calamities which a warre traineth after it: they suffered great want of water, for that from *Poggio Royall*, euen vnto the front of the army, the campe was serued onely with cisternes: the maladies of the campe went on multiplying & increasing, which diminished not a litle the strength of the armie: and the enemies being far aboue them in light horsemen, made continuall sallies, especially by the way that leade into *Soma*, and did not onely bring to the reliefe of the towne much flesh and many sorts of wines, but also cut off oftentimes the traffike of victuals that passed to the French campe. Many of the

Obstinacie of
Monsieur
Lawtrech.

Captaines dealt with *Lawtrech* to wage more companies of light horsemen to oppose against the cauallerie of the enemy, which he did not onely refuse to do, contrarie to good foresight and order of warre, but also he gaue sufferance to the most part of the French horsemen to ly dispersed within *Capua*, *Aversa*, and *Nola*; a matter which made easie to the enemies all their exploits: others perswaded him for that diseases had done much to diminish the infanterie or footmen of the armie, to leaue a proportion of seuen or eight thousand footmen, as well to supply the weaknes of the armie, as to be more strong and mightie according to their desire in the beginning; a counsell which as he had begun to denie already, so he stood resolute to refuse it still, alleadging that he had no money, notwithstanding he had at that time receiued from *France* a conuenient prouision, and had gathered the tribute of the cattell of *Powilla*, together with the taxation of the townes which he had taken, and lastly the Barons of the Realme that were with him, were readie to lend him any reasonable quantitie of monie he would require. By which experience I may say, that it is a worke worth the labour, to obserue and consider what disorders are bred by the obstinacie of those that are preferred to great things, or do manage the place of high authoritie: for *Monsieur Lawtrech* no doubt the principall Captaine of the Realme of *France*, as he caried with him a long experience in matters of warre and enterprise, and commanded in the armie with great respect and authoritie: so on the other side he was by nature haughtie and imperious, and hauing a singular weening in himselfe, would reiect the counsell of all others, and stopping his eares from the reasons of other men, he interpreted it to his dishonour that the world should perceiue that he gouerned not alwaies by his owne arbitration and iudgement. In which conceit of singularitie and weening, he refused to make those prouisions which if he had accomplished, might haply haue giuen him the victorie, but being reiected, were the causes that the enterprise begun with so great a hope was passed into extreme ruine. The souldiers of the black bands who were lodged in the front of the armie, skirmished daily, wherein running on in the humor of their courage and forwardnesse, they would oftentimes presse so neare the walles of *Naples*, that the small shot within the towne had power of them, & in their retiring because they had not horsemen to back them, they fell into the mercy of the horsemen of the enemies: in so much as prouing to their harms the disadvantage to make skirmishes without horsemen vnder the walles of *Naples*, they began to giue over the often practise of the thing, which so often had brought them harme.

After this victory by sea, the town of *Stabia* standing vpon the sea side, yeelded to *Monsieur Lawtrech*, but not the Castell, by whose example also was rendred *Saint Iermine*: and by this successe and victorie of the fleet, the garnisons that were within *Caietta* hauing recovered *Fondy* and the countrey thereabouts, *Lawtrech* dispatched thither *Don Ferrand* of *Caietta*, sonne to the Duke of *Tracetta*, and the Prince of *Alesse*, he who had newly contracted with the Frenchmen, taking his reason vpon the omission of the imperials, whose Captaine he thought were carelesse to deliuer him. Moreouer, the streame of victorie running with manie courtes, *Simon Romaine* at the same time made a great aduancement in *Calabria*, much helping him in that actiō the inclination of the people crying with great affection vpon the name of the French.

But all these exploits for their quality good and happie, and for their maner honorable and full of valour, were not sufficient to carie the victorie of the warre, for that it depended wholly either vpon the conquering or vpon the defending of *Naples*: the same inducing *Monsieur Lawtrech*

Dutrech who chiefly applied the siege, and not altogether desperate to take the towne by force for the slaughter of so manie of their good souldiers of *Spaniards* at the battell vpon the sea, solicited earnestly the comming of the *French* and *Venetian* Nauie, to the end to depriue wholly that Citie of all victuals that might be brought to it by sea: he caused also to remoue the campe, and planted it in front vpon a hill, both more neare *Naples*, and more commanding the Mount *Saint Martin*: where the blacke bands cast a trench, not onely to draw from that hill a trench, which being stretched out to the sea side, and hauing vpon that end to the seaward a bastilion, closed vp the way of *Somma*: but also to the end that immediatly after the sea armies were come, they might with better oportunitie carie by force the Mount *Saint Martin*, hauing cut out before, another trench betweene the Citie and the Mount to stop them for succouring one another: and afterwards at one time to execute *Naples* by water with the said armies by sea and land, beating it within from the front of their campe, and vexing it without with one part of the armie, and conuerting the other part to inuade the Mount: so might the enemies, whose necessities to defend so manie seuerall places would driue them to deuide their forces, be more easily ouercome, in some place: and yet they held it not good to abandon *Poggio Royall*, though the front of the campe were farre off, to the end that if the enemies did recouer it, they should not cut from them the commoditie of fresh waters, onely they closed vp their campe behind or on the backside. These counsels and deuises albeit they were considered with gerat skill and knowledge in warre, yet manie difficulties were opposed against them: first the trenches containing more then a mile euen to the sea, could not be cast with speed, aswell for want of Pioners to lay out to the worke, as for the diseases of the souldiers being weakned from all hardnes of labour: secondly (which was verie necessarie for the besieging and inuasion of the towne) the armies by sea did not come, for that neither *Andrew Dore* with his gallies that were at *Genes* did stirre, neither was there any aduertisement of the comming of the Nauie prepared at *Marseilles*, and also the *Venetians* regarding more their profit particular then the benefit generall and common, or rather respecting lesse, interests principall, then ends more inferiour and accidentall, employed their Nauie at the expedition of *Brundusa* and *Otranta*: of which Cities *Otranta* had couenanted to yeeld, if within sixteene daies it were not rescued, and *Brundusa* notwithstanding it had receiued by accord the *Venetians*, yet the Castle held good for the Emperour, whereof the one hauing a strong situation vpon the sea, gaue small hope to be taken, and the other standing within the towne and of greater circuit then the other, seemed not to be able to make long resistance, for that it had lost two rocks. The xij. day of May they made a batterie with the artilleries vpon the hill, which executed a turret that vexed not a litle the field: they shot oftentimes also into the towne, but that offended litle, and many skirmishes were performed at *Saint Anthonies*. The sixteenth day the artilleries being planted vpon the top of the mountaine vpon certaine turrets betweene *Saint Gennaraes* gate and the gate of *Capua*, and kept them also from erecting a bastilion which the defendants had begun: within the towne most mouthes were fed with sodden corne, and for feare of extreme famine, they deliuered the towne daily of manie numbers of people, whom the calamities of the warre had reduced to a hard election, either to languish in famine within the towne in the eyes and compassion of their friends, or to run to the mercie of the enemy, in whom it was not reasonable they should hope for safetie and succour, hauing so iustly offended them: & the Launceknights notwithstanding they suffered lesse then the other nations of souldiers, yet both for want of bread and farre greater necessities of wine and flesh, they protested oftentimes to mutine: but they were eftswoones reclaimed with many good offers and meanes, and for the most part kept entertained with false letters and promises of succours. The xix. day the Pioners and souldiers were brought to worke at the new trenches, and planting two cannons vpon the bastilion when it was made, they wonne and reuerfed two miles neare to *Magdaleine*, garded by two ensignes of Launceknights, against which they neuer addressed any enterprife, for that they were apt to be rescued from *Naples*. Hitherunto the affaires of the Frenchmen haue runne in a course happie and pleasing, but they began to swarue to declination for many causes manifest & apparant: for, as *Philip Dore* by the secret ordinance of *Andrew Dore* was retired with his gallies to lie about *Pozzom*, so by that meane there entred daily within *Naples* (where were left no other sortes of people then souldiers) some quantitie of victuals in barks. And albeit the *Venetian* Nauie after they had conquered *Otranta*, gaue continuall hopes to descend and fall

*The affaires of
the French men
begin to decline*

with *Naples*, yet they temporised and interposed daily new delaies and excuses, hoping to get speedily the great Castell of *Brundusa*. Lastly the affliction of diseases and sicknesse increased daily in the armie, and wherethe blacke bandes were wont to be in all actions three thousand strong, now what for their hurt men who were unprofitable to the seruice, and what for their sicke men in whom was more weaknes then valour, and what for the bodie dead whose places were emptie, they were reduced to a number of two thousand. The xxij. day the Spaniards made a braue sallie vpon those that defended the new trenches, where was a continuall labour and working of men in hope to perfect them within fixe or eight daies: at this sallie *Horatio Neilson* being appointed to a place of perill with a verie litle companie, was slaine as he was fighting in good example to his souldiers; a death more meet for a simple souldier, then worthie in a Captaine. The Imperials rising into courage and hope by the successe of this sallie, made it good with a new action and greater forces, but the whole campe being in armes and running vpon the defence of the trenches, they retired againe into the towne: *Philip* returned in the end to the gulf of *Naples*, for the great instance and solicitation that was made to him: The trenches that had bene begun to close vp the waie of *Scemma*, were not finished the xxvij. day: The Spaniards made roades daily through the countrey, brake downe waies, and made open passages, and brought into the towne great quantities of flesh: against whom the horsmen of the campe made litle head, for that they went rarely to the field: And *Monsieur Lawreth* beginning now to wish for a supplie of footmen (though he yeelded not wholly to the counsell of others) solicited that they would send him out of *Fraunce* by sea fixe thousand footmen of anie nation, alleading that for want of victuals, and the stroke of maladies and diseases, the campe was much diminished: and yet amongst so manie difficulties, & in so small expectation of remedie, it was he onelie that had hope of the victorie, reposing himselfe whollie vpon the famine of that Citie.

In this time things fell out well in *Calabria* with *Simon Roman*, who had with him two thousand footmen aswell *Corfikans* as souldiers leauied of the countrey: and albeit the Prince of *Bisignan* and one of the sonnes of Captaine *Alerfon* were opposed against him with a regiment of fiftene hundred footmen waged of the countrey, yet they found it a hard matter to stand against him, insomuch as the sonne of *Alerfon* retired to *Tarenta* leauing the Prince in the field. Not long after, *Simon* following the course of his fortune, got *Cosenze* by accord, and successfullie after that, he tooke in a towne thereby, the Prince of *Stigliano*, and the Marquis of *Laine* his sonne with two other of his children: but in *Pomilla* the garrison that held *Manfredonia* for the Emperour, vexed all the countrey with incursions and roades without anie resistance of the horsmen or footmen of the *Venetians*, who were gone vp to the conquest of those townes. Moreover, in the quarters about *Rome*, things were not well appeased, for that *Serro Colonne* hauing taken *Paliano* notwithstanding he was forbidden in the Popes name on the behalfe of the daughter of *Vespasian*, yet the Abbot of *Farsa* recouered it, making prisoners *Serro*, and *Prospero de Gaui*, though afterwards *Serro* made escape by the helpe of *Louis Gonzaguo*.

Whilest the armies were in action about *Naples*, and trauelled with those difficulties & with those hopes, *Antho. de Leua* being aduertised by good espiall, that there was negligent gard in *Pauia*, in which towne was *Peter Lungeno* with foure hundred horsmen, & a thousand footmen *Venetians*, and *Hannibal Pissinard* Captaine of *Cremona* with three hundred footmen, which he had led thither to maintaine in the deuotion of the Duke, all the countrey beyond *Paw*: he drew to him a company of souldiers of confidence & choise, whom he led thither one night when was least doubt of any action, and hauing with no lesse fortune then celeritie scaled the towne by ladders in three places, he tooke it by assault before the souldiers heard the alarme: in this exploit he made prisoners *Peter Lungeno*, and one of the sonnes of *Ianus Fregoso*: from thence he followed his victorie to *Biagrassa*, where the garrison and townsmen rendred vp the place to him after they had indured some execution of the Cannon, and so preparing to go to *Arona*, *Federike Borromeo* compounded with him, binding himselfe to follow the Emperours faction.

About this time the Duke of *Brundswike* being issued out of *Trent*, had passed the tenth day of May the riuer of *Adice* with an armie of x. thousand footmen, and vj. hundred horsmen well armed, many of them being gentlemen. This armie being repulsed from *Chiusa* descended vpon the territories of *Verona*: and albeit for that it was knowne long time before that he would come, there was a resolution set downe that *Monsieur saint Pot* should go before to meet him: yet

Antho. de Leua
reconuereth
Pauia

Duke of Brundswike
in Italy
for the Emperour.

yet making no greater speed in this expedition then in others, the Launceknights were in *Italy* before *saint Pol* could be in order to march. And as to omit occasions is to breed impediment & difficulties, so comming on with his march with so slow a foot, he was driuen afterwards to abide manie daies in *Ast*, both to reassemble and muster his companies, and to obey the difficultie of victuals, of which a great dearth and scarcitie raigned in all the parts of *Italy*, but chiefly in the quarters of *Lombardy*: and there was not to be hoped for, a more great and more readie succour for the generall affairs, then of the Senate of *Venice*, who albeit had assured that their army should take the field with xij. thousand footmen, yet the Duke of *Vrbis* being within *Verona*, disposed himself to no other enterprise then to defend the townes of most importance of their estate. By which omission the Launceknights who were descended vpon the lake of *Garda*, had *Pisquero* by accord, and successiuelly *Riuolto* and *Lunaro*: in so much as being vnder that propertie of fortune, made Lords almost of the whole lake, they drew contributions of monie from manie places, committing to fire and sword such as had no meane to satisfie them with ranfome. *Antho. Adorno* who was arriued in this armie, perswaded them to go vp towards *Genes*, but both for their necessitie and want of monie, and for other impediments and difficulties, and also for their desire to haue conference with *Antho. de Lena* issued out of *Millan* to that end, they marched slowly along the countrey of *Bressia*, whither went to meet them *Andrew de Burgos* & captaine *George*: by whose means it was feared the Duke of *Ferrara*, who in so great a feare of others made no preparation, entertained some secret intelligence or practise. After this the Launceknights marched vp towards *Adda* to ioine with *Antho. de Lena*: who being passed the riuer of *Adda* the ix. of Iune with an armie of six thousand footmen and sixteene great peeces of artilleries, and being incamped neere those companies that were within three miles of *Bergama*, in which Citie and also in *Bressia* and *Verona*, the Duke of *Vrbis* had distributed his bands of souldiers: he perswaded the for an extreme desire he had to reconquer *Loda*, to embrace the recouerie of the estate of *Millan*, before they passed to *Naples*: by whose perswasions they incamped the xx. of May before that Citie, out of which issued the Duke of *Millan*, who retiring to *Bressia*, left for the defence of the towne, *Iohn Pawle* his bastard brother, with a garrison of three thousand footmen. And after the artilleries had plaied, which being planted in two severall places, did great execution, *Antho. de Lena* to whom the first assault appertained, brought his bands of *Spaniards* neare the place where the ruine was greatest. There they fought brauely for the space of three houres, but at last the vertue of the *Italians* defendants being nothing inferiour to the valour of the *Spaniards* assailants, they were repulsed by the same vertue which led them first to the fight: so that reiecting all hope to carie it by assault, they reduced, all their confidence to the fauour and working of famine: the rather for that the haruest being not yet made, there was within *Loda* so great want of victuals, that the share and distribution of bread running equally betweene the souldiers and the inhabitants, the towne of necessitie was either to perish vnder the rage of famine, or the townsmen to issue out to the great perill of their liues. But the plague began now to be warme amongst the Launceknights, and the armie withall suffering no small afflictions for want of victuals, they began to breake vp, and many returned into their countries by the waies of the *Swissers* and *Grisons*; an action which bred no great care in the Duke of *Brundswike* their Captaine, who hauing conceived great hopes in *Germany* for the example of the regiment which *George Fronspergh* led, he found by prooffe and triall the matters of *Italy* to be farre more intricate and hard then he imagined: and his money falling short, much lesse that he could leade them to the kingdome of *Naples*, seeing it was impossible for him to containe them before *Loda*: neither was he releued with anie comfort by *Antho. de Lena*, who rather tooke away all his hope of remedie, that way filling him with continuall complaints of the pouertie and wants of *Millan*. For, after he had lost all hope to recouer *Loda*, he deuised all the waies he could to giue them occasion to break vp and go away, fearing lest they would establish their abiding in the Duchy of *Millan*, and by that meane would intrude themselues to be competitor with him in the gouernment, and share with him in the spoile: and he forgot not in this time of temporising, to giue order both to thresh out the corne throughall the estate of *Millan*, and to carie and lay vp all their haruest within the towne of *Millan*. At last the xiiij. of Iulie as they were going to giue a new assault to *Loda*, the Launceknights in their discontentments fell into mutinie: in which rage a thousand of them went their way to *Coma*, and the others that remained retired

*Loda besieged
by the Imperi-
als.*

*The bandes of
Launceknights
vnder Brund-
swik domstine*

in great disorder the artilleries from before *Loda*: but fearing least they would returne into *Germanie*, the Marquis of *Guaft* whom *Andrew Drey* let go for twelue daies vpon his faith, came to *Millan* to perswade *Brandsuicke* not to suffer his souldiers to returne into *Germanie*: neuerthelesse the souldiers whose rudenesse could not be reclaimed with words and reasons, retained their resolution to go away, and passed by *Cima*, except two thousand who remained with *Antho. de Lena*, to whom in those daies *Moraro* was rendred. And it was not doubted, that if the Launceknights had continued before *Loda* a few daies more, they had honorably caried the towne, both by their vertue, and want of victuals in the towne. In which exposition manie desired a readinesse in the Duke of *Vrbis*, to the end that whilest they lay about *Loda*, he might draw neare *Crema*, or *Pisqueton*, or at least keepe maintained there some cornets of horsemen to vnder them. And albeit whilest they were vpon the confines of *Bressia* he did sometimes both assault them and molest them, yet neuer coming so neare them as three miles, and standing onely vpon defending of the estate of the *Venetians*, he passed no further then the riuer of *Eglia*: neither was *Monsieur Saint Poll* for his part more diligent to aduance and come on, who, notwithstanding all the resolutions set downe and confirmed by so manie promises made by the king to send on his behalfe bands of souldiers against the Launceknights, arriued not in *Piedmont*, but at such time as the Launceknights departed, and yet his armie contained farre fewer number then had bene promised and published. Neuerthelesse the Confederates forbore not for all this to sollicite of new the Pope to declare himselfe for them, wherein they required him, that proceeding against the Emperour with armes spirituall, he would also depriue him of the Empire and the realme of *Naples*: but he stood vpon these excuses, that if he should declare for them, he could then be no more a conuenient meane to practise and sollicite peace: That his declaration would stirre vp a greater combustion amongst the Princes of Christendome, and yet bring no profit to the Confederates, for that his pouertie and weaknes would alwaies impugne the good they expected in him: That the priuation of the Emperour for *Naples* and the Empire, would set all *Germanie* in an vprore: both for suspicion that he would appropriate to himselfe the authoritie to elect the Emperour, and for ielousie that he would establish that election in the person of the French king. Lastly he reduced to their memories the imminent danger of the *Lutherans*, which went on increasing by the diuision of the time. Neuerthelesse not being able in reason and comelinesse to resist the importunities that were vrged to him, he promised to enter with them so far forth as the *Venetians* would restore to him *Rauenenna*, which condition he propounded as impossible to be granted, and confirmed this offer with his promise and obligation not to molest the estate of *Florence*. Vpon which occasion the Embassadours of *England* came to *Venice* the xx. of Iune, to sollicite the Senate to render *Rauenenna*, protesting for the Pope to assure the obseruation of his promises: but being not able to induce the Senate, they went away euill contented. In this time the Pope recouered the Citie of *Rimini*, which *John Salsatello* hauing before assailed in vaine to recouer, was at last yeilded vp vpon condition of life and goods saued.

The Popes excuses to the confederates.

But now by the operation of the time and course of euents and affaires, began to be layed open and disclosed the Popes most deepe and secret thoughts, such as he had before dissembled with great art: for, where before he had firmly imprinted in his mind a desire to restore to his house the greatnes which aunciently it had had in *Florence*, he was driuen in publishing by singular cunning, the contrarie, to perswade the *Florentyns*, that much lesse that he had anie such thought, seeing all that he desired of that common wealth was, that they would according to the example of other Christian Princes, acknowledge him for Pope, and that in causes particular they would forbear to persecute such as depended vpon him, or deface or reuerse the armes and ornaments proper to his house. To these ends and with such commissions, he sent to *Florence* as his Embassadour when he was deliuered, a *Florentine* prelate: and for that the estate of *Florence* would not giue him audience, he forgot not, the better to cloake his dissimulation, to recontinue a new instance by the solicitation of the French king, that they would send to him an Embassadour, seeking by these simplicities and offers, to haue them familiar with him, and to draw them with more facilitie into the ambushes he had dressed against them: but when he saw these deuises and labours sort to none effect, he began to perswade *Monsieur Lamtrech*, that whereas such as gouerned the estate of *Sienna* were dependants and deuote to the Emperour, it were conuenient for the better course of his affaires there, to refer to that government *Fabio Petruccio*. Neuerthelesse

The Popes intention touching Florence.

Neuerthelesse albeit *Lawtrech* law reason and conueniencie in the deuise, yet in regard of the contradiction of the *Florentins* he forbore either to follow it or to effect it: and when the Pope saw he could worke none of these to his drifts, and hauing no inclination to dissolue or leaue off the practise which his ambition kept entertained in him, he wrought secretly in such sort, that *Pirrhus di Castello* vnder pretence that the inhabitants of *Sienna* had done him wrong, made himselfe Lord of *Chiusa* with a strength of eight hundred footmen, and by the good diligence and office of certaine exiles of that towne. The Popes reason to raise this man to the iurisdiction of *Chiusa*, was to make him an instrument vnder that oportunitie, to trauell and trouble the gouernment of *Sienna*: but the *Florentins* discerning deeply into the Popes drifts, complained to the *Vicount of Loraine* Embassadour to the French king, that the doings of the Pope tended to no other end, then with the commoditie of *Sienna* to trouble and disorder the affaires of *Florence*. In which regard the Embassadour procured of the Pope, that the action of *Chiusa* should cease.

In this meane while the affaires of the kingdome of *Naples* proceeded diuersely, for that on the one side the Count of *Burello* was passed from *Sicile* into *Calabria*, with a thousand footmen, where he ioyned himself with the residue: and on the other side, *Simon Roman* had ranged to discretion with the fauour of mines and trenches the Castell of *Cosenso*, though by a wound he receiued of a harquebuz in the shoulder, the course of the victorie was somewhat hindred: he ioyned his forces afterwards with the Duke of *Somma*, who with the bands of footmen of the countrey, held besieged *Catanzara*, a towne strong by fortification, but weake by the want of victuals: in this towne was the sonne in law of *Alarson* with two hundred horimen and a thousand footmen: and as in taking this towne they stood in good degree to command the whole countrey euen vp to high *Calabria*: so neuerthelesse necessitie constrained them to turne against the forces vnited with the succours that were come from *Sicile* who had now made some aduancing. But *Simon* being abandoned of one part of his footmen leauied of the countrey, was driuen for his safetie to retire within the Castell of *Cosenso*, and the other part of his footbands not without the slaughter of manie of them, dispersed and went away. The *Corfiuays* went wandring towards the armie, in so much as not onely the region of *Calabria* was left in danger, but also it was feared least the victors would aduance and addresse their forces to *Naples*. On the contrary, the affaires of the Frenchmen drew good successe and issue in *Abruzzo* by this accident, as the Bishop *Colomno* was approched within xij. miles of *Aquila* to stirre vp *Abruzzo* to commotion, he was ouerthrowne and slaine by the Abbot of *Farsa*, with whom were put to the sword iiij. hundred bodies of souldiers, and eight hundred taken prisoners. In the confines of *Caietta* the *Spaniards* went wandring and retiring, being caried with feare for the arriual of the Prince of *Melfe*, and the garrison of *Manfredonia*, through the slender valour and action of the *Venetian* bands, committed many damages without perill or resistance.

Like as the Pope perseuered still in his resolution to declare himselfe for neither partie: so the French king espying the intelligences and practises which he entertained, began to hold him for suspected, and to the Emperor he was nothing agreeable, though for no other cause, yet for that he had sent as Legate into *England* Cardinall *Campeius* to debate there the controuersie delegated to him, & to the Cardinall of *Yorke*: for, where the king of *England* solicited vehemently to haue published the inualiditie of the first mariage, the Pope hauing dealt verie liberally in words and promises with his Agents, and also being of litle fidelitie or credit with other Princes, laboured to keep himself vnder his protection: he made at last secretly a Bull decretall, by the which he pronounced the mariage to be of no force, & gaue the Bull to the Cardinall *Campeius*: he charged him withall, that in shewing it to the king and the Cardinall of *Yorke*, he should tell them that he had comission to publish it, if in iudgment the knowledge and information of the cause succeeded not well: wherein it seemed the Pope wrought vpon this ground, that both they should be brought with more facilitie to consent to haue the cause iudicially debated, and also indure with better temperance of mind the delaies and longnesse of the iudgement, which he had inioyned his Legate to hold off and prolong to as long a tract of time as he could: and as he should not deliuer the Bull vntill he had receiued new comission from him, so neuerthelesse he should labour to perswade the king by all the meanes he could, that his intention was to deliuer it vp to his hands in the end. Of this embassage in the person of that man, and of the delegation of the cause, the Emperours Embassadours that were within *Rome* complained not a litle, though with lesse

Cardinal Campeius Legate in England.

authoritie for the ill termes of his affairs in the kingdome of *Naples*.

About *Naples* manie were the difficulties happening vpon both the one and other partie but such as in all discourse of reason, made more apparant on the French side the hope of the victorie, though it was hindred by the vertue and obliuie of the enemies: within the towne of *Naples* the wants of victuals grew daily to extremities, especially of wine and flesh; a calamitie without his comfort, for that no prouision could enter the towne by sea for the impediments of the *Venetian* gallies, being after so long expectation arriued now the x. of Iune in the gulf of *Naples*, to the number of xxij. And albeit the horsmen of the towne made daily sallies out not towards the face of the armie, but to those quarters of the countrey where they thought to find victuals, by whose industrie some praies of flesh were alwaies brought in, and the whole estate of the towne somewhat releued and refreshed: yet these prouisions and comforts brought in by these aduentures, were not such as being deprived of the commoditie of the sea, they might suffice to nourish and entertaine them long. Besides, they began to grow short in monie, the stroke of the plague afflicted them much, and they had much to do to keepe entertained the Launceknights, whom they could no longer abuse with vaine hopes and promises. In which discontentment many of the went by troupes to the French armie, notwithstanding the authoritie & grace which the Prince of *Orange*, who by the death of *Doff Hugo* commanded in the place of *Viceroy* had with them, was of some force to retaine them: who the better to frame their minds with authoritie and discipline, which he could not range by lenitie and easinesse, he made prisoner Captaine *Cattaya* Gascon with many of his souldiers, being of the remainders of the regiments of the Duke of *Burbon*: and afterwards he did the like by suspicion to *Fabricio Maramo*, whom notwithstanding he set at libertie presently. On the other side diseases increased daily in the French campe, the same being the cause that *Lawtrech*, to the end not to haue so great a space or circuite to gard, would not suffer to be perfected the last trenches, which neuerthelesse could not easily be finished for the impediment of certaine waters. Besides, the campe suffred want of victuals and nouriture though more for the ill order and gouernement that was vsed, then through anie other occasion. Neuerthelesse *Monsieur Lawtrech* obseruing his owne rule and counsell, hoped more in the necessities that were within *Naples*, then he feared or doubted his proper difficulties: and perswading himself of the expedition of the victorie, either for that cause, or for their want of monie, he forbore to make anie new leauies of footmen; a matter which the whole armie desired for the vniuersall diminution which was made by death and diseases, not onely of persons meane and base, but euen of such as sate in places of authoritie, as the Popes Nuncio and *Loys Pisano* commissarie of the *Venetians*; who died in the face of the towne the xv. daie. He hoped also to allure to the campe either all or the most part of those bands of Launceknights that were within *Naples*; a practise wherein the Marquis of *Salussa* first, and afterwards himself, had reposed of long time great confidence in vaine. So that vpon these grounds, together with certaine hopes that were giuen him to draw to the armie certaine light horsmen that were within *Naples*, he forbore to make anie new leauies of light horsmen such as had bene most necessarie for the seruice, of whom if he had waged but foure hundred, he had stopped in good time the hurtfull incursions which the souldiers of the towne made so often to his disaduantage. And yet in those actions of pray and bootie, he was not without his felicitie, for that as the horsmen of *Naples* returned one day with a rich spoile of cattell, they were encountred by the blacke bands, who as they were the sinewes and strength of the armie, so without them there had bene no siege planted before the walles of *Naples*: by them the bootie was recouered from the *Neapolitans* with the losse of three score horsmen, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* issued out of the towne to rescue them. Thus *Monsieur Lawtrech* was not without hope that the Imperials would be constrained to leaue *Naples* to discretion: and therefore laying to cut them off from all retraite within *Caietta*, he gaue order to gard well *Capua*, and keepe in deuotion the sea towne of *Pulturno*: and to deprive them also of meane to retire into *Calabria*, besides that he cut off certaine passages, apt for their purpose, he recontinued the working at the trench begun so often and left off for sundrie accidents, he now raised it so high, that the springs and waters which before gaue impediment, were now beneath the worke: besides, he sought to put in defence certaine houses adioyned neare to *Naples*, and to haue them garded with a thousand footmen which he meant to leaue to that end, turning also to that seruice the fauour of the *Venetian* Gallies, which were come vp right over against

against the trench: this trench was serued aptly for that resort of victuals to the armie that came from the sea coast, and was no lesse conuenient to cut off the enemies if they returned that way with their booties: for, by reason of the great fitches and waters at *Poggio Royall* that had bene cut vp, the way from the campe to the sea contained a great and dangerous circuit. The Imperials sought to vex and hinder those that wrught at the trench, and being one day issued out in very strong troupes, the Pioners by the ordnance of *Peter Nauarre* who solicited the worke, made as though they fled, and the Imperials pursuing them more in rashnesse then in good gouernment of warre, fell vpon an ambush dressed for their destruction, wherein were hurt and slaine an hundred bodies: neuerthelesse the trench was not halfe finished, aswell for want of Pioners as by other accidents, ioined to an ordinary negligence, which oftentimes hindreth the effect of the good directions and ordenances that are giuen. In which good course of direction, if the campe had continued, manie were of opinion that considering the strait termes and condition of *Naples*, *Monsieur Lamirech* had honorably caried the towne: and at the same time was offered a faire occasion and of great consequence, if the execution had bene as resolute as the offer was ready: *Monsieur Lamirech* being informed that the souldiers of *Naples* were issued out in great troupes to go on forraging and for boote, and for that he would at one blow rid the countrey of those incursions, and open himself a way to the absolute victorie, sent out the xxv. of Iune by night, the regiment of the blacke bands, the horsemen of *Florence*, and three score French launces, with a band of *Swissers* and Launceknights, whom he directed to take the way of *Belvedere & Pedegrotto*, to encounter the forragers, & to vex them in their retire: he appointed Captaine *Burio* with the Gascon footmen to stand vpon the hill which is aboue *Grotta*, and vpon the alarme giuen, to descend and cut the enemies from entring into *Grotta*. The beginning of this exploit was well executed, and drew with it a good issue, for that the companies of *Lamirech* hauing encountered the Imperials, they charged them & put them to flight, more then three hundred bodies remaining prisoners and slaine, besides an hundred horses of seruice and great store of baggage: and in the encounter *Don Ferrand of Gonsagno* was stricken from his horse as he fought, and being made prisoner he was esoons recouered by the fury of the Launceknights: but this medley had his imperfection by Captaine *Burio*, who either through negligence which is ill, or by feare which is worse, appeared not in the place to the which he was appointed, which if he had done according to his direction, they had no doubt giuen an absolute ouerthrow to the Imperials. *Monsieur Lamirech* had also sent to *Caietta* six Gallies of the *Venetians*, and had appointed two to ride at the mouth of *Garillan* to sauour the Prince of *Melfe*. And because that notwithstanding the impediments of the Gallies, some reliefe of victuals entred into *Naples* by the fauour of certaine Frigots, he put out to the sea certaine small Barkes to oppose against the seruice of the Frigots: and lastly he gaue order that all the heards of cattel should be driuen away xv. miles compasse from *Naples*, to the end the Imperials should not with such facilitie chase the.

But now by reason of a new accident which long time before had disclosed certaine signes & tokens, the French affaires were not a litle intangled: *Andrew Dore* either by corruption and long working with him, or of his owne proper motion, which in cases of alteration carrieth men not a litle, determined to leaue the French pay, to the which he was bound till the end of Iune; a resolution which he had long time before established in his mind, as was gathered by many arguments and coniectures. In that disposition he retired to *Genes*, and would not go vp with his Gallies to the kingdome of *Naples*, no though the French king offered to make him Captaine generall of the armie by sea which he prepared at *Marseilles*: against which offer he alleaged onely his impotencie of bodie, in which raigned so manie maladies drawne on with yeares and olde age, that he was nowe no more able to beare the trauels of an armie: but the originall and first motion of this change was afterwards attributed aswell by himselfe as others, to diuerse causes: Touching himself, he complained that the French king to whom he had done faithfull seruice for the space of fife yeres, had raised to the place of high Admirall by sea *Monsieur Barbesieux*, a place which though he had refused once, yet he looked that the king would make a new instance to him to take it. Secondly, that the king had not satisfied him of the twentie thousand duckets due for his payes past, without the which he was not able to entertaine his Gallies: That he would not hearken to his iust petitions to restore to the *Genowayes* their accustomed iurisdiction of *Sanona*. And lastly, that because he vrged these petitions with importunitie, the king had

Andrew Dore
leaueth the pay
of the French.

debated in his counsell to cut off his head, as one that vsed too arrogantly his authoritie. Others were of opinion, that his ill contentment grew first from the difference & controuersies betwene him and *Ranſe de Cere* for the enterpriſe of *Sardignia*. In which contention he conſtrued againſt the king that he had with more partialitie inclined to the reportes of *Ranſe*, then ſauoured his iuſtifications: That the king had too much importuned him to deliuer vp his priſoners whom he deſired, but eſpecially the Marquis of *Guaſt*, and *Aſkanio Colonna*, as a matter of great importance, neuertheſſe offering to pay their ranſome. Theſe were the cauſes coniecturall gathered by ſtrangers: but afterwards it was both beleued and diſcerned manifeſtly, that in this reuolt he was not caried ſo much with diſdaine that the French held not reputation of him according to his merites, or with anie other propertie of ill contentment, as with an ambition and emulation to deliuer *Genes*, and ſo to make himſelf great vnder colour of the libertie of his countrey; wherein hauing no other meanes to driue his drifts to their true effect, he reſolued to follow no more the French, nor to aide them with his Gallies in the action of *Naples*, like as alſo it was beleued that to hinder the conqueſt of *Sicile*, he had aduanced and brought on the enterpriſe of *Sardignia*: ſo that hauing replenished all the thoughts of his mind with this deuice of ambition, and ſeeking to confirme it with ſome greater authoritie, he ſolicited by the interpoſing of the Marquis of *Guaſt*, to enter into the pay of the Emperour, notwithstanding the profeſſion of great hatred which for the memorie of the ſacke of *Genes* he had made manie yeres againſt the Spaniſh nation, accompanied with ſeuere cruelties executed vpon anie particulars of them when ſo euer they fell into his hands. But for that he couered his intention with a cloke of deepe art and diſſimulation, the matter was not yet come to the knowledge of the French king, who in that ignorance had not looked to remedie an euill of ſo great importance, though he was not without ſome ſuſpition of the reuolt by the occaſion of ſurpriſing a Gallie: wherein paſſed as a paſſenger into *Spaine* a *Spaniard* ſent vnder the colour to ranſome certaine priſoners, and amongſt other things was found about him a letter of credence from *Andrew Dore* to the Emperour: and yet ſuch was the ſuſpectie of the *Spaniard* or compaſſion of ſuch as had him in hand, that they ſuffred him to continue his way without examining him. At laſt *Monsieur Barbiſieux* being arriued at *Sauona* with a fleet of fourteene Gallies, *Andrew Dore* fearing ſome ſtratageme, retired with his Gallies to *Genes*, and afterwards conueyed his priſoners to *Livice*; a matter which when the French king vnderſtood by credible relation, and taſting the danger which was now become without remedie, he diſpatched to him *Peter Francis Nocere* to reduce him to his pay againe: by him the king offered him to ſatiſſie his deſire touching *Sauona*, to pay in the twentie thouſand duckets that were due before, and to giue him twentie thouſand more for the ranſome of the Prince of *Orenge* whom he had taken before, and the king ſet him afterwards at libertie at ſuch time as he made peace with the Emperour at *Madriſt*. Laſtly he offered him that in caſe he would deliuer his priſoners, he would defray their ranſome before they came out of his hands, and yet if he reſuſed to deliuer them, the king promiſed not to impute or charge againſt him his deniall. But *Andrew Dore*, whoſe reſolution was more conſtant and ſetled, then that the kings offers could remoue it, gaue ſmall care to the ſolicitation, but iuſtified with complaints his going from the king: in ſo much as *Monsieur Barbiſieux*, to the great preiudice of the affaires of *Naples*, was conſtrained by the neceſſitie of things, to ſtay at *Sauona*: and yet paſſing further afterwards, he left for the gard of *Genes* ſiue hundred footmen, with direction to remaine within ten miles of the Citie, for the rage of the plague that raigned there: and for the ſame ſeruice he put on land thirty miles from *Genes* twelue hundred Launceknights newly arriued, who as they had receiued their firſt pay of the French men, ſo for that the *Venetians* had not made good the ſecond according to their bond, *Triunſce* gouernour of *Genes* was driuen to leaue it by his meanes.

Vpon this reuolting of *Andrew Dore*, the Pope being aduertified that he entertained pracliſe with the Emperour, ſignified the ſame to *Lawtrech* the xxj. of Iune, whom he required to conſent that he might retaine him in his pay, to the end to deprive the Emperour of his ſeruiſe, aſſuring him that *Phillip Dore* ſhould depart from *Naples* within ten daies: for which cauſe *Monsieur Lawtrech* reſtored to *Phillip* for that he would not kindle or incenſe him, the Secretarie *Serenon*, whom he had alwaies retained with him, to the end to come by his meane to the knowledge and light of manie things that lay in darknes and ſhadow: and yet for the ſuſpition he had conceiued of the Pope, he interpreted ſiniſterly the aduertisement he had ſent him. At laſt *Andrew*

Dore

Dore, notwithstanding that *Barbiseux* in passing further with his armie by sea containing nineteene Gallies, two Foystes, and foure Brigantins, assisted with the person of the Prince of *Nauarre*, had spoken with him: yet forbearing to floake or dissemble any longer the thing he intended to do, he dispatched a gentleman to the Emperour in the company of the generall of Grayfrears, who was now created Cardinall, and was sent to the Emperor from the Pope: there was resolved with this Gentleman a contract bearing these couenants: The liberty of *Genes* to be vnder the protection of the Emperour: the iurisdiction of *Sauona* to remaine to the *Genowaies*: Pardon to *Andrew Dore* that had bene so great a persecutor of the Spanish name: Entertainement in the Emperours seruice with twelue Gallies, and threescore thousand duckets by the yeare, with manie other articles verie honorable. In regard of this league, *Phillip* departed the fourth day of Iulie from before *Naples* with all his Gallies: whose going away was nothing prejudiciall to the French but onely in reputation, for that he had of late not only made ill gard, but also had suffered his Brigantins to conuey into *Naples* by stealth, certaine proportions of reliefe. He had also caried the sonne of *Antho. de Lena* to *Caietta*, and was a backe for manie daies to the forraigers to passe victuals into *Naples*: but if he had followed that seruice with the same fidelitie he shewed in the beginning, his going away had bene very hurtfull to their affaires. *Monsieur Lawtrech* taking occasion vpon his departing, solicited so much the more the comming of the French armie, which according to the Popes ordinance was stayed with great indiscretion about the action of *Ciuitaneccchia*.

Couenants between the Emperour & Andrew Dore,

But for the retiring of *Phillip* with his Gallies, the *Venetian* armie by sea who had taken the charge of the worke from the sea shore vntill they met with the trenches of *Peter Nauarre*, was driuen to leaue that action, and apply to the gard and seruice of the sea: which to the end to hold more strait and inclosed, there were appointed certaine armed Frigots to scoure day and night the coast: vsing likewise a greater diligence by land, in opposing against the daily incursions of the *Spaniards*, whom notwithstanding when they encountred, their valour was turned into feare, and in that feare they fled away without fighting: in so much as *Naples* was reduced to an extreme necessitie, and the Launceknights protested oftentimes to go away if they had not speedie succours both of monie and victuals. By reason wherof *Monsieur Lawtrech*, who had reposed a great confidence in those operations, perswaded himself, that for the long practise and intelligence he had holden with them, they would in those disorders and wants passe daily to his army.

But the fifteenth day of Iuly all the Fleet of the *Venetian* Gallies except those that were about *Caietta*, returned into *Calabria* to be reuictualled of Bisket: by whose going away the haueu being laid open, manie Frigots passed into *Naples* with victuals of all sorts except wine; a reliefe comming in a time apt, for that within *Naples* there was not so much store of corne as would last till the end of Iuly. And on the other side, in the campe which was filled full of the plague by the infection of such as came out of *Naples*, maladies and diseases increased greatly: which respecting neither place, authoritie, nor complexion, so touched *Monsieur Vaudemont* that he bare more likelyhood of death then hope of life, and reduced *Monsieur Lawtrech* into great maladies: by whose absence and restraining for the sicknesse he suffered, the seruice declined to such disorder, that the Imperials had leasure to execute their incursions without impediment, and with the same facilitie cut off the victuals that came to the armie, reducing the whole campe to great wants of reliefe: and yet much lesse that the French could be brought to leaue new companies of light horsemen, seeing in these disorders *Valerio Vrsin* being in the pay of the *Venetians* with an hundred light horsemen, went from the army, for that he was not payed, by whose example manie other companies of light horsemen left the seruice for want of pay, and the residue were made vnprofitable by reason of diseases. The men at armes of the French were bestowed in garrison in the places thereabout: and the bands of the *Gascons* being dispersed into seuerall places of the countrey, were busie in gathering in of haruest and seeking pray and bootie. Neuerthelesse there was great hope in certaine bandes of footmen which were said to come with the armie by sea, which armie hauing stayed more then twentie daies after they parted from the port of *Limorno*, arriued at last the eighteenth of Iuly, with manie gentlemen and money to comfort the campe: onely this supply brought to the armie but eight hundred footmen, the residue that marched with it remayning bestowed partly for the gard of *Genes*; and partly to follow the enterprise of the Castell of *Ciuitaneccchia*. At the comming of these succours

Many difficulties in the french armie.

Monsieur Lawirech hauing sent to the sea side bands of souldiers to receiue the monie that *Nas* brought, the Gallies could not come to land for the impediment of the sea that was greiv and swelled with waters: and therefore the next day the Marquis of *Salussa* returned thither againe with his Launces, and with a grosse regiment of *Gascons*, *Swissers*, and Launceknights, accompanied with the blacke bands, but in their returning they were encountred by the Imperials being issued out of *Naples* in great troupes, who gaue so furious a charge vpon the French horsemen, that they turned their backs, and in flying they so shaked and trode their footmen, that they disordered them whom they should haue defended. In this encounter *Don Hugo de Popoli* succeeding by the death of *Horatio Bullento* to the gouernment of the *Floremine* bands, being set on foot with fortie harquebuziers before the elquadron of the blacke bands, became prisoner to the horsemen: yea such was the furie of the Imperials, that if the valour of the blacke bands had not retained them, they had in this medley made a great slaughter, for that they fought with a wonderfull resolution, but chiefly the horsemen: there were left dead of the French men more then an hundred bodies, and no lesse number passed ouer to the calamitie of prisoners, amongst whom were manie of the gentlemen of the sea armie that were set on land: and also *Monsieur de Candales* nephew to the Marquis of *Salussa*: onely the monie was preserued, and sent in safetie to the campe. The fault of this disorder was laid vpon the French horsemen, being farre inferiour in valour to the enemies; a matter which did not a litle diminish the vertue of the footmen of the armie, as knowing that now they could not stand assured of rescue in the horsemen: but the matter that most endomaged and weakned the armie, was the sicknesse of *Monsieur Lawirech*, who albeit laboured with the vertue of his mind and courage to sustaine and beare out the feeblenesse of his bodie, yet being not able with his hand and presence to assist adions, he could not prouide and remedie manie things that went to declination: for the Imperials taking liberty to make rodes abroad, did not only make purueiance of all things they stood in need of except wine which they could carie, but also in that libertie they cut from the armie oftentimes the resort of victuals and nouriture, taking their baggage and forrage euen vpon their ramparts, and winning their horses sometimes as they were led to the watering: in so much as besides the generall diminition of the armie by diseases, euen things necessary began to faile in the campe, which was almost reduced of an armie besieging, to a campe besieged, if they had not seene to the garding of the passages against the footmen that ran away. And of the contrary, within *Naples* all commodities and hopes increased, the Launceknights mutined no more, and all the other bands of souldiers in glorie and emulation stroue to suffer and endure. With these dangers no lesse manifest then still increasing, the obstinacie of *Monsieur Lawirech* was at last vanquished, who both had sent into *France* to be supplied with sixe thousand footmen by sea, and also had dispatched *Ranse de Cere* being come with the armie by sea, towards *Aquila*, to leaue foure thousand footmen and sixe hundred horsemen, giuing him assignation for monie to the treasurer of *Aquila* and *Abruzzas*: which supplies as *Ranse* vnderooke by promise to bring to the campe within few daies, so they would haue serued better for the aduancement of the affaires, if they had bene prepared before. By the xxix. day the wayes and straites were so broken, that there was no suretie of passage to *Capua* which lay vpon the backe of the armie, and wherein almost all sorts of people laboured of diseases and sicknesse: *Monsieur Lawirech* who somewhat before had bene eased of his feauer, was est soones fallen into it againe, with a more infirmity and danger then before: the men at armes were almost all dispersed in the villages, either for diseases and sicknes indeed, or at least to refresh them vnder such an excuse: the regiments and bands of footmen were almost reduced to nothing: and within the towne of *Naples* both the plague abating, and other diseases diminishing, by which helps there were as yet 7000. footmen strong, there was feare least they would sally out & inuade the campe. In which regard *Monsieur Lawirech* caused to tarie the five hundred footmen which *Ranse de Cere* had sent after the ouerthrow of *Simon Roman*, to the end to stop that the bands of enemies who were in *Calabria*, came not vpon towards *Naples*: he sent also to leaue a thousand footmen in the countrey thereabout: he retayned the Duke of *Nola* with two hundred light horsemen, and *Rinuccio Farnese* with an hundred, whome they promised to bring to him soorthwith: he sent for backe againe two hundred Estradiots of the *Venetians*, who were gone to the enterprise of *Tarenta*: he reuoked vpon great penalties all the men at armes that were whole and able: he solicited daily the coming

coming of *Ranſe*, and haſtened (albeit very late) with a great vehemency and efficacie all other prouiſions. By the ſecond day of Auguſt there were ſcarcely in the French campe an hundred horſe, by reaſon of which diminution the Imperials made dayly incurſions euen vp to their trenches: they tooke all aduantages of their weakneſſe, and omitted no oportunitie which their diſorders or diſturbation offered to them: they won *Somma*, performing the exploit by the ayd of ſcaling ladders, and they ſacked it, finding within it a company of men at armes and a cornet of light horſemen. By theſe actions growing on to extremities, *Monsieur Lawirech* ſeeing himſelfe almoſt beſieged, ſolicited *Monsieur Saint Pol* to ſend him ſuccours of men by ſea, and called vpon the *Florentins* to turne to his reſcue the two thouſand footemen whom they had leuiued to ſend to *Saint Pol*, which they conſented to readily: *Monsieur Candales* who was let go vpon his faith, was dead in the campe. The Prince of *Nauarre*, *Damdemont*, *Camillo Triunice*, and the olde and new maiſters of campe, were ſicken ſicke: *Lawirech* was eſtſoones fallen into the pangs of his feuer, all the Embaſſadours were ſicke, all the Secretaries paſſed by maladies; and all perſonages of account were kept ſuppreſſed by the diſeaſes of the campe, except the Marquis of *Saluſſa* and the Count *Guido*: yea there was ſcarcely to be found through the whole campe a body who could boaſt of his ſoundneſſe: the hands of footemen periſhed miſerably of hunger, and almoſt all the ceſternes being drawne dry, there was an vniuerſall want of water; ſuch were the diſorders of the campe by theſe afflictions, and much more redoubled by omiſſion and negligence, that all action was taken from the army, other then to ſtand vpon their gards and defend their campe, abiding the comfort of the reſcue. After this, the *Spaniards* brake vp the water conduit of *Poggia Royall*, and notwithstanding it was eſtſoones recouered, yet they could make no uſe of it without great daunger. *Monsieur Lawirech* expected within two dayes the Duke of *Somma* with fiſteene hundred footmen, and with the ſame expedition he looked for the bands of horſemen and footmen of the Abbot of *Farſa*, which he had ſent for ſince he had giuen the defeate to the Biſhop of *Colomo*.

About this time and in theſe extremities returned the gallies of the *Venetiens*, very ill armed and appointed, and ſo ſlenderly furniſhed with victuals and prouiſions, that to get meate and nouriture conuenient for their feeding, they were driuen to runne all along the ſea ſhores thereabout, and by that occaſion had no care to gard the port of *Naples*: but the *Spaniards* in whom was equall their inſolency and their fortune, being returned the eight day to *Somma*, made pillage of it of new, and tooke away with them all the reſidue of the horſe which Count *Guido* had there in gariſon: they charged alſo the eſkort or gard of the French victuals, who were two hundred Launceknights, and they flying in their cowardiſe into two houſes, yeelded their liues to diſcretion. By reaſon of theſe incurſions and felicities of the Imperials, the ſouldiers that kept the campe were oftentimes without meate to eate; a calamitie of all others moſt wretched, when is wanting foode to feede the body which ſtands to defend his life. All their incommodities were made greater by the huge circuit of place where the army was incamped, which property of error as it was diſcerned in the beginning, ſo the daunger redoubling by the fauour of the place, their eyes beheld a miſerable conſuming of their ſouldiers euerie day by the neceſſity of too much action: and yet *Monsieur Lawirech* ſtanding firmly vpon the hope and dayly expectation of ſuccours, could not be brought to reſtraine it or make it leſſe, who albeit in his owne perſon he was not well reſtored, yet in that weakneſſe of body he tooke paine to viſite the whole campe to maintaine due order of watch and ward, fearing to be inuaded. But ſo ſwiftly did things runne to declining, that by the fiſteenth day the great uiſſance and valour of the Imperiall horſemen had cut off all reſort and entercourſe betweene the campe and the gallies, neither could the ſouldiers of the campe, for want of the ſeruice of horſemen, make any incurſion, or do exploits beneficiall. Euerie night the alarme was giuen to the campe twiſe or thrice, in ſo much as the ſouldiers waſted with ſo manie paynes and incommodities, were not able to fend out ſuch eſkort for victuals as was needfull: but the thing that amid ſo many calamities, made them moſt diſcomforted, was the death of *Monsieur Lawirech*, yeelding vp his life the ſame night, vpon whom *The death of* authoritie and vertue all the counſels and actions of that ſeruice depended, and in whole *Monsieur* perſon ſtood repreſented the hope and expectation of that warre. It was thought he *Lawirech* fell into the relapſe of his diſeaſe, by the continuall paynes he put his bodie vnto before it was well confirmed.

The whole charge and gouvernement of the campe remained now in the person of the Marquis of *Saluffa*, a man whole weaknesse made him vnable to manage well so great an authoritie: and in this daily increasing of the French disorders, *Andrew Dore* with twelue gallies arrived at *Caietta* as souldier to the Emperour, the same reducing the French Navy to such straits, that they began to make no more so good gard as they had wont. At that time also the Count of *Sarny* with a thousand Spanish footmen, tooke *Sarny*, expulſing three hundred footmen that were there in garrison: and afterwards marching by night the xxij. of August, with a greater force to *Nola*, he tooke it, and droue *Valerio Vrsin* lying there in garrison to retire into the Castell, alleaging for his excuse that he was deceived by the men of the countrey: he sent to demaund rescue of the Marquis of *Saluffa*, who sent him a strength of two thousand footmen, but carying with them the ordinary infelicity of the campe, they marched towards the place by night, they were set vpon by the bands of *Naples*, and cut in peeces. The xxij. day the campe being both naked of men and voyd of gouernment, stood enterayned only with hope of the coming of *Ranſe*, who being as yet in *Naples*, was not wished to light on for the taking of *Naples*, nor in hope to be able to make any resistance in that place where they were incamped, but only that by a greater strength they might breake vp and leaue the siege. By this time *Monsieur Vandemont* was dead, and the Marquis of *Saluffa*, Count *Guido*, Count *Hugo*, and *Peter of Nauarre* extremely afflicted with sicknesse: in which generall persecution of the French campe, *Maramo* to the ende to depriue them wholly of foode and victuals, issued out of *Naples* with foure hundred footmen, and finding *Capua* almost abandoned, entred into it, by whose coming thither, the Frenchmen forsaking *Pozzolo*, bestowed the garrison that was there within *Auerſa*; a place of very speciall importance for the campe. But when *Capua* and *Nola* were lost, the army was at a maze where to seeke victuals to containe the bodies which the stroke of diseases had yet left alieue: so that their extremities making them no longer to hold good, and the rage of their necessities carying them necessarily to obey the aduersity of the time, they resolved to embrace their last shift, & brake vp by night to retire to *Auerſa*: but the Imperials keeping a iealous eye vpon their lodgings, & hauing good informatiō of their dislodging, set vpon them, & ouerthrew them in the way, where being taken *Peter Nauarre* with many other chieftaines and personages of condition, the Marquis of *Saluffa* escaped, and retired with one part of the army into *Auerſa*: but being pursued no lesse by his owne infelicity then by the valor of the Imperials, & being reduced to an estate not to maintaine defence, he sent out of *Auerſa* Count *Guido Rangon* to parley with the Prince of *Orſe*, betweene whom ran these capitulations: That aswell he as the other Captaines should remaine prisoners, except Count *Guido*, to whom in recompence of the accord, was granted liberty: That the Marquis should do all that he could with the Frenchmen and *Venetians* for the rending & giuing vp of the whole kingdom: That the souldiers and such as by the accord were to haue liberty, should leaue their Ensignes, their armes, their houses, and their goods, granting only to those that were of greatest quality, the seruice of moyles and curtals: That the *Italian* souldiers should not beare armes against the Emperour for six moneths. In this sort all bands and regiments were defeated, all Captaines cut off by death, or made prisoners in flying, or at least taken in the accord. *Auerſa* was sacked by the army Imperial, who afterwards retired to *Naples* & demanded viij. paies. *Ranſe* who the day following was drawne neare to *Capua* with the Prince of *Messe* & the Abbot of *Farfa*, hearing of the accident and aduenture of the army, returned into *Abruzzza*, which countrey only together with certaine peeces in *Pomilla* and *Calabria*, held good for the Confederates.

This was the issue and euent of the enterpriſe of the kingdome of *Naples*, disordered by manie causes, but guided by his last error by two principall reasons: the one, for the maladies and diseases engendred partly by the cutting away of the water conduits of *Poggio* royall to depriue them within *Naples* of the meane and vsage of grinding: for, when the waters were disperſed all over the playnes, and hauing no issue, were driuen to stand still and gather mudde, they so corrupted the ayre, that the Frenchmen by nature intemperate and impatient of heate, fell into maladies, and they in time were turned into the nature of the plague, whose contagion was caried into the body of the army by certaine that were infected, who were expelly sent out of *Naples*. The other error was, that *Monsieur Lamirech* who had drawne out of *Fraunce* all the best experienced Captaines of that nation, was too singular in his owne hope and weening: and not remembering what litle honor it brought to him at such time as he lay at the defence of the estate of *Millan*, to

write

Capitulations
of the Marquis
of *Saluffa* with
the Imperials.

write to his king that he would stay the enemies for passing the riuer of *Adda*, he had now in the same partiality since the siege of *Naples*, assured his king by sundry letters, that he would not leaue his campe from before the wals of *Naples*, till he had honorably caried the victory of the towne. By which property of errour and selfe promise, for that he would not be reprocued of his word and iudgement, he stood obstinate not to leaue the siege, contrary to the counsell of his other Captaines, who seeing the campe full of maladies & infection, perswaded him alwayes to retire in safety to *Capua* or to some other place of refreshing; the rather for that hauing in his hands & deuotion almost all the kingdome, much lesse that he could haue wanted either victuals or mony, seeing he might with facility haue consumed the Imperials, to who all things were lacking.

During these proceedings in the realme of *Naples*, the affaires of *Lombardy* were not without The proceedings of Monsieur Saint Pol in Lombardy. trauell and diuersity of fortune, for that after *Monsieur Saint Pol* had assembled his forces and made prouision of victuals, he tooke beyond *Pau* certaine townes and burroughes, commanded before by *Anthony de Leua*, who the third of August was gone to *Torretta*, laboring to gather into *Millan* so great prouisions of victuals as he could, for that thorough the whole estate of *Millan*, the haruests were so poore and barren, that it was thought there were scarcely sufficient victuals to feede for eight moneths the mouthes that were in the countrey: afterwards he retired to *Marignan* being not able for want of money to abide long time in that place. At this time the Duke of *Urbino* was at *Brescia*, and *Saint Pol* at *Newcastell* in *Tortono*, from whence being come to *Plaisance*, they met and had conference together at *Monticella* vpon the riuer of *Pau*, where it was resolu'd that the armies should vnite and assemble about *Loda*: from thence *Saint Pol* passed the riuer of *Pau* neare to *Cremona*, they of *Plaisance* suffering him without resistance to conuert the barkes that were there to the vse of a bridge: and therefore *Anthony de Leua* who had at his deuotion the bridge of *Cassan*, *Carnaggia*, and *Treny*, brake downe the bridge and abandoned the places of *Guaradadda*, like as he had before abandoned *Nonaro*: only he had bestowed within *Pania*, seuen hundred footmen, and fife hundred within *Saint Angeo*: *Monsieur Saint Pol* had in estate and payment foure hundred launces, 500 light horsemen, and fiftene hundred Launceknights, but in number and true muster farre lesse, both through his owne negligence and deceit of his officers: for these forces and other companies of *Swissers* and Launceknights which were expected, the *Venetians* had agreed to pay for euery moneth twelue thousand duckats, to *Monsieur Saint Pol*, who had also at *Turea* three hundred *Swissers* entertained and payed for nine hundred, and three thousand footmen French: the *Venetians* had three hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and six thousand footmen: and with the Duke of *Millan* were more then two thousand footmen of choise: *Anth. de Leua* had foure thousand Launceknights, a thousand *Spaniards*, three thousand *Italians*, and three hundred light horsemen: the regiments of the confederates passed the riuer of *Adda*, and ioyned their forces together the two and twentieth of August, *Anthony de Leua* being yet at *Marignan*: from that place the Duke of *Urbino* sent, to *Saint Angeo* a strength of three thousand footmen, and three hundred light horsemen with six cannons, vnder the conduct of *Iohn Naldo*, who as he was incamping was slaine with a bullet from the artilleries, for reuenge of whose death the Duke went thither in person & carried the towne. The fife & twentieth of August, the army of the confederates lodged at *Saint Zenon* vpon the riuer of *Ambra*, which is within two miles and an halfe of *Marignan*: the seuen and twentieth day they passed ouer *Ambra*, and drew neare to *Marignan*: the *Spaniards* at their approaching retired within *Marignan* to an old rampart, & after they had skirmished many howers, they issued and spread themselues at large, making as though they would either giue, or take the battel: but after the artilleries had plaied on both sides the space of an hower, by which time the night drew on, they retired within *Marignan* and *Riozzo*, and at the lodging or planting of the campe they assaulted it brauely. The day after *Anthony de Leua* made his retraite with all his companies to *Millan*, & the Confederates went to *Landriano*: there they tooke counsell whether they should attempt to force *Millan*, and during the action of that consultation, the army marched with intention to enter the towne of *Millan* by surprize, which enterprize was broken by a great abundance of raine, which making the wayes heauy and troublesome, stopped them for going to the gate of *Verceill*, where they should haue entred: but seeing that exploit frustrate, and the deuice disappointed, wherein they were more confirmed of the impossibility of the action, by the relation of a Gentleman whom they sent to take a view of *Millan*, they determined to go incampe before

The taking of
Genes by An-
drew Dore.

Pania by the way of *Biagrasa*: both for that there remained no other nature of action for the army, and also for the hope they had to cary it easily, hauing no greater a strength to defend it then two hundred Launc knights and eight hundred *Italians*. Thus keeping that way they sent out beyond the riuer of *Thefin*, certaine bands of footmen, which tooke *Vigenena*: and the ninth of September *Monsieur Saint Pol* arriued at *Saint Alexis* within three miles of *Pania*, where both the armies approching neare together, there came an aduertisement that put them in a greater astonishment: for, the plague being great in *Genes*, for feare of whose infection the towne being almost left abandoned of inhabitants and souldiers, in which generall confusion *Theodor Triunice* gouernor of the towne, being retired into the Castell: *Andrew Dore* tooke the aduantage of that occasion and drew neare the towne with certaine gallies, hauing neuerthelesse a very slender hope to force it, for that he had with him but fise hundred footemen. But as where the feare is generall there the minds & courages are least assured, so the French Nauy that roade in the haven, fearing least their way to returne into *Fraunce* would be closed vp, left without care or gard the matters of *Genes*, and hoysed sayle to go to *Sauona*, the first vessell that arriued there, being the gallee of *Monsieur Barbascieux*: so that both for the weak forces of souldiers that were within the City, notwithstanding *Theodor* was returned to keepe the pallace, and for that the people and commons for the iniury of the liberty done to the towne of *Sauona*, were become enemies to the name of the French, *Andrew Dore* made his entry into the towne finding made against him no great resistance: such was his ambition and so strong and violent his appetite of dominion, that the plague which forced the naturall inhabitants to leaue their patrimony and place of abiding, had not power to make him timorous to enter, where the others in their feare fled from the infection. But this foule losse of the city hapned chiefly by the negligence and too much securitie of the French king: for, both not looking that the matters of *Naples* would so speedily fall to ruine, and also being perswaded that in all accidents the retraite of the Nauy to *Genes* and the neighbourhood of *Monsieur Saint Pol*, would suffice either to saue or rescue, he omitted to make necessary prouisions: *Theodor* who was retired within the Castell, demanded succours of *Saint Pol*, whom he put in hope to reconquer the towne, if there were sent to him forthwith a strength of three thousand footmen: which demand being consulted vpon amongst the Captaines confederate, the Frenchmen shewed a disposition to go thither presently with the whole campe. But the Duke of *Urbino* proued, that to provide boates to make a bridge vpon *Paw*, and to leauy necessary proportions of victuals, was a matter which would draw a longer tract of time then the present businesse required: so that according to his counsell it was determined that *Monsieur Montlani* should turne from *Alexandria* to *Genes*, a regiment of three thousand Launc knights and *Swissers* who were come out of *Fraunce* to the army of *Saint Pol*, & were arriued at *Alexandria*: but in case they would not be led thither, then the resolution bore, that they should be led to the campe, & in their places should be dispatched and bestowed a colony of three thousand others: & that as in the meane while there should be made labor and practise to presse *Pania*: so the *Venetians* promised, that if the enterprise of *Pania* sayled, they would conuert to the succours of *Genes* all their companies, so farre forth as they might dwell assured of the affaires on that side.

Thus was resolved and continued the siege of *Pania*, & the better to aduance it to a good end & issue, there were planted the xiiij. day on this side the riuer of *Thefin* in the plaine there below, nine cannons which executed vpon a bastillion adioyning to the arsenacke or storehouse for munitions, which in few howers was reduced almost to ruine, and beyond the riuer of *Thefin* were braked three cannons to beate (when the assalt should be giuen) a flanke that answered the arsenacke: and vpon a litle hill side on this side *Thefin* were bestowed fise cannons which commanded two other bastillions: & vpon the point of the sayd litle hill were bestowed three other cannons which plaied vpon the wal: all which fury of artilleries beloged to the *Venetians*, reseruing the great shot of *M. Saint Pol* to beate vpon the defences. By the day following *Amyball* Captaine of *Cremona* was come with a trench as far as the ditch of the bastillion on that side of the arsenacke, of which two parts were already so reuerfed to the earth, that the soldiers that were within, had almost abandoned it: this day was slaine with a bullet fro the artilleries, *Malatesta Soplano*, one of the Captaines of the *Venetians*: and after the artilleries had plaied with a continuall execution all the day and night following, the army was raunged and prepared to giue the assalt, most part of the wall on all sides of the three bastillions, being made euen with the earth. But when in the morning

morning following they went about to draine the water out of the ditches, they found so great a resistance by the foundation of the wall, that they consumed there all that day and the day following, by which occasion the assault was prolonged till the xix. day, when the ditch was almost cleared of all the water. By this the bastillion at the corner being wonne by the first appearing of the day, they began to giue the assault, & deuiding their companies into three, the first action appertained to *Anthony de Castello* with the *Venetian* regiments, the second to *Monsieur de Loggers*, leading the souldiers of *Saint Pol*, and the last to the Captaine of *Cremona*, commaunding the regiments of the Duke of *Millan*, being twelue hundred footemen. The person of the Duke of *Vrbino* came on foote with two hundred men at armes, and affronted the bastillions, which made a valiant defence for more then two houres, vnder the valour of two hundred Launceknights and eight hundred *Italians*, with a very few *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding in the actiō they shewed great courage and resolution, yet for the smallnesse of their numbers they defended their bodies with great hazard and difficultie, the rather for the rage of the artilleries planted beyond *Thesin*, which alwayes executed vpon the principall part or flower of the ramparts. In the assault *Peter Biraguo* was hurt in the thigh with a shot of a harquebuz, of which wound albeit he dyed with in few dayes after, yet he would not haue his body removed from the place, to the end his souldiers should not abandon the assault. In like sort was wounded with a harquebuz *Peter Boticello*, but with more fauour for that he dyed not, and with lesse shew of constancie for that he retired from the assault: they were both Captaines of the Duke of *Millan*. At last within xxij. houres the assailants by their valour made their entry with smal hurt to themselves, & right great commendation to the Duke of *Vrbino*. The slaughter of the souldiers within, was about 700 bodies, almost all Launceknights. But whē the army begā to enter the towne, *Galeas Biraguo* being no longer able to preserue the place which he saw by all properties of destinie to decline frō him, retired into the Castell with all the souldiers that remained of the slaughter of the assault, together with many inhabitants of the towne, which immediatly was deliuered to the sacke & spoiling, though of little profit, by reason it had passed that afflictiō twise before. The castel was receiued by cōpositiō without any assault or exploit of war, both for that there were in the camp no munitiōs to batter it, and also the ditches which were both large & deep were not in so short time to be filled vp, and lastly there were within it a regiment of fise hundred men of warre strong. These were the capitulations between the armie and the castell: That the *Spaniards* with all those sorts of artilleries and munitions which they could carie in their hands, and with all their trayne of baggage, should go to *Millan* together with the Launceknights, of whom was left of the general slaughter a verie small number: And that the *Italians* might go whither they would, except to *Millan*.

Vpon the taking of *Pausia*, the Duke of *Vrbino* gaue out his reasons, that it were not good to force *Millan*, vnlesse they had an armie sufficient for two batteries: but to the end to vex it and restraine it, he thought it good to take *Biagrassa*, *Saint George*, *Monce*, *Coma*, and to minister succours to *Genes*: for, notwithstanding the Launceknights and *Swissers* had made answer to *Monsieur de Millan* that they would go to *Genes*, yet the Launceknights taking the occasiō that they were not payd, went away to *Turea*, by which alteratiō there was no propertie of succours sent to the castell which *Andrew Dore* laboured to vndermine with all diligence: for which cause and to apply a remedie so necessarie, *Monsieur S. Pol* with an hundred Launces and two thousand footmē remaining with him, prepared the xxvij. day to go to the succors of *Genes*: he passed *Pau* at *Porto Stella* in the mouth of the riuer of *Thesin*, & drew towards *Tortono*, with promise to turne backe againe, if he saw his succours could not be made profitable to the place: All this while the Duke of *Vrbino*, stayed for him at *Pausia*, and with him were foure thousand footemen *Venetians*, and a thousand of the regiments of the Duke of *Millan*. At this time *Anthoine de Lusa* who was retired to *Millan*, made an order that no mā should keepe or make any meale in their houses, except such as had redeemed & bought the tribute of it; who payed vnto him for the space of nine moneths, three duckats for euery measure of meale. With the money growing of this imposition, he payed for all that time the horsemen, & the footemen *Spanish* and Launceknights; a contribution which did not onely defend him frō the danger present, but did entertaine him all the winter following, hauing disperfed his regiments of *Italian* footemen within *Nouaro* & certaine townes of *Lomelino*, with other villages of the territories of *Millan*, in which wretched townes he gaue suffrance to the souldiers during the whole time of the winter, to spoyle & raunfom the miserable

inhabitants: the first day of October *M. saint Pol* arrived at *Gany* a place within xxv. miles of *Genes* having for his better expedition, left his artilleries at *Nou*: the day following he took the rocke of the borough of *Fornaro*, but passing further towards *Genes*, & vnderstanding there, was entred a new strength of seuen hundred footmen *Corsekays*, he returned with bones to the borough of *Fornaro*: such was his want of monie, that he had not with him, ~~more~~ ^{scarcely} aboute foure thousand footmen aswell of his owne as of the companies of *Monti Ian*, and a thousand who had bene sent from the campe with *Nicholas Dore*: and yet of those few that were with him, many troupes passed continually into *France*, which making him dispaire of the successe of the enterprise, he dispatched *Monti Ian* with three hundred footmen to *Sauona*, before which towne the *Genowaies* were incamped: but there was no meane for them to enter, both for that it was restrained and inuironed with trenches, and all the passages and places of access taken. The x. of October he retired himselfe within *Alexandria*, and afterwards to *Senazzaro* betweene *Alexandria* and *Pauia*, to haue conference with the Duke of *Vrbino*: onely he was almost left without souldiers: and there consulting vpon the common affaires, where the Duke declared that there was remaining but foure thousand footmen of all nations and natures, and that *Ambo. de Lena* had what without and within *Millan* foure thousand Launceknights strong, fixe hundred *Spaniards*, and xiiij. hundred *Italians*. It was resolved that the Duke should retire to *Pauia*, and *Saint Pol* to *Alexandria*; a matter accorded vnto him by the Duke of *Millan*: there were also occupied speeches and deuises to make new leauies of footmen, and then if the time fauoured, to aduance to execute the enterprise of *Biagrasa*, *Mortaro*, and the Castell of *Nonaro*.

But when the inhabitants of *Sauona* saw that *Monti Ian* could not enter for their succours, they agreed amid so many distresses, to render the towne the xxj. of October, if within certaine daies they were not rescued: and therefore *Saint Pol* who was carefull to relecue it, and not hauing of his owne companies aboute a thousand footmen strong, required a supply of three thousand footmen of the Duke of *Vrbino* and *Millan*, who furnished him but with xij. hundred: inso-much as having no assurance to be able to rescue it with so small a number, he suffered it to be lost: and after the *Genowaies* had it, they shaked the hauen with stones, for that they would make it vnprofitable to seruice: and by the example of that aduersitie, *Theoder Triunlce* despairing to be succoured, and being without money and comfort, gaue himselfe vp to composition. As soone as the Castell was conquered, it was in a popular furie raised by the *Genowaies*, who with the authoritie of *Andrew Dore* established in that citie a new gouernment, such as had bene affore time solicited vnder the name of libertie: this was the substance of it: that by the counsell of foure hundred citizens should be created all the Magistrates and dignities of their citie, but chiefly the Duke and supreme Magistrate, to continue for two yeares: they abrogated the law, by the which the gentlemen were excluded before out of that creation: & seeing the foundation and ground of greatest importance rested in this, to establish their libertie, that they should presently labour to reconcile the factiōs & diuisions of the citizens, which of long time had bene there more great & hurtfull then in anie other citie of *Italy*, being besides contentions priuate, there had raged for long time the factions of *Guelfes* and *Gebelins*: to deface the emulation betweene the gentlemen and populars, which populars were not yet reduced to one vnitie of will amongst themselves: and lastly to reappease the mightie and strong partialitie and controuersie betweene the two families of *Adorney* and *Fregosey*. By reason of which diuisions it was likely that their citie, most conuenient to command the sea aswell for the situation as for the science and knowledge of marine matters, had not bene onely at seuerall seasons vexed and depressed, but also for long time had bene kept vnder a crosse of continuall subiection: therefore to cure that euill euen to the root, they proceeded by obscuring the names of all the families and houses of the citie, conferring and retaining onely the memorie and name of xxviij. of the most noble and notable, except the *Adorneis* and *Fregoseis*, which they vtterly suppressed and abolished: vnder the name and number of which families, they gathered all those gentlemen and populars who remained without name of their houses: wherein the better to confound the memorie of all factions, they sought to intangle and intermedle the families of the gentlemen with the houses of the populars, and reciprocally the names of the populars with the gentlemen: such as had bene partners with the *Adorneys*, they coupled with those that had followed the name of the *Fregosey*, and so of the contrary, establishing vnder that commixtion of houses and names, an equall affinitie betweene both:

New gouern-
ment establi-
shed in Genoa.

both: and as by this law it was ordained that there should be no distinction of power to hinder the one more then the other to aspire to honours and magistracies: so by this confusion of names and men they hoped, that within the course of a few yeares, the poisoned memorie of factions and quarrels would be vtterly defaced and quenched: and in the meane while the authoritie of *Andrew Dore* remained great amongst them, without whose consent and priuit both for the reputation of the man, and for the authoritie of the Emperours gallies which he commanded, and for his other conditons and parts, they would not passe anie deliberation of things which were of greatest importance: onely the thing which made his puillance and greatnesse lesse troublesome, was, that he would neither suffer the treasure to be administred with his ordenance, nor intrude himselfe into the election of the Duke and other magistrates; and much lesse communicate in causes more particular and lesse: by which maner of behaiour the citizens being reduced to minds peaceable, became more inclined to marchandize then to ambition, and retaining still impressions of their trauels and subiections passed, they had great reason to loue and follow that forme of gouernment. After this the French fleet and the nauie of *Andrew Dore* buckled together betweene *Monaro* and *Nice*, where one of *Dore's* gallies was sunke.

After the losse of *Sauona*, the Duke of *Vrbino*, and *Monsieur saint Pol*, met together of new at *Senaro* betweene *Alexandria* and *Pania*: where the Duke of *Vrbino* to the great discontentment of *Francis Sforce* and *Monsieur saint Pol*, resolved to repasse on the other side the riuier of *Adda*, both leauing to the Duke of *Millan* the gard of *Pania*, and counselling *Monsieur saint Pol* to spend the winter in *Alexandria*: with which alterations the French kings officers were not onely discontented, but also himselfe not taking for payment certaine light excuses which the *Venetians* made to him, complained bitterly that they had not succoured the Castell of *Genes*, and the citie of *Sauona*, which the *Genowaies* in their rage had vtterly deformed. After this, a supply of a thousand Launceknights were sent to *saint Pol*, with whome, accompting the thousand footmen, which *Villecero* had in *Lomelyno*, remained a strength of foure thousand footmen.

In this time hapned a tumult in the Marquisedome of *Salussa*: the accident was this. After the death of the Marquis *Michael Anthony*, *Francis* his brother hauing taken vpon him the iurisdiction, by reason that *Gabriel* the second brother to *Anthony*, euen in the time of his eldest brother by direction of the mother who had managed the gouernment of the children during their minority, had bene kept prisoner in the Rocke of *Rauel*, vnder colour that he was almost estranged from his vnderstanding: it hapned that the captaine of the rocke deliuered him; by which meane seazing vpon the mother who had holden him prisoner, and being gladfomely embraced of the people, he conquered the whole estate: to which felicitie of the time it seemed his brother gaue place, and fled in his feare to *Carmagnola*, where, hauing afterwards reassembled his forces, he ouerthrew his brother *Gabriel*. There passed no more actions of consequence in *Lombardy* for this yeare, sauing that Count *Caezza* ran vp euen as farre as *Millan*, taking aduantage vpon the negligence of the *Venetians*, who omitted to send to *Monsieur saint Pol* the forces they had promised for the enterprise of *Saranallo*, *Gauy*, and other places of the *Genowaies*: there was also made an attempt of an exploit of great importance: for, *Monti Ian* and *Vecellero* with two thousand footmen and fiftie horsemen, departed in the euening to *Vitudo*, to surprise *Andrew Dore* in his pallace, the which standing vpon the sea coast retaineth a verie nere neighbourhood to the wals of *Genes*. But this plot was vaine in the effect, for that the footmen for the tediousnesse and longnesse of the way containing xxij. miles, could not reach the place where they were to execute their enterprise before the night were wasted, and being discovered by the clearnesse and benefit of the day, the alarme arose, which from hand to hand was brought at last to *Andrew Dore*, who conuaying himselfe out of the backside, was receiued into a barke, and by her swiftnesse of sailes and oares, he auoyded the danger that was prepared against his life: onely the French men missing by misadventure the person of *Andrew Dore*, conuerted their rage vpon his pallace, which they sacked; and afterwards returned in safetie. Also Count *Caezza* hauing laid an ambuist betweene *Millan* and *Monceo*, ouerthrew fise hundred Launceknights and an hundred light horsemen who were sent out to eskort or safe-conduct the victuallers: but being afterwards sent to *Bergama*, he so afflicted that citie with pillage and robbing, that the Senate of *Venice*, who had established him captaine generall ouer their infanterie, decassed him and depriued him with infamie of their pay, whom in their compassion they could not indure in so great

Monti Ian
misseth to surprise *Andrew Dore*.

THE HISTORIE

a custome of insolencie and avarice. About this time the *Spaniards* tooke the towne of *Vigentina*, and *Belioyense* who was escaped out of the hands of the French men, being sent by *Antio. de Lena* with two thousand footmen to surpris *Pania*, wherein was a garrison of five hundred footmen of the Duke of *Millan*, presented himselfe one night before the wals, but being discouered he was compelled to retire without anie effect. There arriued in the countrey of *Genes* a supply of two thousand footmen *Spaniards*, whom the Emperour sent out of *Spaine* either to defend *Genes*, or else to be conuerted to *Millan*, according to the necessitie and occasion of affaires. *Belioyense* went out to meete this supply and conduct them: who as they made shew that they would take the way either to *Plaisance* or of *Casa*, so *Monsieur saint Poi* put himselfe in preparation to stop their comming, and sent to sollicite the *Venetian* bands to make themselves strong at *Loda*, to the end that the bands of *Millan* should not come out to backe them: he laboured also to perswade them to execute ioyntly the enterprise of *Millan*, being therunto induced through the want of victuals and other dispaire of those wretched inhabitants. But the Duke of *Urbino* was not of that opinion, like as also the *Venetians* proceeded coldly in the braue actions of that time, wherein both for the report of *Andrew Nauager* their Embassadour now returned out of *Spaine*, and in regard of a certaine practise and intelligence which was entertained at *Rome* with the Emperours Embassadour, the opinions of the Senate were diuerse, manie inclining to haue an accord with the Emperour: and yet it was at last resolved to continue the confederatiō with the French king: at which time *Toruello* hauing passed the riuer of *Thesin* with two thousand footmen, tooke *Basignan* & went towards *Lomelina*: & the Abbot of *Farsa* going with his cornets of horsemen to *Crescentin* a place of the Duke of *Sauoy*, was defeated by night & taken prisoner: but being afterwards set at libertie by the working of the Marquis *Montferat* and the Marquis of *Mus*, he ouerthrew certaine regiments of *Antio. de Lena*, & tooke their artilleries.

There began to rise a doubt that the Pope inclined to the Emperours side, both for that the Cardinall *Saint Crosse* being arriued at *Naples*, caused to be deliuered three Cardinals who were there in ostage, and also according to the rumor that ran, he had commission from the Emperour to cause to be rendred *Ostia* and *Cunitavecchia*: and by his meane and working the Pope being also solicited, *Andrew Dore* restored to the *Siemnoys Portochercole*: but there were daily more and more arguments & testimonies that the Popes mind was caried with a disposition to new things, for that by his meane though secretly, *Braccio Baillon* for the interest of the affaires of *Perousa*, molested *Malatesta*, notwithstanding he was in his pay: and when he vnderstood that the Duke of *Ferrara* was come to *Modena*, he conspired to take him in his returning with an ambush of two hundred horsemen laid by *Paule Luzzasquo* vpon the confines of *Modena*: but for that the Duke stirred not out of *Modena* both the deuiſe was disclosed & the effect disapointed.

About this time the Realme of *Naples* notwithstanding the ouerthrow of the French was not entirely deliuered of the calamities of the warre: for, as *Symon Romain* hauing assembled new companies, had taken *Nauo*, *Oriolo*, and *Amigdalaro*, townes standing vpon the sea side at the point of the *Appenine*: so drawing to him into one strength *Federike Carassa* whom the Duke of *Granino* had sent with a thousand footmen, together with manie others of the countrey, he had an armie reasonably well compounded. But after the victorie of the Imperials about *Naples*, and being abandoned of the companies of the Duke of *Granina*, he entred into the towne of *Barletta* by the Castell, and putting it to sacke and pillage, he staid there: at what time the *Venetians* held *Trany* garded by *Camilla*, and *Monopoly* defended by *Iohn Conrado*, both captaines of the family of the *Urjins*. After this *Ranse de Cere* and the Prince of *Melfe* came into the kingdome with a thousand footmen: who being reduced betweene *Nocero* and *Gualdo*, and afterwards retiring from thence by the commandement of the Pope who would not offend the mindes of the victors, embarked themselves at *Simigalo* and went by sea to *Barletto*, with intention to renew the war in *Powilla*; a matter determined vpon by cōmon consent of the Confederats, to the end to constrain the Imperiall army to make their abode in the kingdome of *Naples* vntill spring time, at what time they drew to counsell & conference to make new prouisions for their commō safety: for which matter the French king sent to *Ranse* a reliefe & succors of monie, like as also the *Venetians* concurring with the king in the same desire, the rather to retaine more easily & keep still by the help of others, the townes which they had takē in *Powilla*, offered to furnish him of xij. gallies: but whē the king vrged them to arme & appoint those gallies, rescruiſing to defray the charge and

and expences vpon the fourescore thousand duckets, whereunto they were bound by the contri-
bution promised to *M. Lawirech*, they would not hearken to it. The king of *England* promised
not to be behind with his part of the prouisions ordinarie: & the *Plorentines* had contracted to pay
the third part of the companies which *Ranse* had leauied: the Imperials shewed no great readi-
nesse or disposition to quench so great a preparation of trouble, being busied on all parts to exact
money to satisfie the souldiers of their duties and payes past: wherein both to leaue those exa-
ctions with more facilitie, and the better to assure the kingdome with examples of seueritie: the
Prince of *Orenge* euen in the market place of *Naples*, where the plague raged most, and in the
publike view of the people, caused to be beheaded *Federike Caietan* sonne to the Duke of *Tra-*
cetto, and *Henrie Pandon* Duke of *Boniano*, a discendant of one of the daughters of old *Ferdinand*
king of *Naples*, together with foure other Neapolitans, extending also the same rigour of punish-
ment vpon other places of the kingdome: with which maner of proceeding, no lesse pitifull in the
persons, then dangerous for the example, he reduced into feare and astonishment the mindes of
all men, not omitting to proceed against the absent, such as had followed the French faction with
confiscation of their goods, which afterwards he suffered to be compounded for with money, & did
not forget anie violence or extremitie by the which he might draw greatest summes of mony: all
which actions of murder and oppression were supposed to haue their deuce and resolution by
the wit of *Ierome Moron*, to whom was giuen in recompence of his seruices the Duchie of *Boni-*
ano. To these emotions and stirres was added the exploit of *Iohn Iacques Franco* in *Abruzza*,
who entred for the French king into *Matrina*, which is neare to *Aquila*, by whose coming all the
parts & people of the countrey drew into commotion, neither was the region of *Aquila* without
suspicion of rising, where lay sicke with fixe hundred footmen *Serro Colommo*: moreover, the *Vene-*
tians made prouision for the affaires of *Powilla*, who sending by sea certaine companies of light
horsemen to furnish *Barletto*, one part of the vessels which caried them, perished in the lakes of
Barletto & *Trany*, where their Treasurer was drowned seeking to saue his life in a litle skiffe: the
companies of horsemen, who had for their leader *Iohn Conrado Ursin*, being sore beaten with the
rage of the tēpest, fell into the hands of the Imperials: & *Iohn Paule de Cere*, who made his ship-
wrack near *Gnaß*, remained prisoner to the Marquis. In the latter end of the yeare, the regio of *A-*
quila became for the league, by the mean of the Bishop there, & good working of Count *Mōiro*
with others of the exiles, who being hardly vsed by the Imperials, sought their remedy by reuolt.

Executions at
Naples.

In the beginning of the yeare 1529 began to appeare on all sides certaine signes and good dis-
positions to peace, which seemed to carie a generall desire to be solicited and negociated in the
Popes court: for, as there was good aduertisement that the Cardinall *Saint Crosse* (such was the ti-
tle of the Spanish Generall) was gone vp to *Rome* with warrant from the Emperour to conclude
a peace: so the French king, whose desire to end the warres was nothing inferior, dispatched to the
same end a commission to his Embassadors, in which action also the king of *England* tooke inte-
rest, and in the same regard sent Agents to *Rome*, which matters of negociation and hope of peace
ioyned to the trauell and wearinesse of Princes, brought the Confederates to proceede slowly
in the prouisions of the warre, for that in *Lombardie* their greatest thought and care was, whether
the Spaniards being come to *Genes*, could passe to *Millan*, from whence the Launceknights for
want of pay, were almost all retired: & to conduct them thither, *Belioyense* with a hundred horf-
men was gone vp as farre as *Casa*: and from thence in habite disguised was passed into *Genes*, frō
whence he led the said footbands of Spaniards to *Sauōna*, with intention to gather together fīue
hundred more newly come out of *Spaine*, and were disbarked at *Villafranco*.

But in the realme of *Naples* the Imperials could not but doubt, that the rebellion of *Aquila* &
Matricia, together with the stirres and risings that had bene made in *Powilla*, would breed and
bring forth some matter of farre greater importance: and therefore to cut off & remedie the mis-
chiefe afore the ill were come to his fulnesse, they determined to conuert to the expugnation and
suppression of those places, the forces they had: & in that resolution the Marquis of *Gnaß* with his
regiment of Spanish footmen, was sent out to recouer the townes of *Powilla*: and the Prince of
Orenge likewise with his Launceknights was dispatched to reconquer *Aquila* and *Matricia*: who
as soone as he made his approches to *Aquila*, they that were within issued out, and left the place
abandoned: the Prince compounding for the citie and the whole cuntry at a ranfome of an hun-
dred thousand duckets, & tooke away by vertue of his conquest & contract the oblation of siluer

which the French king *Lewis* the tenth had consecrated to *S. Bernard*: from thence he sent soldiers to *Matruia*, where lay in garrison *Camillo Pardo* with foure hundred footmē, who was gone away not manie dayes before with promise to returne againe: but being not without his feares, both for the want of wine, whereof was left no store, the necessitie of waters, which were all cut from them, and for the faction betweene the towne and the souldiers, which was strong and violent; and lastly, for some other reason, which men in their timorousnesse want not, he did not only not returne againe, but also he kept from them some of that reliefe of money which the *Florentines* had sent to him, for the defending and succouring of that place: by reason of which disorders, both their Leader hauing left them, and their wants without comfort or hope of relieuing, the souldiers went in their aray vpon the walles, and the townes-men rendred the place. The consideration of these good euent and issues, brought a feare least the Prince of *Orange* would passe into *Tuscane*, at the instance of the Pope, who being deliuered of a most daungerous, but short disease, ceased not to sollicite & giue hopes to all men: he promised the Frenchmen to sticke to the League, so farre forth as *Rauenna* and *Senus* were rendred to him: & he offered to compound vnder reasonable conditions with the *Florentines* and Duke of *Ferrara*, who touching the payments of money made before to *Monsieur Lawtrech*, affirmed that what he did in those paiments, was of his liberalitie, and not by vertue of obligation, for that the Pope had forborne to ratifie. On the other side, now that he had recouered (though at great charges) the Castles of *Ostia* & *Ciuitaueccchia*, by vertue of a cōmission which the Cardinall *Saint Crosse* had brought, he entertained with the Emperour intelligences more secret, and practises more certaine then before; yea, they debated rather vpon their affaires particular (which beganne to be managed in a course more assured and secret) then that there passed betweene them any action or solicitation, tending to the vniuersall peace: only in *Barletto* the state of affaires was this: *Barletto* was holden for the French king, within the which was *Ranse de Cere*, and with him the Prince of *Messe*, *Federike Carassa*, *Simon Roman*, *Camillo Pardo*, *Galeas de Farnese*, *Iohn Conrard Ursin*, and the Prince of *Stigliano*. The *Venetians* had *Trany*, *Pulignany*, and *Monopoly*: their forces in those places were two thousand footmen, and sixe hundred horsemen *Albanais*, whereof two hundred were within *Monopoly*: they had also at their deuotion the port of *Biesiry*. Now after the French king had sent in the beginning a small prouision of mony to those cōpanies, he forbore afterwards to relieue them with anie further supplies, nor did not accept the xij. bodies of Gallies offered to him by the *Venetians*, of which three perished in the lake of *Biesiry* with a great foist, as they went to reuiuall *Trany* & *Barletto*: and of the residue they had lost at sundry times fise more, sauing notwithstanding their artilleries and other furnishments. The Frenchmen held also the mount *Saint Angeo*, and *Nardo* in the quarter of *Otranto* and *Castro*, wherein was the Count *Dugento*: the actions of the warre were performed with the bodies & men of the kingdome, and with the forces of the countrey, many rebels to the Emperour were assembled in sundrie places, & many were drawne into companies and strength, who as aduenturers followed the warre for pillage only: so that the condition of the countrey was farre more miserable then any man would haue beleueed, euerie towne and place being laid open to robberies, prayes, ransoms & wretched burnings on all sides: only the extortions and inuasions of *Simon Roman* were more intollerable then any other, who ouer-running with his light horsemen, and a band of two hundred and fifty footmen all the partes and confines of those countries, brought oftentimes into *Barletto* great droues of cattell, and great quantity of corne, with other nature of bootie and spoyle: and in that liberty of warre running a race of vexation and crueltie, he would sometimes by surpris, and sometimes with force, inuade townes and places with wretched examples and actions of inhumanity: of which the towne of *Canosa* was a lamentable experience, where entring by night by the benefit of scaling ladders, he put the towne to sacke, and many of the inhabitants to death, whom he found sleeping in their last rest, he stripped likewise in that exploit manie horsemen of the fortie men at armes that lay in the Castle. At last the Marquis of *Gnast* forbearing to execute any action vpon *Barletto*, being a towne strong and fortified, setled his Campe in march before the towne of *Monopoly* with foure thousand *Spaniards* footemen, and two thousand *Italians*: for, the Launce knights being in number two thousand fise hundred, and staying in *Abruzzza*, refused to go to *Pomilla*: he encamped himselfe in a small valley so shadowed & couered with the mountaine, that he could not be endomaged with the artilleries of the town: in the towne were *Camillo Ursin*

Orsin and *John Vetturio* Treasurer, to whom *Ranse* sent speedily vpon the gallies three hundred footmen. *Monopoly* is a towne of small circuit, and hath the sea on three parts of it, and towards the land it beareth a wall of three hundred, or three hundred and fifty pases, with a ditch about it: right against this wall the Marquis caused to be made a bastillion within the shot of harquebutze, and two others vpon the sea shoare, of either side one: they beat the sea, and the gate towards the sea, and gaue impediment that no succours or victuals should enter by the helpe of the gallies: and so hauing made these preparations in the beginning of Aprill, the Marquis gaue the assault to *Monopoly*, where he lost more then five hundred souldiers, and many pyoners, besides three peeces of artilleries which were broken, retiring with his harmes about a mile and a halfe frō the place, for that he was not able to endure the vexation of the artilleries out of the towne: by reason of which retiring, the *Venetians* issued out, & ran vpon the bastillions which he had made, making slaughter of more then an hundred bodies, and with the same felicitie they assured the port or hauen by a Mount, which they raised vpon the shoare, right ouer against the bastillion of the enemies: neuerthelesse, though the Marquis was expulsed, yet he could not be made desperate, but making new approches to *Monopoly*, and returning from whence he was repulsed, he raised two caualliers to beate within the towne: he cast also trenches, to leade him euen vnto their ditches, and filled them with sixe hundred loades of earth rammed in baskets: but not long after that bastillion was burned by the industrie of two hundred footmen, issuing to that end out of *Monopoly*. Afterwards the Marquis being approached with a trench vpon the right side of the batterie, and hauing driuen another trench on the right side of the lodging of the *Spaniards* within a hand throwing of the ditch, and also after he had fortified a bastillion behind the same, he planted vpon it his artilleries, and executed threescore fadomes of wall thereabout within foure fadomes of the earth: but vnderstanding that the same night were entred new companies sent by *Ranse*, he retired his artilleries, and consequently the end of the moneth of May drawing on, he brake vp his campe. During the lying of this Campe before *Monopoly*, and after it was leauied and retired, there followed diuerse factions and emotions, both for the great harmes and damages done by them of *Barletta* by spoile and bootie, and also the garrison that was within mount *Saint Angeo*, hauing for Commaunder *Federike Caraffa*, tooke *Saint Senero*, and rescuing the towne of *Viro*, they compelled the Imperials to leaue their campe from before it. After that *Caraffa* went by sea with xxvj. sayles to *Laciano*, where lay an hundred & threescore men at armes, and entring the place by force, he brought away as testimonies of his valour, three hundred horse of service, and a great bootie of other natures of things, without leauing any garrison in the place. There were also many troupes of exiles, who did great harmes in *Basillicano*, for which difficulties as the Imperials exacted with all their industrie the taxes and impositions: so there is no doubt that if the French king had sent money, and anie reasonable supplie of succours, but new affaires and businesse had growne vpon the Imperials throughout the whole kingdome, which had at least so encombred the Emperours armie, that it would haue intangled the course of their owne affaires. But so disordred were their companies, both vndisciplined and accustomed to tumults, and deliuered vp without any succours or refreshing (for the *Florentines* ministred onely reliefe to *Ranse*) that they could not do any action of great consequence, seeing withall that both the Duke of *Ferrara* refused to send to *Ranse* by sea foure peeces of artilleries, & also the store of money & corne began to diminish within *Barletta*. Moreouer, about sixe hundred rebels of the countrie of *Calabria*, besieged by the Viceroy within *Montlion*, were driue for want of munition and victuals to render the place, and in that calamitie were led prisoners to *Naples*. Afterwards the Prince of *Melfe* with the armie by sea, and *Federike Caraffa* by land, went to encampe before *Malfetta*, a place aforesaid belonging to the Prince, where *Federike* in fighting for the safety of his life, was slaine with a stone: in reuēge of whose death the Prince extended his indignatiō so far vpō the towne, that taking it by force, he put it to a miserable sacke; a like misadueture fell vpō *Simō Romā*, for that as the *Venetia* army, which frō the cape of *Ostronta* vexed all the countrey, was drawne neare to *Brūduſo*, they set on land certaine cōpanies of soldiers, with whō was *Simon Roman*, and caried the towne, but in assaulting the rocke *Simō* was slaine with a bullet.

Whilest the realme of *Naples* was thus trauelled with diuerse successes, the matters of *Lombardie* suffered no great trāquillitie: *M. Saint Poll* about the end of March tooke by force the towne of *Senarella*, and the castie compounded to stand neuter: but the valour of the enemies recouered

Proceedings of
M. Saint Pol
in Lombardy,

again the thing which by his industrie he could not keepe, for that he lost one night the towne, which earst he had wonne by force; the same with other reasons driving him, that he was no longer able to stop the *Spaniards* the way to *Milan*: he saw the diminution of the numbers of his campe for want of money, whereof as he received but a little from the king, so of that litle, being a Captaine of litle gouernment, he expended one part for himselfe, and suffered another part to be imbeached and robbed by his officers. The king and *Venetians* disputed what enterprize were good to take in hand: the king made instance to aduance the exploit of *Genes*, both for the importance of that Citie, and also for that it began to be a beleeefe amongst them, that the next sommer the Emperour would passe into *Italy*: and for that the king esteemed that the *Venetians* had neuer holpen him either to rescue or to recouer that: wherein notwithstanding they excused themselves, by an vniuersall rumour running in *Italy* of the descending of new Launceknights, yet he could not but doubt that they were ill contented to fauour the victorie of that enterprize. But the *Venetians* to obscure for the time the memorie of that exploit, brought into deuise the action of *Milan*, which both they laid out to be verie easie for the small number of souldiers that were with *Antho. de Lema*, and also they offered, that when the conquest of *Milan* were perourmed, they would adiminister to the enterprize and besieging of *Genes*: In which regard the resolution went by the kings consent, to embrace the enterprize of *Milan* with a campe of sixteene thousand footemen, of whom euerie one to make provision for the moity: This resolution was made in March, and in the absence of the Duke of *Urbino*, who, for that the Prince of *Orenge* and the Launceknights were drawne neare the confines of the kingdome, was retired vpon his owne estate, almost against the will of the *Venetians*: who neuertheless retained him of new into their pay, with the same conditions which aforetime they had passed to *Bart. Aluiano* and the Count *Pesillano*, sending him also for his defence three hundred horsemen and three thousand footmen, according to the contract of their obligation, and gaue the title of Gouvernour to *Ianus Fregoso*: there were in the armie of the *Venetians* fixe hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and foure thousand footemen, notwithstanding they were bound to maintaine twelue thousand. This armie the sixt of Aprill tooke by force *Cassiano*, and the rocke rendred to discretion, when *Antho. de Lema* and *Tornuolo* being come out of *Milan* to diuert or draw away the enemies, returned backe without doing any thing. The *Spaniards* passed from *Genes* to *Milan*, notwithstanding to stop them, there had bene made so manie deuices and resolutions: for where *M. Saint Pol* and the *Venetians* had supposed that they would make their passage by the parts of *Tortona* and *Alexandria*, theyooke at their departure from *Vosaggio*, and by the direction of *Belioyense*, the way that was more long by the mountaine of *Plaisance*, and places subiect to the Church: and being come to *Varzy*, in the layd mountaine, notwithstanding *Saint Pol* made to march from thence an hundred and fifty horsemen appointing their way to *Loda*, and also the companies of the *Venetians*, who for that they would be before, sent one part of their bands to the Duke of *Milan*, but both later by one day then they shold, & in lesse numbers then they promised, yet they passed by night the riuer of *Paw* at *Areno*, vsing the seruice of the vessels of *Plaisance*: so that being no more able to stop their vniing with *Antho. de Lema*, who for the more safetie & facility of their ioyning, was come to *Landriano*, within twelue miles of *Pavia*, they met and ioyned with him, and so being conducted to *Milan*, so poore and naked of all things, that they seemed to beare the resemblance of rogues, they increased the calamities of the inhabitants there, by putting them to spoyle and robbrie, even in the streetes. Thus was litle profitable to the French and *Venetians* all their actions and doings of the whole winter, which were extended to stop the passage of their souldiers to take *Gany*, & places enuironing *Gonos* and *Casa*; places doing great domages to the whole country. Moreouer *Antho. de Lema* tooke *Binasquo* by composition: but where the *Spaniards* had serued their turnes of the Barks of *Plaisance*, & that as was beleued, they had not remoued had they not bene assured that in case of necessitie they might retire into that citie, besides many other apparances and tokens, the Confederates began to rise in suspition, that the Pope specially touching the restitution of the Castles, was either entirely accorded, or at least verie neare to accord with the Emperour.

Deuices of the
Pope to restore
his house in
Florence.

Now where the Pope in great secrecie, had disposed all his thoughts to recouer the estate of *Florence*, wherein albeit to circumuent the French Embassadours, he entertained sundrie practises, and led both them and the other Confederates in diuerse humours of hope to accord with the League:

League: yet being partly moued with feare of the greatnesse of the Emperour & the prosperitie of his affaires, and partly through hope to induce him more easily then he could induce the French King, to restore and reestablish his house in *Florence*, he inclined much more on the Emperours side then on the French Kings: he had also a vehement desire to make easie his deuice to draw to his deuotion the estate of *Perousa*, in which action it was beleueed that he entertained *Braccio Baillon*, who managed euerie day new driftes in those confines: by reason whereof, *Malatesta* doubting, least whilst he was in his pay, he should be oppressed with his fauour, thought it necessarie for him to seeke to put himselfe in the protection of another: therefore either induced with that reason, or caried with a couetousnesse after greater parties, or pushed on with a passion of ancient hatred, he refused to reenter into his pay, pretending that he was not bound for the whole yeare, but at his election, for that as he alleaged, the contract appeared not by writing, notwithstanding the Pope maintained a further obligation: so that he solicited to enter into the pay of the French and *Florentines*, complaining bitterly of certaine intelligences and practises entertained against him by the Cardinall of *Cortona*, and of a letter which he had surpris'd, written by the Cardinall *Medici* to *Braccio Baillon*. But the Pope seeking indirectly to stop the effect of his deuice, forbad by Edicts publike, that none of his subjects without his leaue, should take the payes of other Princes, vpon paine of confiscation: neuerthelesse, *Malatesta* forbore not for that to prosecute his deuice: the Frenchmen bound them to induce him with a charge of two hundred horsemen, two thousand Crownes pension, the order of *Saint Michael*, and in time of warre with two thousand footmen: and the *Florentines* gaue him the title of Gouvernour, two thousand Crownes pension, a thousand footmen in time of war, fiftie horsemen for his sonne, and fiftie for the sonne of *Horatio*, with five hundred Crownes for the pay of them both: they tooke vpon them the protection of his estate of *Perousa*; and aswell the French king as they made him one ioint allowance in time of peace, of an hundred Crownes the moneth, to entertaine ten Captaines: and the *Florentines* apart made him a pay for two hundred footmen for the guard of *Perousa*; and for his part, he was onely bound to this, to go to their seruice with a thousand footemen, when their affaires required; yea, though he should not haue the bands promised from the French king. Of this dealing the Pope complained highly to the French king, as a matter done directly to let him for disposing according to his will, of a citie which was vassall and subiect to the Church, the same making the king, who bare no mind to kindle the Pope, to deferre the action of ratification: and for the same cause, the Pope hoping to be able to alter or retire *Malatesta*, perswaded him to continue out his yeare; and at the same time he entertained secretly *Braccio Baillon*, *Serro Colonna*, and the exiles of *Perousa*, who hauing assembled and mustered bands of souldiers, lay encamped at *Norcio*. But all these practises, together with all offers & oblations serued to no purpose, for that *Malatesta* was resolutely fixed to continue no longer in the Popes pay; & as the *Florentines* ministred aid to him openly, so he feared so much the lesse those stirres or emotions, by how much they ceased forthwith, the Pope finding they were imperfect and insufficient to leade on his hopes to their effects. Besides, the Pope would not suffer the Duke of *Ferrara* to dwell in rest, and he was so farre off from obseruing the couenants made with the Duke, in the name of the Colledge of Cardinals, that the Bishopricke of *Modena* being newly fallen into vacation by the death of Cardinall *Gonzaguo*, an estate promised to the Dukes sonne by the said couenant, he bestowed it by his authority vpon *Ierome Moron*, seeking, vnder colour of refusing the possession, occasion to prouoke against him such a personage and minister, bearing great authoritie in the Emperours armie. He entertained also a practise with *Ierome Pio*, to occupie *Reggia*, & that by the meane and operation of *Hubert de Cambraro*, Gouvernour of *Bologna*: but when the Duke was informed of the state of the practise; and how far it extended, he passed *Pio* to such propertie of punishment, as his offence deserued: he laid plots also to surprise *Ranema*, which likewise sorted to none effect. And about this time, inclining dayly by apparant degrees to the Emperors part, & being also wel aduanced in the solicitation of things, he sent vnto him the Bishop of *Vasano* his steward: he called backe the cause of diuorce of the king of *England*, which he had done long time before, had not the regard of the Bul which was already in *England* in the hands of his Legate *Campeius* retained him: for, as the good fortunes of the Emperour increased in *Italy*, so he sought not onlie not to offend him further, but also to reuoke the offence he had done him already, being indeed determined before he was sicke,

Cause of the
ruine of the
Cardinall of
Yorke.

to reuoke the cause: in which action he sent *Francis Compagno* into England to the Cardinall *Campeius*, dissembling to the king, that he was sent for other matters, including notwithstanding matter appertaining to that cause, where indeed he brought commission to *Campeius* to burne the Bull: & albeit *Campeius* for a maladie the Rope was fallen into, deferred for a time the execution of that commission, yet when he knew he was recured, he persourmed the thing he was commanded: so that the Pope being thus elucted of that feare, reuoked the cause, though not without great indignation of that king, especially when he required the Bull of the Legat, and vnderstood by him the vnworthie accident of it. These matters made both more seuer, and more readie the ruine and fall of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, whose authoritie the king supposed to be so great and gracious with the Pope, that if his marriage with the Lady *Anne* had bene agreeable to him, he might haue obtained of the Pope what dispensation he would. By which occasion, opening his eares to the enuie and malice of his aduersaries, he grew kindled against him, euen to the taking from him his goods and treasure of a wonderfull value, and in his indignation leaving him a small part of the reuenues of his benefices, he restrained him to his bishopricke, with a slender traine of seruants: and so not long after, either by a surprise of letters, which he wrote to the French king, or for some other purpose of malice of his enemies, who gathering by the kings speeches, that he was not without inclination towards him, and therefore feared least he would rise againe into his auncient authoritie, he was conuented to appeare in Counsell to speake for himselfe in matters to be objected against him: for which cause, as he was brought towards the Court as prisoner, he was sodainly taken with a fluxe, engendred either of the humor of disdain, or of the passion of feare, of which he died the second day after he was apprehended with the maladie; an example in our dayes worthie of memorie, touching the power which fortune and enuy hath in the Courts of Princes.

About this time fell out in *Florence*, to the great preiudice of the gouernment that then was, a new challenge against *Nicholas Cappony Gonsalonier*, it hapned almost vpon the end of the second yeare of his Magistracie, and was incensed principally by the enuie of some of the chiefe Citizens, who tooke occasion of the vaine suspitions and fond ignorances of the Commons: *Nicholas Cappony*, during all the time of his Magistracie, hath had these two principall objects, the one to defend himselfe against the fresh enuy of those that had bene honoured of the house of *Medicis*, suffering the principals amongst them to communicate with the other Citizens in the honours & counsels publike: and the other, not to stirre or make angrie the mind of the Pope in matters which were not of importance, touching the libertie. Of which things both the one and other had bene found profitable to the common wealth: for, like as many, euen of those, who were persecuted as enemies to the gouernment, being assured and embraced, had bene firmly conioyned with the others to preserue the state, knowing withall, that the Pope, for matters hapning in the times when the gouernment changed, was ill contented with them: so touching the Pope, albeit he desired vehemently the returning and restauration of his friends, yet hauing no new prouocation or matter of wrong, he had so much the lesse occasion to burst out, and to complaine, as he did continually with other Princes. But against these matters was opposed the ambition of certaine particulars of them, who knowing well enough, that if such should be admitted to the gouernment as had bene friends to the *Medices*, being indeed men of most experience & valour, that their estate and authoritie should be made lesse, laboured by all the studies & deuices they could, to keepe the common people full of suspicion, both of the Pope and of them, not sparing to slander the *Gonsalonier*, as well for those causes, as also to the end to depriue him of his Magistracie for the third yeare, to charge him that he bare not a mind so far estranged from the familie of *Medices*, as the interest and profite of the common weale required: which imputations and challenges not mouing him at all, and holding it verie necessarie not to haue the Pope incensed, he tooke the more libertie to entertaine him priuately with letters and Embassages, yet such as he had not begun nor prosecuted without the continuall priuie and knowledge of some such as were Principals and chiefe Magistrates, neither did he manage them to other end, then to retaine or retire the Pope from some act of precipitation: but whereas a letter that was sent to him from *Rome*, fell by misfortune into interception, bearing certaine words to breed suspicion in such as knew not the ground and foundation of those things, and the same letter being passed o-uer into the hands of some of those that sate and managed the supreme function, there were certaine

certaine yong men prepared to sedition, who rising into armes, inuaded by force the publike palace, and in their insolencie restrained the *Gonsaluer* almost vnder guard, and going on to confirme this beginning with acts of manifest rebellion, they summoned together in maner of a tumult, almost all the Magistrates, and many Citizens, where they debated to depriue him of his Magistracie; which being approued in the great Counsell, his cause was afterwards referred to the examination of the law, wherein being absolved by iudgement and sentence, he was led with greater honour into his houses, accompanied with the greatest presence of the Nobility. In his place was preferred *Frauncis Carduccio*, a personage vnworthie of so great a dignitie, regarding his life passed, his customes, and his wicked ends and intentions.

Now began new stirres to appeare in *Lombardy*, *M. Saint Pol* having past the riuer of *Paw* at *Valencia* the xxvij. of Aprill, by reason of which proceeding the Imperials abandoned the borough of *Balsignana*, and the parish of *Caira*: from thence *Saint Pol* sent *Guido Rangon* with one part of the armie to *Montaro*; a place strong for the double ditches, flankes and waters: and as they had planted by night their artilleries, without prouisions of baskets, without trenches, and other like preparations, they were by day charged by those that were within, such as did the great harmes, and cloyed two peeces of their artilleries, and put the residue in daunger to be lost. At that time, albeit there was within *Millan* a slender prouision of things necessarie, yet the preparations of the French and *Venetians* were in no better condition, who complaining one of another, were both negligent to furnish things needfull: in so much, as amongst other difficulties, the Confederates fell into some doubt, that the Duke of *Millan*, for the litle hope he saw remaining to reconquer that state, either by his owne forces, or with their succours, would make some accord with the Imperials, by the meane and working of *Moron*. But the thoughts and deuices of the French king tended altogether to peace, for a distrust he had not to be able otherwise to recouer his children: whereunto also the Emperour bearing a manifest inclination, two Gentlemen, whom the Ladie *Margaret* had sent to him for that effect, were returned from *Spaine*, bringing to her ample commission to go through with the peace: of which when the French king was aduertised by a Secretarie of his, whom for that matter he had dispatched into *Flaunders*, he required the Confederates for their parts to adresse commissioners also: and having determined in himselfe to leaue there all the prouisions of the warre, yet seeking to worke some iust colour, he complained that the *Venetians* had refused to contribute to the money for his passage: who albeit in the beginning (so farre forth as the Emperour passed) they had earnestly solicited him to passe, which also the king had offered to perfourme with two thousand foure hundred Launces, a thousand light horsemen, and twentie thousand footmen, in case the Confederates would giue him money to pay about this, a thousand light horsemen and twentie thousand footmen, and contribute to the moitie of the expences of the artilleries: yet whatsoever was the occasion, they changed counsell, and retired from those offers.

*At the Princes
hearte to peace*

- At this time *Monsieur Saint Pol* with foure cannons tooke *Saint Angeo* by force, wherein was a garrison of foure hundred footmen: and in the same expedition he conuerted his strength to *Cotimbano*, to open to his campe a passage of victuals from *Plaisance*, and made himselfe master of the place by composition. Afterwards, being informed that there lay a force of foure thousand footmen within *Millan*, but much weakened with maladies, he thought to assault it. The second of May *Moraro* rendred to *Monsieur Saint Pol* at discretion, though after it had suffered so great an execution of the artilleries, that there was no more possibilitie to make defence. *Torniello* left also the towne of *Nonaro*, but not the Castle, wherein he put a verie slender strength of footmen, and retired his person to *Millan*: so that the Imperials held no other peece beyond the riuer of *Thezin* then *Gaya* and the rocke of *Biagrasa*: *Monsieur Saint Pol* having also gotten the rocke of *Vigenena*. The tenth day he marched to the bridge of *Lucqua* to ioine with the *Venetians* at the borough of *S. Martin*. Here the Duke of *Vrbino* came to the armie, and from thence being gone vp to *Behoyense* to haue conference together, the resolution was in the common counsell to incampe before *Millan* with two armies on two sides, for which expedition *M. Saint Pol* passing ouer *Thezin* should turne to *Biagrasa* to force it, & the same day the *Venetians* to go to the borough of *Saint Martin*, which is within fife miles of *Millan*, the *Venetians* assuring that their campe contained 12000 footmen, & *M. Saint Pol* 8000, to whom was to be ioined the bands of footmen of the Duke of *Millan*. By this direction *M. Saint Pol* passed the riuer of *Thezin*, & finding the towne

of *Biagrasa* abandoned, he carried the castle by accord: & so encamping at *Gazzano*, about viij. miles from *Millan*, he conferred of new with the Duke of *Urbino* at *Imasquo* the third of June: in which place they were credibly certified that the *Venetians* had not in their campe the one half of 12000 footmen according to the capitulation of the contract; a matter which for that *M. saint Pol* complained greatly upon, it was set downe that *Millan* should be approached with one campe. Only on that side of *Lazzaretto*, notwithstanding the protestation of Count *Guido*, who alleged that *Anth. de Lena*, at whose deuotion remained only *Millan* & *Coma*, was wont to say, that *Millan* could not be forced but with two camps: but not many dayes after, those opinions & counsels being changed, the Chieftaines of both the armies being assembled within *Loda*, the Dukes of *Millan* and *Urbino* notwithstanding they solicited before to haue the campe go to *Millan*, and were flatly against the expedition of *Genes*, yet they were now of a contrarie aduise, the Duke of *Urbino* alleging many reasons to iustifie that new counsell: but principally he insisted upon this, that seeing the Emperor made preparation to passe into *Italie*, for whose conduct *Andrew Dore* was departed from *Genes* with his gallies the eight of June: and withall seeing in *Germany* there was intention to send new companies of Launceknights into *Italy* vnder Captaine *Felix*, he stood indifferent, and in his reason and experience could not finde out whether it were better to take *Millan*, or not to take it: these were the reasons he inferred, but it was beleueed, that for an opinion he had of the succeeding of the peace which was negotiated in *Flaunders*, he had signified to the Senate of *Venice*, that it was a matter vnprofitable to put themselves in expences for the recovery of *Millan*: the summe & conclusion of his counsell was, that the regiments of the *Venetians* should tarry at *Cassiana*, the companies of the Duke of *Millan* to keepe within *Paui*, and *M. saint Pol* to lie at *Biagrasa*: & they, by the seruice of their horsemen, to stop that there entred no reliefe of victuals into *Millan*; where it was supposed they wold within short time fall into want of food, for that a very small portion of the countie was conuerted to tillage and sowing. This opinion could not be altered in him by any reasons or inducements of *M. saint Pol*, neither did he approue the abiding of him and his armie at *Biagrasa*, alleging, that to pine and hunger *Millan*, it was enough that the *Venetian* regiments remained at *Moncio*, and the bands of the Duke of *Millan* at *Paui*, and at *Vigena*, he said also that the king pressed him, that in case he went not up to incampe before *Millan*, then to execute the enterprise of *Genes*, which he had in intention to attempt with a great celerity; hoping that in the absence of *Andrew Dore*, *Cesar Fregosa*, to whom the French king had made a graunt to be Gouverneur & not his father, would reduce that state to alteration with a very small strength of footmen. But these proceedings and expeditions, together with an information how much was diminished in footmen the armie of the Confederates, did so assure *Anth. de Lena* of all daungers for *Millan*, that he sent out *Torniello* with a verie slender strength of horsemen, and three hundred footmen to recouer *Nonaro*, obseruing the oportunitie, whilest the French and *Venetians* were wandering betwene the riuer of *Tesin* and *Millan*: he made his entrie by the castle, which was holden for the Imperials, by which commoditie he recouered *Nonaro*, and afterwards sallied out with his forces to pill the countrey, and get victuals. But this conquest was not without his contrarie accidents, for that as the Captaine of *Nonaro* was issued out of the Castle, & walked into the towne, two souldiers of the Duke of *Millan*, and three inhabitants of *Nonaro* that were prisoners in the Castle, fell upon the Captaine, and slue him, with the aide of certaine others that wrought at the Castle: & in the same fortune making prisoners certaine Spanish footmen, their valour made them Lords of the place, hoping after so great an aduerture to be succored by their friends, they tooke the reason of their hope upon this, that the Duke of *Millan* as soone as he vnderstood that *Torniello* was gone out, hauing a feare and ielousie of *Nonaro*, had dispatched into those quarters his brother *Iohn Paule* with a good strength of horsemen and footmen, and he in that expedition was already gone up and arrived at *Vigena*: but *Torniello* was no sooner aduertised of the accident of the Castle, then he returned with speed to *Nonaro*, where what with threats, which preuaileth much where the hope is lesse then the perill, and what with preparations to giue the assault, which cannot but make timorous such as haue no remedie in their danger, he so astonished the said souldiers of the Duke of *Millan*, that compounding only for the safetie of their persons, they rendred the Castle without caring for the liues of the inhabitants of *Nonaro*, by whose valor they executed the exploit of the Castle. It was determined to vex *Millan* as much as might be with the forces of the *Venetians* & regiments of the Duke of *Millan*, notwithstanding

withstanding the Duke of *Millā* alleged that because he wold be more neare the lands of the *Venetiās*, he wold not abide at *Monceto*, but at *Cassiano*: & *M. Saint Pol*, who lay encamped at the Abbey of *Bibaldono*, determined to returne beyond the riuier of *Pau* to draw towards *Genes*. According to which resolution he marched vpon lodge at *Landriano*, which is twelue miles from *Millan* betweene the wayes of *Loda* and *Paula*: and minding the day following, which was the xxj. of Iune, to encampe at *Lardiragno* vpon the way of *Pania*, he sent before his artilleries, his carriage and the auantgard, and departed himselfe somewhat later with the battell and the reregard. But when *Anthony de Lena* was aduertised by his espials where he made his abiding, and how the auantgard was gone before, he issued out of *Millan* with his souldiers all couered for their vppermost garments with white shirts: and because of long time his bodie had bene reduced to debility by dolors and griefes, he caused his owne person to be armed in a chaire which foure men bare: and by that time he was come within two miles of *Landriano* without sound of drumme, he vnderstood by his espials that *Saint Pol* was not yet departed from *Landriano*: so that ioyning celeritie to the fauours which the time and occasion offered, he hastened his march & charged vpon them before they were aware of his comming. The first esquadron of the Frenchmen commannded by *Iohn Thomas de Gallera*, was so farre marchēd away, that he could not in time be at the succours of the residue. And albeit *Monsieur S. Pol* reposing much in a regiment of two thousand Launceknights, was descended on foot and fought valiantly, yet after they had maintained a light defence, he saw the begin to retire, in whose valour he had layed vp his chiefest confidence. And albeit they were sustained and rescued by *Iohn Ieronimo de Castillon* and *Claudo Rangon*, Commanders ouer two thousand *Italians*, who expressed great effects of their valour: yet in the end both the horsemen and Launceknights not able to stand against the furie and fortune of their enemies, turned their backs, leauing a wretched effect of the hope that was conceiued of them. By their example the *Italians* did the like: and *Monsieur Saint Pol* despairing to find by fighting the safetie which the residue could not find by flying, was estoones remounted vpon his horse, and as he would haue passed ouer a great ditch, he fell into the calamitie of a prisoner, hauing partaking with him in that fortune, *Iohn Ieronimo de Castillon*, *Claudo Rangon*, *Liquacke*, *Carbon*, with other leaders of importance. All the companies were defeated, many horsemen taken prisoners, and all the baggage and traine of the armie and the artilleries rifled. Almost all the men at armes found safetie in the swiftnesse and running of their horses, together with Count *Guido* leading the auantgard with whom he retired into *Pania*, and from thence in the beginning of the night, the same feare following them now being free and at large, which they saw in the extremitie of their perill, they went to *Loda*, but so perplexed with astonishment, that they were almost at point to breake and disorder of themselves. Many of the souldiers remained in the wayes; their horses hauing no forces to carie them whither their feare would chase them; and the Captaines excused their running away, for that their companies were not payed, of whom the French bands returned all into *Fraunce*.

Monsieur saint Pol prisoner to Anthony de Lena.

Thus armes and warre being almost layed aside through all *Italy*, by reason of the hard euents and aduersities of the Frenchmen, the cogitations of the greatest Princes were conuerted and disposed to accord: the first accord that succeeded, was betweene the Pope and the Emperour, which was concluded at *Barcelona* to the Popes great aduantage: wherein the Emperour had the one of these two reasons, either for that hauing a great desire to passe into *Italy*, he sought to take away all impediments to his voyage, accounting it in that regard verie necessarie to haue the Popes amitie: or else for that he would with verie large and ample capitulations giue the Pope a greater occasion to forget the wrongs and offences which he had receiued of his Agents and his armie. The substance of the accord was this: That betweene the Pope and the Emperour should be a perpetuall peace and confederation: That the Pope should giue passage to the Emperours armie through the dominions of the Church; in case it should depart out of the kingdom of *Naples*: That the Emperour in contemplation of the newe mariage, and for the tranquillitie of *Italy*, should restore in *Florence* the sonne of *Lawrence de Medici*, to the same estate of greatnesse, wherein were his predecessors before they were expulsed, hauing notwithstanding regard to the expenses which were to be defrayed for the said restitution, according to the arbitration to be made as well by him as the Pope: That the Emperour should assay as soone as he could, either by armes or some other way more comely, to reestablishe the Pope in the possession of

The Pope at accord with the Emperour.

Cernia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggia, and Rubiero, without prejudice to the rights of the Empire and the sea Apostolike: That the Pope hauing recovered the townes aboue said, should accord to the Emperour the inuestiture of the Realme of *Naples* in remuneration of that benefit, and should reduce the tribute of the last inuestiture to a white horse for a fine or acknowledgement of chiefe: That he should accord to him the nomination of xxiiij. Cathedrall Churches, for the which they were in difference, remaining to the Pope the disposition of the Churches which should not be in patronage, & of other benefices: That when the Emperour should be passed into *Italy*, the Pope and he should meete and commune together, to consult of the particular quiet of *Italy*, and the vniuersall peace of Christendome, receiuing one another with ceremonies and honors due and accustomed: That the Emperour, in case the Pope required the aide of the arme secular to conquer *Ferrara*, should assist him euen to the end as Advocate, Protector, and eldest sonne of the sea Apostolike, and that with all the good meanes, which at that time should be in his power: and that they should agree of the expences, proceedings, and formes to be vsed according to the qualitie of times and accidents: That the Pope and Emperour with a common counsell should deuise some meanes to draw lawfully into iustice and examination of the law by Iudges not suspected, the cause of *Francis Sforce*, to the end he might be restored if he were found innocent: That otherwise the Emperour offered (notwithstanding the disposing of the Duchie of *Milan* appertained to him) to dispose of it with the counsell and priuite of the Pope, and to inuest in it no person which should not be agreeable to him, nor otherwise to transferre it, but in sort as he shall thinke most expedient for the tranquillitie of *Italy*: That the Emperour promised to make to consent *Ferdinand* king of *Hungaria* his brother, that for the time of the Popes life and two yeares after, the Duchie of *Milan* should be furnished of saltes from *Cernia*, according to the confederation made betweene the Emperour and Pope *Leo*, confirmed in the last inuestiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, not approuing neuerthelesse the couenant that had bene made with the French king, and without prejudice to the rightes of the Empire and the king of *Hungaria*: That neither of them apart, to the prejudice of this confederation, should make touching matters of *Italy*, new leagues, nor obserue such as were made to the contrarie of this: and yet neuerthelesse the *Venetians* might enter this league, so farre forth as they left all that they possessed in the Realme of *Naples*, and accomplished all their obligations to the Emperour and *Ferdinand* by vertue of the last confederation made betweene them, and also to restore *Ravenna* and *Cernia*, reseruing the rights of the domages and interests suffred in regard of these matters: That the Emperour and *Ferdinand* should do all that they could to haue the Heretikes reduced and brought home to the true way, wherein as the Pope should vse spirituall remedies, so in case they would stand obstinate, the Emperour and *Ferdinand* should force them by armes, and the Pope to labour other Christian Princes to assist them according to their seuerall meanes: That the Pope and the Emperour should not receiue the protection of the subiectes, vassals, and feodatories of one another, but for the regard of the iurisdiction direct which they had of anie one, without extending anie further: And that all protections taken in other forme should be interpreted void and derogate within one moneth: That to make this amitie and coniunction more firme and stable, they were to confirme it with the strait knots of parentage, the Emperour promising to giue for wife *Margaret* his bastard daughter with a dowrie of twentie thousand duckets of yearly reuenue, to *Alexander Medici* sonne to *Lawrence* late Duke of *Vrbino*, vpon whose person the Pope determined to conuert and bestow the temporall greatnesse of his house, hauing at such time as he was in danger of death created Cardinall, *Hipolito* sonne of *Julian*. They contracted at the same time in articles seperate: That the Pope should accord to the Emperour and to his brother to resist the *Turke*, the fourth part of the reuenues of benefices Ecclesiastike, in the same maner that his Predecessor *Adrian* had done: That the Pope should giue absolutio to all those, who within *Rome* & other places had offended against the sea Apostolike, & to all such as had ministred any property of aid, counsell or fauor, or that any way participated, or secretly approued, or expressly allowed, or directly had consented, to the actioes that had bin done: That where the Emperour had not published the *Croissade* granted by the Pope, which was lesse ample then others that had bene before times granted, that the Pope (the first being reuoked) should passe another of more full & ample forme according to the scope of those that had bin granted by the late Popes *Julio* & *Leo*. Before this accord was passed, & after all the difficulties were

were resolved, advertisement came to the Emperour of the ouerthrow of *Monsieur Saint Pol*: in regard of which successe, so honorable for the reputation of his armies there, and no lesse profitable for the generall estate of his affaires, albeit it was doubted, that to helpe his conditions, he would haue chaunged some branch or article of matters agreed vpon, yet he confirmed them all both in substance and circumstance, and with a singular readinesse ratified them the same day, which was the xxix. of Iune, accomplishing with solemne oath before the high Altar of the Cathedrall Church of *Barcelona*.

But the negotiations of peace betweene the Emperour and the French king were not pursued with lesse deuotion and diligence: and the better to aduance them to some good successe and issue, after the commissions on all sides were come, the towne of *Cambray* was indifferently appointed for the assembly and meeting; a place fatall for so great conclusions, and where were to conferre together, the Ladie *Margaret* of *Austria* & the Ladie Regent mother to the French king. The French king labored with all his meanes and diligence (though he meant not in him selfe to performe it) which also he confirmed by promises to the Confederate Embassadors of *Italy* (hauing therein the consent & priuie of the king of *England*) not to make any accord with the Emperour without the consent and satisfaction of the Confederates: for, he feared least they entring into a ielousie and suspicion of his will, would preuent him, & be the first that would compound with the Emperour, and by that meane to leaue him excluded out of the amitie of both sides. In which respect he sought to perswade them not to hope in the peace, but rather to keepe their thoughts disposed and turned to the prouisions of the warre: wherein to establish some good order & forme of proceeding, not ceasing to sollicite continually, he had sent into *Italy* the Bishop of *Tarby* with commission to go to the states of *Venice*, the Dukes of *Milla*, *Ferrara* & *Florence*, both to sollicite prouisions appertaining to the warre, and to promise that if the Emperour passed into *Italy*, he would also descend at the same time with a mightie armie, so far soorth as the other Confederats would contribute for their part touching the preparations needfull. Neuerthelesse the negotiations of accord continued more and more; in so much as the seuenth day of Iuly both the Ladies made their entries into *Cambray* by seuerall gates with a great pompe, and being lodged in two houses adioyning, hauing an entrie the one within the other, they spake together the same day, & gaue order to their agents to treat of the articles: wherein because the king wold be neare at hand to resoluue all difficulties occurring, he was gone vp to *Compiequo*, to whom the *Venerians*, hauing feare of the issue of that coniunction, had made many large and great offers. And for the more absolute negociation of this peace, there were sent to *Cambray* as interposers in the action, the Bishop of *London* and the Duke of *Suffolke* Embassadors for the king of *England*, with whose consent and participation that assembly was made. The Pope sent thither the Archbishop of *Capua*. There was also a presence of Embassadors from all the Confederates: to whom the Frenchmen made relation of things farre otherwise then was the truth of that that was debated: wherein the king either retained so great an impietie, or else had so simple and sole a thought of his interest particular, which consisted wholly in the recouerie of his children, that where the *Florentines* made great instance to him, that according to the example of king *Lewis* his father in law and his predecessour, in the yeare a thousand five hundred and twelue, he would consent that they might accord with the Emperour for their safetie: he refused it, vnder this promise, that he would neuer make anie accord without comprehending them in it, assuring them also that he was most readie to follow the warre, and promised no lesse to all the others, euen in the greatest heate of solicitation for peace. About the three & twentieth day of Iuly came advertisement of the capitulations made betweene the Pope and the Emperour, at what time albeit the present negociation was wel aduanced, yet it was so troubled and hindered for some difficulties touching certaine townes of *Franche Comte*, that the Ladie Regent gaue order to prepare to depart. Neuerthelesse by the working of the Popes Legat, and principally by the operation and good office of the Archbishop of *Capua*, the conclusion was established, the French king not leauing to promise to the Confederates the same things he had offered before. At last, being the fift day of August, the peace was solemne published in the great Church of *Cambray*, whereof the first article contained: That the kings sonnes should be redeliuered, so farre soorth as their father payed to the Emperour for their ranfome, twelue hundred thousand crownes in readie money, and to the king of *England* for him two hundred thousand: That the king should render to the Emperour within six weekes after the

Peace between
th' Emperour &
French king ne-
gociated in Ca-
bray.

ratification, all that he possessed in the Duchie of *Milhan*: That he should leaue vnto him *Asi* with resignation of the rights appertaining: That he should leaue as soone as he could, *Barletto*, with all those peeces which he held in the Realme of *Naples*: That he should require the *Venetians* that according to the forme of the capitulations of *Cognar*, they should render the towne of *Powilla*: That in case they would not, he should declare himselfe their enemy, and aide the Emperour to recouer them with a monthly contribution of thirtie thousand crownes, and with twelue gallies, foure shippes, and foure gallions payed for sixe moneths: That he should restore as much as was in his power of the price of the gallies taken at *Portofino*, or else to answere the value, deducting and defalking so much as had bene taken since by *Andreu Dore* or other the Emperours Ministers: That according to the former covenants at *Madrik*, he should renounce the soveraigntie of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and resigne the rights of *Tournay* and *Arras*: That he should call in the processe against the Duke of *Barbon*, and render to him that was dead his honour, and to his heires his goods: and yet the Emperour complained afterwards, that as soone as the king had recouered his children, he tooke them from them: That the goods of whom so euer occupied in regard of the warre, should be restored to their successours: in which point the Emperour tooke occasion also to complaine, for that the king made not restitution of the goods occupied vpon the Prince of *Orange*: That all bills of defiance and challenge should be suppressed and cancelled, and chiefly that of *Robert de la Marche*. The Pope was comprehended in this peace as principall, and the Duke of *Sauoy* was generally included as subiect to the Emperour, and specially brought in by the nomination of the Emperour. It was also set downe that the king should meddle no more in the affaires of *Italy* nor of *Germanie* in fauour of any potentate, to the prejudice of the Emperour, notwithstanding the French king in times following maintained that he was not by that defended to recouer that which the Duke of *Sauoy* vsurped vpon the Realme of *France*, as also all that he pretended to appertaine vnto him by reason of the rights and claimes of the Ladie Regent his mother. There was also one article which bare that in the peace it was meant, that the *Venetians* and *Florentines* should be comprehended so farre forth, as within foure moneths they were at a point with the Emperour for their differences, which was a kind of secret and silent exclusion: That the like should be of the Duke of *Ferrara*: but touching the Barons and exiles of the Realme of *Naples*, there was no mention made of them.

As soone as this accord was past to conclusion, the French king went immediatly to *Cambray* to visite the Ladie *Margaret*: and being not without some shame for so foule a fact against the confederates, he eschewed for certaine daies with sundrie euasions, either to see or heare their Embassadours: but in the end giuing them audience apart, he excused himselfe vpon the impossibilitie to recouer otherwise his children: onely he gaue them comfort that he would send the Admirall to the Emperour for their benefit: he gaue them also sundrie other sweete and vaine hopes, promising seuerally to the *Florentins* to lend them for the remedie of their dangers imminent, fortie thousand duckets; a promise performed with the same fidelitie that his other offers were: & he suffred as though it tended to their benefit, *Peter Stephen Colonne* whose seruice he would accept no more, to go to their pay. But during the action and sollicitation of these things, *Antho. de Leua* had recouered *Biagrasa*, and the duke of *Vrbino* remaining at *Cassiano*, which he laboured with the hands working of infinit Pioners to fortifie, compelled them of *Pavia* and *S. Angeo* to hold good: saying that the lodging of *Cassiano* was verie apt to minister succours to *Loda* & *Pavia*. Afterwards *Antho. de Leua* went vp to *Enzagua*, a place within three miles of *Cassiano*, from whence he sent out continually bands of soldiers to skirmish with the *Venetians*: & lastly from *Enzagua* he drew to *Vauvy*, either for that he meant to run vp vpon the territories of *Bargamasquo*, or else because the *Venetians* had cut from him the course & vsage of all water. *Vissarino* about this time entred into *Valencia* by the Castell, & cut in peeces a garrison of two hundred footmen that were there: and by this time were arriued by sea at *Genes* a regiment of two thousand *Spaniards* to tarie for the comming of the Emperour, who immediatly after he had passed the accord with the Pope, sent direction to the Prince of *Orange*, to reinforce the armie and inuade at the Popes request the estate of the *Florentines*: and when the Prince was come to *Aquila*, and mustred his companies vpon the frontiers of the kingdome, he was solicited vehemently by the Pope to aduaunce and passe further: for which sollicitation he went vp to *Rome* the last of Iuly without his forces, to resoluue with the Pope vpon the prouisions for the warre: where

The Emperour
sendeth to the
Prince of O-
range to in-
uade the states
of the Floren-
tines.

where after many actions and negociations which sometimes were vpon the point to be broken, for the difficulties which the Pope objected touching the defrayments: it was at last resolved that the Pope should deliuer to him presently thirty thousand duckats, and within a very short time after forty thousand more, to the end that at the Emperours expences he might first reduce to the obedience of the Church the estate of *Perousa*, by chasing out *Malatesta Baillon*, and afterwards make inuasion vpon the *Florentins*, to readdress in that City the family of the *Medices*; an enterprise which the Pope esteemed of very easie action, for an opinion he had, that being abandoned on all sides, they would according to the custome of their elders, rather giue place to the time, then to bring vpon their countrey a most manifest daunger. Vpon these conditions the Prince of *Orenge* assembled his forces, which contained 3000 Launceknights, the remainders as well of those companies, which the *Viceroy* had brought out of *Spaine*, as of others who had passed out of *Germany* into *Italy* vnder *George Fronspergh*, and foure thousand *Italians* not payed vnder these Colonels, *Peter Lewis de Farnese*, the Count *Saint Second*, *Colonel Martio*, and *Serre Colonna*. For their better safety in approching any place, and to execute any peece of force, the Pope caused to be drawne out of the Castell *Saint Angeo*, and to be caried with them, three Cannons with other peeces of artilleries: and after the Prince of *Orenge*, was to follow the Marquis of *Guast* with the bands of Spanish footmen that were in *Powilla*. But at *Florence* both the generall deliberation was farre otherwise, and the minds of particular men verie resolute to defend their countrey and their liberty; an euent contrary to that which the Pope expected of that Citie.

Whilest these preparations were managed on all parts, the person of the Emperour departed from *Barcelona* with a great fleet of ships and gallies, fraughted with a thousand horsemen, and 9000 footmen: and after he had run not without perill and trauell a course of fifteene dayes at sea, he arriued the twelfth of August at *Genes*, where was brought to him the first aduertisement of the accord made at *Cambrai*: and at the same time passed for him into the parts of *Lombardy*, Captaine *Felix*, whom he had taken into his pay with eight thousand Launceknights. The descending of the Emperour, with such a puissant preparation, made astonished the minds of all the regions of *Italy*, being now assured that they were left and deliuered vp for pray by the French kings: and therefore the *Florentins* who in that astonishment were no lesse carefull then apprehended to the charge of good Citizens, vpon the first aduertisements they had of his coming, sent out foure Embassadors of the most principall and chosen of their towne, to congratulate his coming, and to labor to make some composition with him for their affaires. But afterwards either vpon better consideration of things, or vpon the common custome of men to receiue comfort when they know the vttermost of their mishap, they tooke courage, and began to moderate their commissions, restraining their Embassadors to debate only with him of their interests, and not to meddle with the differēces of the Pope: wherein they hoped that both for the memory of things past, and for the litle confidence which is wont to be betweene Popes and Emperours, he would be so much discontented with the Emperours greatness, as to be driuen to desire that the authority and forces of the estate of *Florence* might be adioyned to the power of the Church. The *Venetians* were discontented that the *Florentins* being ioynt Confederates with them, had sent Embassadors to their common enemy without communicating with them. The Duke of *Ferrara* made also the same complaint, notwithstanding that following their example he dispatched Embassadors to the Emperour as well as they. The *Venetians* consented that the Duke of *Milan* should do the like: but he had long time before entertained a secret practise with the Pope, to bring him to compound with the Emperour, which he did so much the more sollicite and aduance, by how much he knew euen before the ouerthrow of *S. Pol*, that he could lay no good ground of hope in the French king nor in the *Venetians*.

The Emperour disbarke at *Sauona* the bands of Spanish footmen which he had brought with him, and conuerted them into *Lombardy*, to the end *Anth. de Lena* might issue out strong into the field: he made an offer to disbarke the at *Spetio*, to the end to send the into *Tuscane*: but the Pope had an opiniō that so many forces were not necessary, especially seeing he wished (for the preservation of the countrey) not to address without need so great a fury against the towne of *Florence*: and yet proceeding now openly against that state and against *Malatesta*, he caused to be stayed, in the toynes of the Church the knight *Sperello*, who before the capitulation of *Cambrai* being

The Emperour
at Genes, whither the
Princes of Italy
send Embassadors
to him.

sent with mony by the French king to *Malatesta* who had ratified his pay, returned to *Perouza*. He caused also to be stayed neare to *Bracciano*, the money sent by the *Florentins* to the Abbot of *Farfa* being entertained in their pay with two hundred horsemen, to the ende he might leauy for their seruice a thousand footmen: but he was constrained eftsóones to render to it againe, for that where the Pope had appointed Legates with the Emperour, the Cardinals of *Farnese*, *S. Crosse* and *Medici*, of whom *S. Crosse* passing by his lands, the Abbot caused him to be stayed, and would not redeliuer him if first he had not restored to him his money. The *Florentins* continued still in their preparations, and as they had in vaine moued the Emperour for a surceassing of armes vntill he had giuen audience to their Embassadours, so prohibiting for the euill before the mischiefe hapned, they sent to sommon *Don Hercules* eldest sonne to the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom six moneths before they had taken into their pay with title of Captaine generall, to come to their succors with his companies according to the Articles of the contract. But notwithstanding he had receiued the money that was sent him for imprest, to wage a thousand footemen allowed for his gard when he marched, yet his father preferring considerations of estate before fidelity, made him refuse to go thither, without that he payed backe againe the money, but sent to their aydes his bands of horsemen: by reason of which dealing the *Florentins* denied him the election of the second yeare.

By the xix. day of August the Prince of *Orenge* was come to *Terny*, and the Launceknights to *Fuligno* where was mustred the whole army: but it was a matter ridiculous, that notwithstanding the peace was made and published betweene the Emperour and French king, yet the Bishop of *Tarba* as the kings Embassador at *Venice*, *Florence*, *Ferrara*, and *Perouza*, did not onely boast of the mighty prouisions his king made for the warre, but also comforted them to do the like. After this the Prince of *Orenge* with six thousand footmen aswell Launceknights as *Italians*, came and incamped neare to *Spello*, where presenting himselfe before the towne accompanied with many horsemen to view the situation, it hapned that *Iohn Urbina*, a man for his long trayning in the warres of *Italy*, of the best place & reputation amongst all the Captaines of the Spanish infantry, was hurt with a shot out of the towne in the thigh, of which wound he died within few dayes after, to the great damage of the army, for that almost the whole course of the warre passed by his counsell and gouernement. In reuenge of whose death the artilleries were planted before *Spello*, wherein was a strength of more then siue hundred footemen and twenty horse, vnder the leading of *Lyon Baillon* baltard brother to *Malatesta*. But after there were spent certaine volleys of shot vpon a tower which is without the towne on the wall side, the defendants notwithstanding *Lyon* had giuen a great hope to *Malatesta* to preserve the towne, yeelded immediately, vpon condition that the towne and inhabitants should remaine at the discretion of the Prince, & the souldiers with their liues saued & so much goods as they could cary, should go out in safety with their swords only, and not to serue against the Pope nor the Emperour in three moneths. Neuerthelesse contrary to their assurance giuen, which by the law of armes is a warrant sufficient and able, they were almost all stripped & spoyled at their going out: *Iohn Baptista Burgeso* one of the exiles of *Sienna* was vehemently charged with this accord, who hauing begun to treat with *Fabio Petrucci* that was in the army, made perfect the conclusion by the ayde of the other Captaines; a matter which *Malatesta* referred to disloyalty, but many others attributed it to faintnesse of courage. After the Embassadors of *Florence* who first presented themselues before the Emperour had congratulated his coming, they began to signifie vnto him, that as their city was not ambitious, but thankfull for benefits receiued, and ready to offer all the offices and commodities they could to whom so euer would professe the protection & preservation of it: so they sought to excuse their action of entring into league with the French king, vpon the will and inclination of the Pope, who then commanded them, and vpon the law of necessity which had hitherto compelled them to continue in it. They said, they could not passe further, for that they were not enabled by commission: only they had expresse commandement from their common-wealth nor to open their eares to any practise with the Pope, and to visite his other Embassadours, but not the Cardinall *Medici*. The great Chauncellor newly called to the dignity of Cardinall, made them answer, that it was necessary they should satisfie the Pope and reduce him contented both of their doings and of their meanings: and they complaining of the iniustice of that demaund, he eftsóones replied, that seeing their City was confederate with the enemies of the Emperour, and had sent out armed bands

hands against him, that it was fallen from her priuiledges & diuolued to the Empire, and therefore it was in the Emperour to dispose of it according to his owne arbitration. But at last it was said vnto them on the Emperours behalfe, that they should procure to be sent to them sufficient commission to compound with the Pope, and that afterwards should be considered the differences that were betweene the Pope and them, which if they were not first resolued and compounded, the Emperour would not commune with them of their poper interests. Whereupon the estate of *Florence* dispatched a commission very large and ample to compound with the Emperour, but not to accord with the Pope: in so much as the Emperour departing from *Genes* the xxx. of August and went vp to *Plaisance*, the Embassadors following his Court were not admitted into *Plaisance*, for that it was vnderstood that their commission was not such as the Emperour had demanded: by which meane all things suspended and remained without accord. The Emperour caused also to depart from his Court the Embassadors of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he receiued with hard termes: and yet returning afterwards with new conditions, and haply with new fauors, they were admitted & heard. Moreouer the Emperour sent Embassador to the French king, the Count *Nansun*, to congratulate with him the new accord confirmed with the knot of parentage, & to receiue the ratification. In recompense of which Embassage & for the same expedition, the king sent to him the Admirall of *France*. The king sent mony to *Ranse de Cere*, to the end that with all his companies he might retire from *Pouilla*, and caused to be rigged twelue gallies to be sent thither vnder *Philip Dore* against the *Venetians*, against who the Emperour sent out *Andrew Dore* xxxvij. gallies. Neuerthelesse the king iudging that the recouering of his children would be more certaine, if there remained any difficulty in *Italy* to the Emperour, he continued to giue diuerse hopes to the Confederates, & promised particularly to the *Florentins* to send mony to the secretly by the Admirall, not that he had any desire to minister to the wants of them or the others, but to the end they should shew themselves more hard and seuerer to compound with the Emperour.

During all this while there was solicited a continuall practise of accord betweene the Emperour and the Duke of *Millan*, the action whereof was managed wholly by the Pronotory *Caraccioli*, whose office was to come and go from *Cremona* to *Plaisance*. But where the Emperour held it strange that the Duke reposed lesse confidence in him then he looked for, and the Duke on the other side was hardly brought to trust him at all, there was an ouerture and motion made, that til the Dukes cause were thoroughly examined, *Alexandria* and *Pania* should be deposed of trust into the Popes hands. To this the Emperour would not consent, both for that he thought the Duke was not able to resist his forces, and also for that *Anth. de Lema* was gone vp to *Plaisance*, who being alwayes an enemy to peace and quietnesse, had incensed the Emperour with many reasons to pursue the war: and therefore the Emperour charged him to go on with the enterprise of *Pania*, hauing a deuice also, that at the same time Captaine *Felix* who was come with the new supplies of *Almans*, as well footmen as horsmen, and with artilleries, and had first passed by *Pesquero*, and afterwards was entred vpon the lands of *Bressia*, should make warre on that side vpon the *Venetians*: of which expedition he had made Captaine generall the Marquis of *Manina*, newly returned to the deuotion of the Imperials.

All this while the Pope was not idle to labor a pceace betweene the Emperour and the *Venetians*, with hope to conclude it at his coming to *Bologna*: for that where he had before solicited to meet the Emperour and confer with him at *Genes*, they had sithens by comon consent referred the place of their enteruiue to *Bologna*, chiefly for many apt comodities which that city yeelded to so great an assembly. They were not induced being Princes of the greatest importance to meete together by a common desire only to confirme the league of their new amity & coniunction: but also they had to cary them their further seuerall respects; the Emperour pushed on by necessity, being determined to take the Crowne of the Empire; & the Pope by ambition, hauing a desire to aduance the enterprise of *Florence*: and in them both indifferently did concur a ioynt deuotion to establish some orderly forme ouer the affaires of *Italy*, a matter which they could not accomplish without resoluing the affaires of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, and without keeping some good hand vpon the imminent dangers of the Turke, who being entred into *Hungary* with a puissant armie, came on to inuade *Austria* & take *Vienna*. In this time were done no actions of consequence betweene the Emperour & *Venetians*, for that the *Venetians* hauing an absolute inclinatio to accord with him, & because they wold not incense him further, had giue order to retire their army by sea from

the enterprife of the Castell of *Brundusa* to *Corfu*: and seeking only to preferue the townes which they held, they forbore also for that time all exploits in the regions of *Lombardy*, except certaine light rodes & incursions: and so being only carefull for the gard of their townes, they had put into *Bressia* the Duke of *Vrbino*. Touching the *Almains*, they were reduced to *Lunaro*, containing a number of a thousand horsmen & eight or ten thousand footemen: they had resolved together with the Marquis of *Manina*, to execute the enterprife of *Cremona*, where was the Duke of *Millan*, who seeing himselfe excluded fro all accord with the Emperor, & that *Antb. de Luna* was gone to incampe before *Pania*, & *Caracciol* gone to *Cremona* to denounce war to him, contracted with the *Venetians* to conclude no accord with the Emperor without their consent: and in recompence of that contract they bound themselves to minister to him for the defence of his estates, a regiment of 2000 footmen payed, with contribution of 8000 duckats for euery moneth. They sent also artilleries & men to *Cremona*, with which proportion of succors & promises, the Duke had confidence to be able to defend *Cremona* & *Loda*: for touching *Pania*, it made a very slender resistance against *Antb. de Luna*, not only for that it contained not sufficient victuals for two moneths, but also because Captaine *Passinard* to whom it was committed to keep & gard it, had not many dayes before sent out of the towne foure companies of footmen to *S. Angelo*, where *Antb. de Luna* had made as though he would incampe: for which want of victuals & weaknesse of men, of whom the numbers were very small within the towne, & worse furnished for the seruice, there was no confidence in all construction of war & war causes, to be able to defend it, & therefore when he saw the artilleries were planted & bent to execute, not enduring the prooue of one bullet, nor the venture of one assault, he rendred the towne vnder safety of life & goods as well for himselfe as his souldiers. In this action he was charged greatly (which also was a cause to hasten the rendring of the towne) that he was more caried by couetousnes not to lose the wealth & riches he had gathered together vpon so many prayes & pillages, then induced by any desire to preferue the glory he had gotten in so many excellent and braue exploits of war, and chiefly in the seruices of *Pania*.

Now was the warre very hotly kindled in *Tuscane*, for that as the Prince of *Orange* had taken *Spello*, and the Marquis of *Guaft* who followed him with the Spanish infantry beginning to draw neare him with his army, so he went on and aduanced by good degrees till he came at the bridge of *Saint Iohn* neare to *Perouza* vpon *Tyber*, where ioyned with him the regiments of Spanish footmen. In this City was a strength of three thousand footmen of the *Florentins*: and the Prince before he planted his campe before *Spello*, sent a messenger to *Perouza* to perswade *Malatesta* to obey the will of the Pope: who seeking to appropriate to himselfe by what way so euer, the City of *Perouza*, and to the ende the army might passe further, made this offer to *Malatesta*, that if he would leaue *Perouza*, he would preferue his estates and his proper goods, he would consent that he might freely go to the defence of the *Florentins*, and would be bound that *Braccio* and *Sforce Baillons*, nor any other his enemies should reenter into *Perouza*. And albeit *Malatesta* assured him that he would not accept any offer without consent of the *Florentins*, yet he opened more and more his eares to the Embassages of the Prince, who after he had conquered *Spello*, solicited him more vehemently. Al these offers and deuises *Malatesta* communicated with the *Florentins*, being haply inclined to passe the accord, for that both he feared the ende of things, and was no lesse doubtfull that the *Florentins* would not continue to giue him all the aydes and succors he desired: and when by necessity he should be driuen to accord, he had no hope to find better conditions then those that were offered him, holding it a better way that without offending the Pope, or to giue him occasion to depriue him of the goods and places which he preferred for him, to keepe himselfe possessed of the pay of the *Florentins*, then in standing to his defence, which by many arguments was fraile and casual, both to put wilfully into danger his whole estate, and also to pull vpon him the hatred of his friends and the towne: so that as he assured dayly and persevered in this, that he would not accord without their priuity, so also he added, that if they would haue him to defend *Perouza*, they must of necessity supplie him of new with a thousand footmen, and turne the residue of their companies to make head at *Orsaino*, a place within fiue miles of *Cortona* vpon the confines of *Cortona* and *Perouza*; a matter which they could not do without decaying the garrisons of their other townes. And yet the weaknesse of the towne was such, that by necessity they must retire at euery mouing of the enemies: he perswaded with them also, that in case he did not accord, the Prince leauing the enterprife of *Perouza*, wold take his way

The Pope maketh offers to Malatesta.

way to *Florence*, in which case also it was needfull that they left him within *Peroufa* a thousand footmen of seruice, which yet would not be sufficient, since the Pope had means to vex the Citie with other forces then with the regiments Imperiall: but if he did accord, then the *Florentines* were to retire to themselves all their bands of footemen, who should be accompanied with two or three hundred men of choice of his training; and for his owne part, his estates and goods being left to him, & his enemies excluded from all expectation to haue *Peroufa*, he should be reduced to better termes and estate of quietnesse to hearken to their defence. If the election had rested in the *Florentines*, they could haue bene better contented to continue the warre at *Peroufa*, but discerning that *Malatesta* entertained a continuall intelligence with the Prince, and no lesse assured that he had not discontinued to practise with the Pope, they doubted vpon these good grounds, least by the incitation and importunity of his friends and followers, and in compassion of the damages of the citie and cuntry; and lastly, for suspicion of the enemies and instabilitie of the people, he would in the end giue place to the power of time: they interpreted it also to too great a daunger and hazard, to put into *Peroufa* almost the whole reputation and flower of their forces, exposed to the perill of the fidelity of *Malatesta*, to the apparant daunger to be forced by the enemies, & to the manifest difficultie to reuoke the againe in case *Malatesta* should accord: they also brought into consideration that the changing of *Peroufa* could preiudice the litle, both the friends of *Malatesta* remaining there still, and he retaining his Castles and Boroughs, & none of his brothers returning thither at all, so that so long as it persevered in this estate, it could not be that the Pope would not be in suspicion of it. Thus they wandred in suspence and incertaintie of mind, & in that perplexitie making their chiefe care of the safety of their men, and hauing no assured confidence in the constancie of *Malatesta*, they dispatched secretly the sixt of September a man of credence to draw away their bands of souldiers from *Peroufa*, fearing to be abused, if the accord went on: but being enformed afterwards that they could not get away, for that the enemies were come neare at hand, they sent with diligence to *Malatesta* their consent, that he might compound: but his necessities and feare of further danger, were swifter then the diligence they made to dispatch to him their consent, for that before the messenger arriued, the Prince of *Orenge* the ix. of September hauing passed *Tyber* at the bridge of *Saint Iohn*, and being drawne into campe, and offering certaines skirmishes, he was driuen to compound the same night. By which composition he bound himselfe to depart from *Peroufa*, with obligation of sufferance to enioy his goods, to go to the seruice of the *Florentines*, and to retire their companies in safety; and to giue him the better time to leade them vpon the dominions of *Florence*, the Prince of *Orenge* promised not to remoue in two dayes from the place where he lay encamped: so that they issued out of *Peroufa* the twelfth day, and making verie speedie marches, they went the same day to *Cortono* by the way of the mountaines, long and troublesome, but free and assured. Thus was the body of the warre reduced vpon the lands of the *Florentines*, to whom, albeit the *Venetians* & Duke of *Urbino* had giuen manie hopes that they would aide the with three thousand footmen; a strength which for suspicion of the Princes comming into those quarters, they had sent vpon the state of *Urbino*, yet because they would not displease the Pope, that promise sorted to none effect: onely the *Venetians* gaue money to the Commissarie *Castrocaro* to wage two hundred footmen, and notwithstanding that state and the Duke of *Ferrara* entertained continual solicitation to compound with the Emperour, yet they forbore not to comfort the *Florentines*, & encourage them to stand to their defence, hoping vnder such propertie of difficultie to raunge the Emperour more easily, and to get to themselves better conditions. The *Florentines* at that instant had principally two actions in hand, the one, to temporize & delay the armie so long as they might haue time to rampart and fortifie their towne, vnder the walles whereof they looked that in the end the war wold be reduced: the other, to labor to appease the mind of the Emperour, yea euen in according with the Pope, so far forth as the forme of their libertie and gouernment popular were not innouated. By reason whereof, being not yet come the exclusion of their Embassadors, they had sent a messenger to the Prince of *Orenge*, and made a nomination of Embassadors to go to the Pope, desiring him whē they signified vnto him the election, that he wold make a surceance of the army vntill they were arriued, which he refused to do: so that the Prince being aduanced & come on with his forces, he battered and gaue the assault to the suburbs of *Cortono* which looke to *Orsasio*, in which citie were seuen hundred footmen strong, he was repulsed from thence, finding both

force and valour where he expected but weaknesse or disloyaltie : there was a greater strength of footmen within *Aretze* : but as *Anth. Frauncis Albizi* Commissarie, fearing least the Prince ; after the taking of *Cortono* leauing *Aretze* behind him, would take the way of *Florence* , and preuenting the companies that were with him in *Aretze*, the Citie of *Florence* in that astonishment would draw to accord for want of the readiest succours that they had, determined to abandon it : so, for those reasons and considerations , without the publike consent of the state , though haply obseruing a secret intention of the *Gonfalonnier* he went from *Aretze* with all his companies, leauing onely two hundred footmen within the Castle: but being arriued at *Feguna* by the counsell of *Malatesta* that was there, who allowed well that they should reduce all their forces to the defence of *Florence*, he sent backe againe to *Aretze* a thousand footmen, to the end it should not be left altogether abandoned. And as in the course of calamities accidents happen by succession, so the xvij. day the towne of *Cortono*, for whose keeping and defending, a thousand men had bene a strength sufficient, seeing the *Florentines* vsed not such order as they ought, rendred, notwithstanding it was very litle pressed by the Prince, with whom the towne cōpounded to pay him xx. thousand duckets. By the accident of *Cortono*, the souldiers that lay within *Aretze*, doubting of their sufficiencie to defend it, abādoned that Citie, which the xix. day cōpounded also with the Prince, but with capitulations & clauses, rather to rule and gouerne themselves in their liberty vnder shadow of the Emperours protection, then to beare any longer the yoke and subiection of the *Florentines*, declaring to be false and fained the profession which to this day they had made to be friends to the family of *Medicis*, and enemies to the gouernment popular. At which time the Emperor refused expressely to giue any more audience to the *Florentine* Embassadors, vnlesse they restored the house of *Medicis* , and the Prince of *Orenge*, notwithstanding the Embassadours that were with him detested, without any regard, the Popes couetousnesse, and the iniquity of that enterprise, had neuerthelessse told them, that without restoring the house of *Medices*, he must of necessity continue the warre: whereupon calling his army into view & muster, he found that he had strong 300 men at armes, 500 light horsmen, 2500 Launceknights braue bodies, 2000 footmē Spanissh, & 3000 *Italians*, all disposed vnder the leading of these Capitaines, *Serro Colonne*, *Peter Maria Rossa*, *Peter Lewis de Farnesa*, & *Iohn Baptista Saueila*, and to them afterwards came *Iohn Saffatello*, bringing with him the money which he had receiued before of the *Florentines*, whose pay he had accepted : to them also was adioyned *Alexander Vitelly* , hauing betweene three and foure thousand footmen : only the Prince had small store of artilleries , and therefore he prayed aide of them of *Sienna* to furnish him , who standing in case not to refuse to so mighty an armie of the Emperour any thing they demaunded , they gaue order to refurnish him with some proportion of artilleries, but prepared it with as great delays & longnesse as they could, both for the hatred they bare against the Pope, & ialousie they had of his greatnesse, & also for that they were ill contented with the mutation of the gouernment of *Florence*, with whō by reason of their common hatred against the Pope, they had for certain moneths entertained together a secret peace & intelligence. In this meane while the Pope had giuen audience to the *Florentine* Embassadors, to whō he answered, that as his intention was not to alter the libertie of the city, so he was not caried into this way of enterprise & armes, so much for the iniuries he had receiued of that gouernment, and necessity to assure his owne estate, as in regard of the capitulations he had made with the Emperour, in which debating now vpon the interest of his honor, he required no other thing of them, then that they would voluntarily referthēselues to his abitrement & power, which being done, he would make to them good declaration & testimony, with what property of zeale & deuotion he desired the benefite and aduancement of their common country : and vnderstanding afterwards that the feare & astonishment was increased at *Florence*, specially since they were aduertized that the Emperour had refused to heare their Embassadors , and in that regard where they had elected new Embassadors to go to him, which he thought was done to submit and accord to him that he demanded, and desiring that the matter might be suddenly done, to auoyd the destruction of the country, he dispatched in post to army the Archbishop of *Capua*, who passing by *Florence*, found thē of the towne otherwise disposed then the Pope was perswaded. But in this meane while the Prince of *Orenge* aduanced, and was come the xxiiij. day to *Montuarch* in the vale of *Arno*, which is within xxv. miles of *Florence*, abiding there for eight cannons from *Sienna*, which were sent away the day after , onely they continued to be caried with the same tract and slownesse, with the
which

which they had bene prepared, in so much as by their want and impediment, the Prince, who the xxvij. had led the armie euen vp to *Feguina* and *Anchisa*, was driuen to abide in that place vnto the end of the fourth of October: and from thence proceeded the difficultie of the whole enterprise: for after the losse of *Aretze*, when the *Florentines* found that their hopes failed, together with the fauours and promises made from all parts, and also that the fortifications which were made in the Citie on that side towards the mountaine notwithstanding the continuall labour of Pioners and workmen, could not by the iudgement of souldiers be reduced to defence sooner then viij. or tenne daies: and being aduertised on the other side that the army of the enemies aduanced and wonne way, and *Ramassotto*, who was in armes by the Popes ordinance with three thousand footmen, had sacked *Firenfolo*, and was entred into the country of *Mugello*, which was not without daunger that he would go vp to *Prato*. By these arguments of feare and impediments, the Citizens being reduced to an vniuersall astonishment, began to incline to accord, the rather for that many in their feare were fled from the danger, which in their cowardise they durst not defend, so that at the Counsell board of *Diacy*, where are debated the affaires of the warre, and in which Councell were present the principall Citizens of the gouernment, the vniuersall consent & aduise was, to dispatch to *Rome* a free and ample commission, to submit and referre themselves to the Popes will. But when this resolution was related to the supreme Magistrate, without whose consent there could no deliberation passe, the *Gonsalonier*, who obstinately sustained the contrarie opinion, was against it, who ioyning with him the Magistrate popular of the Colledges (who participated with the authoritie of the Tribunes of the people of *Rome*) in which office or societie were haply many persons of sinister vnderstanding, and great temerity and insolencie: & hauing also their opinion supported with the boldnesse and threatnings of many young men, he brought to passe, that that day nothing was established: and yet it was a thing manifest, that if the day following, which was the xxviij. of September, the Prince had aduanced and come on one remoue, the faction that impugned and inueighed against the accord, had not bene able to resist the strong inclination of all the others, of so small causes depend oftentimes the moments of right great things. Thus the surceance and temporizing of the armie made by the Prince of *Orenge* in vaine, which some interpreted to be done expressely to entertaine the war, for that he had not sufficient artilleries to affront the Citie of *Florence*, was the cause that within the towne many entred into courage and resumed the spirits, which through the former astonishment they had lost: but the thing that confirmed them in this resolution, was, that the fortification continued without any intermission of time, and which the hands of many numbers of men did so raise and aduante, that before the Prince of *Orenge* removed from the place where he lay encamped, the Captaines iudged that the ramparts were sufficient for defence: so that ceasing now all inclination to accord, the Citizens with a generall resolution stood prepared to defend with their bodies and liues the place, which till then they had laboured to make strong by their industrie and worke of their hands: wherein the better to assure their minds so well induced, they were aduertised that *Ramassotto*, who led with him without pay or discipline, not souldiers but paynants, raw and vnarmed, and had taken the field, not with intention of fight, but to rob and spoyle: after he had wasted with raking and sacking the whole countrey of *Mugello*, he retired with the booties he had taken vpon the territories of *Bologna*, where did dissolue in disorder and disagreement the bands he had leauied and led in insolencie and licenciousnesse, though after they had sold to him their shares and most part of the spoyles. Thus of a warre easie and tractable, and which might haue taken end with a small losse to any partie, was deriued a warre most heauy and hurtfull to all, and such as could not be led to his end, till the whole countrey was wasted, and the principall City in hazard of her latest desolation. The fift of October the Prince of *Orenge* departed fro *Feguino*, but he ordered his marching so slowly, to tarie for the artilleries of *Sienna*, which now drew neare, that he could not before the xx. day range all his companies & artilleries into the plaine of *Ripoly*, which is within two miles of *Florence*: he encamped all his armie the xxiiij. day vpon the litle hilles neare the ramparts, obseruing with the safety of his owne, the places that most helped him to annoy his enemies: and of this armie as one part occupied all the litle hils eminent to the Citie, which stretch from the gate *Saint Minato* to the gate *S. George*: so the other part from the said gate *S. Minato* was extended euen to the way of the gate *S. Nicholai*. There were within *Florence* eight thousand footmen, all bodies of seruice, and their chiefe

resolution was to defend *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Empoli*, *Pisa* and *Liorna*, which places they had strengthened and fortified with sufficient garrisons, leauing all other places and peeces rather to the fidelity and discretion of the peuples, and the fortresses to the benefite of their situation, then to bestow great bands of souldiers to guard them: but now the warre rising by burning degrees into his heate, all the countrey was filled full of combustion, of incurfions, and bands of licentious souldiers: and the *Siennes*, notwithstanding their former profession of league and amitie with the state of *Florence*, did not onely rise vpto make pillage in euerie place, but also in that libertie of warre they sent bands of souldiers to occupie *Montpulson*, hoping that afterwards the Prince would consent that they might retain it: neuerthelesse, finding it defended by a garrison of the *Florentines*, their ambition was easly stopped, and their aspiring inuentions presently defeated, the rather for that not long after *Napoleon Vrsin* arriued there; a souldier of the *Florentines*, with three hundred horsmen, who would not depart from *Rome* before the Pope were vpon his way to go to *Bologna*. The Prince of *Orenge*, when he had bestowed his armie, and stretched it out at large vpon the hilles of *Monticio*, *Gullo*, & *Giramont*, and after he had brought to him from *Lucqua* both pyoners and certaine peeces of artilleries, he caused to cast a rampart, to the end to make it profitable to giue an assault to the Bastillion of *Saint Miniato*: but on the other side to hinder the vse and seruice of it, were planted in the garden of *Saint Miniato*, foure Cannons vpon a cauallier. The townes of *Collo* and *Saint Gimignano* rendred immediatly to the Prince, they were places of importance to make easie and safe the resort of victuals that came from *Sienna*. The xxix. day the Prince planted vpon the bastillion of *Giramont* foure Cannons to beate the steeple of *Saint Miniato*, for that a Saker which the defendants of the towne had mounted there, played with great hurt vpon the armie: two of those cannons were broken and reduced not seruiceable within few houres: to recompence which default, the day following another cannon being brought to the place, after they had executed in vaine about an hundred and fiftie shot of bullet, and yet could not dismount the Saker, they forbore to shoot any more, where so litle good was done by their labour. By which resistance and other difficulties and impediments concurring, euerie one interpreting it to a hard matter to carie *Florence*, specially with one onely anny, the actions and exploits afterwards beganne to proceed slowly, and rather in maner of skirmishes then in forme of assault. The second of Nouember was perfourmed a great skirmish against the Bastillion of *Saint George*; another vpon the Bastillion of *Saint Nicholas*, and a third vpon the way that goeth to *Rome*. The fourth day was planted vpon *Giramont* a Culuerin, right against the pallace of the Lords, which set open the gates at the first shot: but at this time the horsmen that were within *Florence* ran vp to *Valdiieso*, and made pray of an hundred horse, most part horses of seruice: and in the same fortune certaine horsmen and harquebuziers of the *Florentines*, issuing out of *Pondadero*, tooke threescore horse betweene the cabans and the towre of *Saint Romaine*.

The Pope and
the Emperour
at Bologna.

By this time the Pope was arriued at *Bologna*, after whom the Emperour followed according to the ceremonie and custome of great Princes, for that when two Princes are to enteruiew and meete together, the tradition beareth that he that representeth the greatest dignitie shall come first to the place appointed, seeing it is both iudged and taken for a gerat signe of reuerence that he that is inferiour shall shew office and go to the other: and there being receiued of the Pope with great shewes and testimonies of honour, and lodged in the same pallace with him, ioyning one to the other, it seemed by the demonstrations of office & familiaritie passing betweene the, that they had alwayes liued in an indissoluble league of amitie and good will. There the Emperour receiued aduertisements, which cleared him of all suspition of inuasion by the Turkes, whose armie, together with the person of their Lord and Priuce being presented before *Vienna*, wherein was a great garrison of Launceknights, they had not onely giuen in vaine manie assaults to the place, but also had bene so repulled with so great a slaughter, that with the small confidence they had to carie it, and what with the want of great artilleries to batter it, & what by the compulsion of the time, which in that region is verie sharpe, being in the moneth of October, they brake vp & went their wayes, not retiring vnto any other place neare to it, but tooke the way of *Constantinople*, which is a march of three moneths: so that the Emperour being cleared and assured of that suspition, which before had not onely made him inclined (notwithstanding the conquest of *Pania*) to accord with the Duke of *Mullan*, but also had induced him to deale with the Pope

Pope to thinke vpon a meane to compound with the *Florentines*, to the end that being eased and dispatched of the affaires of *Italy*, he might passe with all his forces into *Almany*, to the succours of *Vienna* and his brother. According to which perswasion, as the Pope and he began to debate vpon the affaires of *Italy*, so the thing that most concerned the Pope, and lay nearest his heart, was the enterprize against the *Florentines*, whereunto also the Emperour seemed to beare a manifest inclination, as well to satisfie the Pope touching the matter of capitulation at *Barfello-ma*, as also for that the Citie of *Florence* being alwayes caried with a deuotion to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, it could not be but the embasing of his greatnesse was verie agreeable to them: therefore when the *Florentines* had chosen foure Embassadours to go to the Pope at *Bologna*, and making also petition to speake to the Emperour, he would neuer giue them audience but one time, and that when it pleased the Pope, from whom also he drew the substance of the answer he made them. Thus they concluded to continue the enterprize, and because it fell out more hard and entangled then the Pope expected, there was a determination to employ in this action all the bands and companies of souldiers that were in *Lombardy*, in case there hapned occasion of accord with the *Venetians* and *Frauncis Sforce*: which companies, as they were to be paid by the Emperour, so also the Pope was to contribute monethly to the Prince of *Orenge* (who was gone vp to *Bologna* to sollicite those matters) three score thousand duckets, to the end, that where the Emperour found the burthen too heauie to beare out so great expences, he might be shared to defray all those regiments that were already about *Florence*. After this, was brought in question and conference, the other interest of the Pope, which was concerning the matters of *Modena & Reggia*: wherein the Pope, to auoid the note of obstinacie and selfe-will, making shew to continue in the same inclination he had professed many times before, that as if the interest of those two townes only were brought into question, he would make no difficultie to dispose of them according to the will of the Emperour: so neuertheless he protested that in that case of alienation of *Modena* and *Reggia*, *Parma* and *Plaisance* would so remaine separate & cut off from the estate Ecclesiastike, that in consequence they would seeme to be more then halfe aliened. The Emperour answered him, that it was a regard and consideration both iust and reasonable: but for his part he could do no more then vse his authority, whilst his forces were occupied in the enterprize of *Florence*: neuertheless in secret he could haue wished, that with the good satisfaction of the Pope, those townes had remained to the Duke of *Ferrara*, with whom in his way to *Bologna* he had had conference, and giuen him great hope and comfort to worke with the Pope what he could for the benefite of his affaires; so much had that Duke by his good industrie and working made insinuation into the Emperours grace and fauour, and also made such impressions of compassion in the minds of those that gouerned him most, that he wanted not in his Court the operations of great personages, to make his cause fauoured and recommended. There remained now the two articles of most importance and difficultie, concerning the *Venetians* and *Frauncis Sforce*, with whom as touching to accord and compound, the Emperour seemed now nothing so seuer and hard as he had bene before: which as it was altogether contrariety to the inclination with the which he was come into *Italy*, so he tooke his reason both vpon the difficultie of things, appearing greater then he imagined in *Spaine*, and also for that he found by reason of the new coniunction which *Frauncis Sforce* had made with the *Venetians*, that the conquest of the estate of *Milan* would not be a matter of easie action: he saw also how far he was imbarcked into expences and charges, by so great a traine of souldiers & followers which he had brought with him, and caused to come after him, as well out of *Spaine* as *Germany*: but the chiefe cause was the importunitie of his brother, who for the tumults of the *Lutherans*, and other signes appearing of innouation, solicited him to passe into *Almany*, whither it was credible that within a short time the power of the *Turkes* would estoones returne; a matter which he gathered vpon the protestation which *Solyman* made, who in his passion of spite and ignominy, had sworne at his breaking vp frō before *Vienna*, that he would estoones recontinue the quarrell with an armie more mighty and prepared. In these regards were equallie concurring the interests of his honor and safety: for that the Emperour, to whom it seemed that if he should go out of *Italy* and leaue things vnperfect, he could neither carie away assurance for himselfe, nor reputation to his name, began to giue out many signes and tokens of a mind inclined not only to come to accord with the *Venetians*, but also to pardon *Frauncis Sforce*. In which good disposition the Pope omitted no good

office of perswasion and inducement both to sollicite and confirme him, no lesse mouing him a deuout desire to haue an vniuersall tranquillity, then for that the Emperour standing no more restrained and intangled with other enterprises, he might with better oportunitie draw him to conuert all his forces against *Florence*: only the Emperour seemed most of all to be detained by this reason, that it could not but be against his dignitie, to giue occasion to the world to beleaue, that necessitie had almost induced him to pardon the crime of *Frauncis Sforce*: and *Ant. de Leua* being with him at *Bologna*, solicited vehemently that he would make an other resolution and disposing of that estate, sometimes presenting the memorie of *Alexander* the Popes nephew, and sometimes naming others, meet to receiue such a preferment. Neuerthelesse for that there could not easily be found out to gouern that estate, a personage with whom *Italy* would be contented, and the Pope hauing no inclination to conuert it to any of his, not that he wanted ambition to embrace so great a thing, but because he saw he could not accomplish it without new warres and new troubles: the Emperour at last was brought to consent to graunt safeconduct to *Frauncis Sforce*, vnder colour to haue accesse to him to submit and iustifie himselfe, but in true meaning, that libertie of recess was graunted, to the end things might be reduced to some composition. The *Venetians* were not ill contented with his going to the Emperour, for that they hoped that at one time would be introduced some forme of accord to their affaires.

Neuerthelesse the course of armes and warre ceased not for all this in the regions of *Lombardy*, for that *Beloyense*, who in the absence of *Ant. de Leua* was chiefe Commander at *Millan*, went out with seven thousand footmen, to encampe before *Saint Angelo*, wherein were remaining for the strength and garrison of the towne, foure companies of footmen of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Apillan*: and after he had vsed vpon it the seruice of his great artilleries, and that by reason of certaine raines and showers that fell from aboue, the harquebuzes that manned and defended the walles vncovered, were made vnprofitable: he brought neare his souldiers couered with their shields, and being armed with their swords and pikes, he gaue the assault, in which he presented in his owne person no lesse valour and resolution then was leene in anie of the others: but when the defendants were no longer able to keepe fire in their matches, by reason they stood open to the raine, and in that regard being driuen to fight with other weapons, they began to abandon the walles, no lesse through the valour of their enemies, who pressed on with a furie equall to the fortune that fauoured them, then for their owne astonishment, which was made so much the greater, by how much they were made lesse apt to do seruice by the wretched accident of raine that tooke away the vse of their peeces. As soone as the Imperials saw the walles abandoned of bodies to defend them, the same fiercenesse that led them to giue the assault, brought them on to enter the place: where, in the rage of their victorie, all such wretched creatures as they found, they made them either passe by the edge of the sword, or at least put them vnder the sentence of bitter captiuitie. After this, he determined to passe ouer to the other side of the riuer of *Adda*, and by that time he had put ouer one part of his armie at the bridge of *Casiano*, he saw certaine bands of *Spaniards* of a new leaue, departing to go to *Millan*, but preuenting them, he caused the souldiers that were left in the towne to take armes, by which impediment being stopped and denied to enter, they returned againe to the armie. But notwithstanding all these ieuents, and that the armie of *Launceknights* was already vpon the lands of the *Venetians*, the negotiations of the peace were so farre aduanced, and in so good tearmes, that all counsels and studies of the warre beganne to vanish and grow cold: for, when *Frauncis Sforce* was brought to the presence of the Emperour at *Bologna*, and hauing with humility and submission praised his benignity, in admitting him to his presence: he told him, that so much did he repose for himselfe in his owne iustice and equitie, that for all things hapned before the *Marquis of Perquiera* restrained him within the Castle of *Millan*, he desired no other propertie of surety or support then his owne innocencie: and that therefore he renounced frankly the safeconduct, the bill or script whereof the Duke holding in his hand, he layd it at his feete; a matter which much pleased the Emperour. There was a moneth spent in debating of the difficulties as well concerning his accord, as the composition with the *Venetians*: but at last by the continuall working and interposing of the Pope, both the one and the other were concluded the xxij. of December, *Frauncis Sforce* being bound to pay to the Emperour within one year, foure hundred thousand ducats, and fise hundred more within ten yeares, that is, fifty thousand

Capitulations
betweene the
Emperour, the
Venetians &
Duke of Mil-
lan.

euery

euery yeare : and for the pawne and assuring of these payments, the Emperour to keepe in his hands *Coma* and the Castell of *Millan*, which he bound himselfe to render and redeliuer vp to *Francis Sforce* as soone as the payment of the first yeare were furnished: he gaue him also the inuestiture of the Duchy, or rather confirmed that which had bin giuen to him before. But to furnish three payments and to performe the gifts and bribes which he promised to those that gouerned the Emperour, he imposed great taxes vpon the towne of *Millan*, and through the whole Duchy, notwithstanding the people had bin miserably wasted and consumed, both by the cruelty of their long warres, and also by the rage of hunger and pestilence. Touching the *Venetians* they accorded: That they should render to the Pope *Ravenna* and *Cervia* with their territories, sauing their rights, & also the Pope to pardon all such as had conspired or done any thing against him: That they should giue vp to the Emperor by the end of the next Ianuary, all that they possessed in the realme of *Naples*, & to pay him the residue of the two hundred thousand duckats due vpon the third article of the last peace contracted with them: that is to say, xxv. thousand within one moneth next following, & 15000 at the yeares end, but vpon condition that their peeces should be rendred to them within one yeare, if either they were not rendred already according to the tenor of the sayd peace, or at last the controuersies and differences iudged by common arbitrators: That they should pay to the exiles 5000 duckats for euery yeare for the reuenues of their goods, according to the disposition of the treatise of the same peace: That ouer and besides this, they should pay to the Emperor an hundred thousand duckats, the one moiety within ten moneths, and the other halfe within a yeare after. It was further accorded, that the rights of the Patriarch of *Aquilea*, which had bin reserved to him in the capitulation of *Wormes* against the king of *Hungary*, should be decided: That the Duke of *Vrbis* should be comprehended in this peace and confederation, because he was an adherent & in the protection of the *Venetians*: That the *Venetians* should pardon the Count *Brunoro de Gambaro*: That the trafficke and entercourse should be free amongst all their subiects; and that there should be giuen no place of retraite to the corsaires or rouers, who would trouble either party: That it should be lawfull to the *Venetians* to continue peaceably in the possession of all those things which they held: That all those that had bin published rebels, for folowing the faction of *Maximilian* the Emperor and the king of *Hungary* since the yeare 1523, should be restored: only the restitution should not extend to the goods that had bene brought to their fiske: That betweene the said parties there should not only be a peace, but also a perpetuall league defensible for their estates of *Italy* against all Christian Princes. The Emperor promised, that the Duke of *Millan* should keepe and hold in his estate, a strength of five hundred men at armes, five hundred light horsmen, six thousand footmen, and a good band of artilleries, for the defence of the *Venetians*: and the *Venetians* to maintaine the like strength for the defence of the Duke of *Millan*. In which article was set down, that when either of their estates were molested, the other through their countries should giue no passage of victuals, munitions, curriers, nor Embassadors, restraining all natures of aid in their estates, & all passage or sufferance of succors whatsoever: That if any Christian Prince though he were of supreme dignity, should inuade the realme of *Naples*, the *Venetians* to bring to the defending of it xv. light gallies wel armed: That in this present accord should be comprehended, all such as the afore named and to name, held in their protectiō, though without other obligation of the *Venetians*, then for their defence: That in case the Duke of *Ferrara* accorded with the Pope and with the Emperor, it was meant he should be comprehended in this confederation. For the execution of which accords and compositions, the Emperour rendred to *Francis Sforce* *Millan* and all the Duke dome, and reuoked all the souldiers except such as were thought necessary for the gard of the Castell and of *Coma*, which places he rendred afterwards according to the time couenanted: The *Venetians* restored to the Pope the townes of *Romagnia*, and to the Emperour the peeces which they held in *Powilla*.

Millan rendered by the Emperor to Francis Sforce.

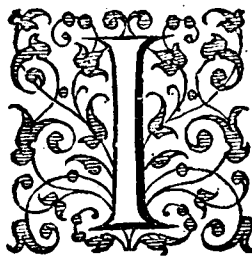
The end of the nineteenth booke.



THE TWENTIETH BOOKE OF THE historic and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Emperor taketh the Imperiall Crowne at Bologna, and from thence passeth into Almanie. The family of Medicis by the ayd of the Emperors army returne to Florence. Ferdinand is chosen king of Romaines. The Pope will not hearken to a Councell. The French king stirreth up the Turke against the Emperor, and hath conference with the Pope at Marseilles.



It seemed that the conclusion of this peace and confederation had reduced to their last end the warres of *Italy*, which for their continuance and longnesse, had drawne a space of eight or ten yeares, and for their horrible accidents, had left to all the regions of that climate, matter of lamentable and iust compassion: onely the Citie of *Florence*, either more wretched in destinie, or lesse worthie of so good participation, was not dispensed from tumults & dangers of armes, seeing that as she was a meane and helpe to reduce others to peace, so of the contrarie, in the tranquillitie of others, was wrought to her selfe matter of a more heauie and dangerous warre: for, where it was supposed that all natures of difficulties were so resolved and digested, that there was no further doubt nor impediment to detain the accord from his perfection, the Emperor leauying his companies and bands of men of warre from the estate of the *Venetians*, sent out to make war against the *Florentins*, an army of foure thousand Launceknights, two thousand five hundred Spanish footemen, eight hundred *Italians*, and more then three hundred light horsemen with five and twenty peeces of artilleries. But in this warre either for the ill direction of the Captaines, or worse order of the souldiers, much lesse that there was done any exploit notable, seeing there was performed no actiō worthy the exercise of a pen to write it, the assaillants lacking hart to inuade the towne, and the defendants hauing no deuotion to assay the fortune of a battell, they saw in the accompt of their prouisions, that they had meanes sufficient to make defence for many moneths: and in the reckening of the minds and inclinations of men, they doubted not of an auersall resolution of the City to resist the quarrell inflicted against their common liberty. In which regards they hoped by temporising so to make weary the campe of the enemies, that either for want of mony which maketh the souldier mutinous, or for some other accidents which ordinarily ensue a campe, they would driue the enemies through difficulties to dissolue the war which they could not resist by their valour. Neuerthelesse either to auoid these difficulties or to prepare a remedy, the Prince of *Orenge* had sent out fifteene hundred footemen, and foure hundred horsemen with foure peeces of artilleries, to take *Lastra* wherein were three Ensignes of footmen, of whom was passed to the sword two hundred bodies and the towne taken before the rescues of *Florence* could arriue. It hapned also that in the night of the xj. of December, *Stephen Colunno* with a thousand harquebuziers and foure hundred halberdiers and partisanes, all armed with corselets and cassakins after the maner of Camisado of *Spaine*, set vpon the regiment of *Serro Colunno* lying in the houses neare to the Church of *Saint Margaret de Monticio*, and in that surprise they slue and wounded many souldiers without the losse of one person of theirs. About that time were slaine with the bullet within the garden of *Saint Mimato*, *Maria Vrsin* and *Iulio saint Crosse*: and in like fortune, *Pirrhus* going to *Saint Peters* borough to take *Montopoli* which is a towne of the countrey of *Pisa*, he was cut off by the footmen that were within *Empoly*, and being defeated in the way betweene *Palasia* and *Montopoli*, many of his companies fell into the fortune of prisoners. The *Florentins* sent to the borough of *Saint Sepulchro*, *Napoleon Vrsin* with an hundred and

and fiftie horsemen, to encounter *Alexander Vnelly* who was sent to destroy the countrey all along the sayd borough and *Anguaro*.

But now the war beginning to fall into actiō of terror & astonishment: after the regimēts newly sent by the Emperor were passed the Alpes, the townes of *Pistoia* and *Prato* being abandoned of the *Florentin* garrisons, were yeelded vp to the Pope: by reason whereof, the army that had left behind them no impediment, marched not to pyne with the others, but remaining incamped on the other side of *Arno*, they went to lodge at *Peretola* neare the wals of the city, vnder the authority & gouernment of the Marquis of *Guaft*, though the Prince of *Orenge* was alwayes superior & absolute aboue all. By which disposing of the army apart & separate, things were rather reduced to the forme of a siege, then to an action of oppugnation. At this time also *Pietrasanta* was rendred to the Pope: and as the Pope labored with a perpetuall study and care of mind, to leade to perfection the purposes he had pretended to reestabliſh and set vp his house in *Florence*, so towards the end of this year, partly at the request of *Malatesta Baillon* who gaue him hope of accord, he sent to *Florence* directly to him *Rodolfo Pio* Bishop of *Faenza*, with whom were debated diuerſe and sundry things, some with the priuity of the city and for the profit, and some in ſecrecy by *Malatesta* againſt the weale of the city; matters which much leſſe that they ſorted to any effect, ſeeing it was diſcerned that *Malatesta*, who was now come to the expiration and full time of his pay, had entertained them with art & cunning, to the end that the *Florentins* fearing to be abandoned of him, would eſtſoones retaine him into their pay, with title of Captaine generall of the war, which in the end he obtained. This enterpriſe of *Florence* continued alſo the yere 1530: and albeit the Prince of *Orenge* in beginning to make new caualliers & caſt new trenches, made demonſtratiō to batter vehemently the baſtiliōs, but chiefly the baſtilion of *S. George* which was very ſtrōg: yet what thorough his ignorance which could not be without his ignominy, and what for the difficulty in the action, wherein his error was nothing leſſe, not one deuice was put in execution, the gard of the whole Mount appertaining to *Stephen Colonna*.

In the beginning of this year, the *Florentins* taking hope in the matters of negociation with the Bishop of *Faenza*, ſent of new other Embaſſadors to the Pope, and to the Emperor, but with expreſſe cōmiſſion to innouate nothing, nor hearken to any motion by the which the gouernment might be altered, or the generall iuriſdiction diminiſhed. So that as they were repugnant in the principal article, ſo they could neuer obtaine audience of the Emperor, but according to the vanitie of their cōmiſſion, they returned to *Florence* without any conſluſion.

There were within *Florence* nine or ten thouſand footmen ſtrong, but payed according to the number of ſourteene thouſand: and as the ſouldiers were reſolute to defend the city with a great affection and readineſſe of faith, ſo to confirme them the more, all the Captaines being aſſembled in the Church of *Saint Nicholas*, after the celebration of the Maſſe, and in the preſence of *Malatesta*, they made a ſolemne oath to ſtand againſt the iniuries and inuaſions offered againſt the City vntill the laſt man: onely in this vniuerſall conſtancy, was found vnconſtant *Napoleon Vriſin*, who withſtanding he profeſſed himſelfe aſſured to the *Florentins* by receiuing their mony and inuice, yet he became a reuolt, and returning to *Bracciano*, compounded his affaires with the Emperor and the Pope, and reuoked from the ſeruiſe of *Florence* certaine Captaines whom he had ſent thither before.

But the Pope omitted no diligence wherein he thought was any mean to aduance his intention, wherein he ſo wrought with the French king, that he ſent *M. Cleremont* to excuſe the accord he had made by neceſſity to redeeme his children: and where he alleaged how impoſſible it was to comprehend the ſtate in that accord, he counſelled them with reaſons & inducements to lay themſelues downe to the neceſſity of the time, and take ſuch conditions as they might, ſo farre forth as they were conducible to the profit and conuerſation of their liberty. In which good inclination, & to helpe to raunge the iſſue of things to their weale and benefit, he offered as it were to interpoſe in the action: he alſo commanded by publike proteſtation *Malatesta* and *Stephen Colonna* being of the kings creation and dependancy, to depart from *Florence*, notwithstanding apart and ſeuerally he gaue them comfort to the contrary. But the thing that imported moſt to ſtay his reputation and aſtoniſh the people, was, that to ſatiſfie the Pope and the Emperor, he retired his ordinary Embaſſador reſidēt at *Florence*, leauing there notwithstanding as a perſon priuate *Emilio Ferrier*, by whom for that he would not ytterly leaue them deſperate, he made ſecret promiſe to

ayd them as soone as he had recouered his children. Such was the Popes ambition in this action, and so subtle was his humor to serue his turne of all meanes that either art or industry could insinuate, that he had almost brought the French king to make retire from his Court his Embassadeur resident for *Florence*: wherein to draw better fauour to his purposes, he sent by the Bishop of *Tarby* the Cardinals Hat to the Lord Chancellour, and not long after he gratified him with the legation of the realme of *Fraunce*: and by him he solicited a new enteruiew and conference at *Thurin* betweene the Emperor, the French king, and himselfe. But he was answered in the full Councell of the king sitting, that it was enough that the children of the Crowne of *Fraunce* were vnder captivity, without that the person of the king should seeke to intrude himselfe into that calamity.

The Emperor
taketh the
Crowne at Bo-
lognia.

The Pope and the Emperor did now determine to go to *Sienna*, to be more ready and apt to fauor the enterprise of *Florence*, and afterwards to draw to *Rome* for the coronation of the Emperor: but whether it was a true or false deliberation, as they were vpon the point prepared to depart, the Emperor receiued letters out of *Germany* soliciting him to return thither, the Electors making instance for regard of the diots, and *Ferdinand* standing to be chosen king of *Romains*, and others in respect to celebrate the Councell. By these new instances, whether more effectually for their suddenesse or for their conformity to the Emperours will, all deuises and counsels to passe further were dashed, in which variation the Emperour was contented to receite the Imperiall Crowne within *Bologna*, being assisted with a great affluence of people, but sustaining a very slender pompe and expences: he was crowned vpon *Saint Matthewes* day; a day of many happie predictions, for that one that day was he borne, in that day was the French king taken prisoner, and during that day was he celebrated with the Ensignes and ornaments of the Imperiall dignitie.

But before the Emperour departed to returne into *Germany*, he laboured to accord with the Pope the Duke of *Ferrara*, who the seuenth day of March came to *Bologna* vnder safe conduct: and because there was no other meane to issue or end betweene them, they referred to the person of the Emperour the arbitration and Compromise of right and action touching all their controuerfies. To the which the Pope was induced by the generality of the Cōpromise, such as comprehended also the quarrell and title of *Ferrara*, which the Pope doubting that according to termes of right, it would not diuolue to the sea Apostolike, he thought the Emperour had an easie meane in vsing silence for *Ferrara*, to bring him to render *Modena* and *Reggia*. The Pope also was induced by the word and promise which the Emperour made to him, that if he found that he had right to those two Cities, he would pronounce iudgement of his side, but if by examination it appeared otherwise, he would suffer to expire and determine the time of the Compromise. And to assure the obseruation of the sentence and resolution of the Compromise, there went a couenant, that the Duke should depose *Modena* into the hands of the Emperour, at whose instance he had reuoked before his Embassadors from *Florence*, and ayded the army with a proportion of pioners. After this the Emperour departed from *Bologna* the xxij. day, the Pope hauing left him satisfied that his intention was to consent to the Councell, if he thought it might any way auaille for the extirpation of the heresies of the *Lutherans*. The Cardinall *Campeius* went with him as Legate, and so he passed by *Mantua*, where after he had receiued threescore thousand ducats for the Duke of *Ferrara*, he gaue to him in chiefe for euer the towne of *Carpy*: after whom the Pope the xxxj. day tooke his way to *Rome* leauing the matters of *Florence* in the same estate of difficulties they were before.

The Imperials made many signes and braueries as though they would assault the City, for which cause they had begun a trench before the bastillion of *Saint George*, where being performed a hote skirmish the one and twentieth of March, they without receiued great harmes. The xxv. day the Prince of *Orenge* finding his campe much vexed by a tower adioyning to the side of the bastillion of *Saint George* towards the gate of *Rome*, battered it with his artilleries; but finding it very strong and well appointed, after certaine vollies of Cannon, he forbore any further execution. There arriued daily at the campe new companies and bands of souldiers, by whose insolencie and licentiousnesse, for that there was no warres in any other part of *Italy*, the harmes and ruines of the countrey of *Florence* increased continually. The City of *Volterro* was rendred to the Pope, but the Castell holding good for the *Florentins*, suffered great executions with two Cannons of the Imperials, and two Culuerines brought from *Genes*. And the
Florentins

Florentins desiring to succour it, sent out to *Empoly* an hundred and fiftie horsemen and five Enginies of footmen, who making their march by night, passed by the campe neare the Mount *Olynus*, and being discouered, there were sent out after them certaine guidons of horsemen, who ouertooke them, but being skirmished withall by the harquebuziers, they retired with some losse: and the horsemen that were issued out of *Florence* by an other way behind the campe, saued themselves at the same time with the footmen within *Empoly*, where they were receiued by *Francis Feruccio* commaunder of that place: this man being sent in the beginning of the warre by the *Florentins* to *Empoly* as commaunder ouer a very small company of horsemen, and with a very little authority, had, what with the obseruation of the warre, and with the oportunity of that seate, and with the occasion of prayes and ordinarie incursions, assembled together a good crew of souldiers of choyse, with whom both by his valour which he had well expressed, and also by his liberality which was infinite in him, he was risen to so good estate of reputation, that the *Florentins* had no small expectation of him. *Feruccio* then departed from *Empoly* with two thousand footmen and five hundred horse, with which army marching with great celerity, he entered within the Castell of *Volterro* the fixe and twentieth day of Aprill earely in the morning, where hauing well refreshed his souldiers, he assaulted presently the towne which was garded by *Iohn Baptista Borgueso* with a very slender strength of footmen, and winning before night two of their trenches, he had the towne the next morning, together with the artilleries that were come from *Genes*. The first action he managed after he was Lord of the towne, was by extortions and wayes compulsiue, to exact money of the inhabitants of *Volterro*, and no lesse by that good helpe then by his valour and industry, he constrained to reuolt *Gimignana* and *Collo*, and cutting off the trafficke of victuals that came from *Sienna* by that way, he had reduced the army of the enemies to great difficulties, whose Captaines thinking of no other expedition then of the siege, the Marquis of *Guaft* retired the artilleries within *Prato*. But (so sudden and vncertaine are the things of warre) there hapned into those quarters vnlooked for, Captaine *Maramis* leading a regiment of two thousand five hundred footmen without pay: by reason of which succour being come against the Popes will, he kept on his course, for that *Maramis* went to incampe with his people at the suburbs of *Volterro*. The ninth of May was executed a great skirmish without the gate called *Rome* gate, wherein remained dead and wounded of them within the towne an hundred and thirtie persons, and of the souldiers without, more then two hundred bodies, amongst whom was Captaine *Baragnino* a Spaniard. Amid these enterchaunges of skirmishes and factions of warre, the *Florentins* forbare not to hope continually for some succours from the French king, who accordingly fayled not to entertaine their hope with promise of a sufficient rescue when so euer he had recouered his children. Wherein the better to assure and confirme them, he gaue assignation to the *Florentine* Marchants for twentie thousand duckats due to them long time before, which summe being lent by them to the City, was brought to *Pisa* by *Lewis Alaman*, but by such parcels and driblets, that it did little comfort the warre. Moreouer *Iohn Pauls de Cere* whom the *Florentins* had taken into their pay for the gard of that City, came away to *Pisa*. But by the conquering of *Volterro* was bred to the *Florentins* a damage of farre greater importance: for that where *Feruccio* both contrary to the commission giuen to him, and also because he would go the stronger to the action of *Volterro*, and hauing withall too secure a confidence in the fortresse of *Empoly*, had left for the defence of it so small a garrison, that the Imperials vsing the occasion that was offered, went to incampe about it vnder the conduct and leading of the Marquis of *Guaft*: and as for the weaknesse of the defendantes and garrison, they tooke it without any resistance and with many harmes put it to sacke: so in the losse of that was brought to the *Florentins* more matter of affliction then in any other thing during the warre, for that hauing determined to assenble in that place new companies and regiments, they hoped by the oportunitie of the situation which importeth much, both to reduce into distresse and difficulties the army that lay on that side of *Arno*; and also to open the commoditie and way for victuals to passe that Citie, which began already to feele the want of nouriture and comfort. To this also was added a new occasion to depriue them more of the hopes they had conceiued: for after the French king had deliuered ouer his money which he was to pay to the Emperour, and retired his children which was in the beginning of Iune: in place of so manie aydes and succours which by his promises he had reserued

Empoly sacke
by the Mar-
quis of *Guaft*.

The Florentins
out of hope
to be succoured
by the French
king.

till that time, he sent into *Italy* at the instance of the Pope (who to haue wholly at his deuotion the kings Agents, created Cardinall the Bishop of *Tarbie*, Embassadour resident in his Court) one *Peter Francis Pontremolie*, a man of great confidence with him, to square some motions and practise of accord with the *Florentines*, who by that manner of dealing discerned no further hope to be succoured by the king; wherein they beloued the more by this inducement, that both he and the king of *England* ioyning together, did all that they could so to allure and gouerne the Pope, as they might hope to separate him from the Emperour: and in that regard the French king laboured to haue some participation and interest to reduce and conuert the *Florentins* to the Popes amitie. After the Marquis of *Guaft* had taken *Empoly*, he went with the bands of souldiers whom he led, to ioine with *Maramus* in the suburbs of *Volterro*: where hauing in one strength almost six thousand footemen, they beganne to batter the towne, and when they saw they had brought to the earth more then fortie sadomes of wall, they followed the execution of the artilleries and three furious assaults, but with worse effect then their valour deserued, since in the action they lost more then foure hundred men. They made afterwards a new battery, and with certaine chosen bands of *Spaniards* and *Italians* consoorted together, they gaue another very braue and resolute assault, but with greater damage and harmes then the former assaults: in which regard the campe brake vp, rather with great prayse then good effect of their doings. The same morning about an hower before day, *Stephen Colonne* issuing out of the gate of *Faenza*, and *Malatesta* by the posterne that leadeth to *Prato*, went to giue the Camifado with three thousand footemen to the Launceknights that were lodged in the Monastery of *Saint Donat*, where they had fortified themselves: *Stephen* passed the trenches and slue many of them, but the alarme being giuen to the residue, they put themselves in order, with resolution to defend their place to the last man: so that after *Stephen* had receiued a light hurt in the mouth, he retired for feare of greater rescues, complaining much that *Malatesta* had not followed him.

The Prince of
Orange slaine.

But in *Florence* were entred no nature of victuals nor nouriture from any part, albeit their wants of comforts went on increasing dayly, yet so resolute were they to defend their liberty, that there could be discerned no diminution of that constancy and fidelity that at first armed them to so holy an action. And where *Feruccio* was gone from *Volterro* to *Pisa*, and laboured by his authority and industrie to assemble as great a strength as he could, all the hopes of the *Florentins* were reduced to his comming: for they had signified to him to aduance and come on, and not to forbear for any way or other daunger to ioine himselfe to the defence of the City, being resolved to giue battell to the enemies as soone as he had ioyned his forces with the maine army that was within *Florence*. Of which deuice the successe and issue was not so good and happie, as was great and manifest the rashnesse of the resolution, if I may terme those counsels rash which are drawne or deriued from a last necessitie: for in this rested the error of that counsell, that they were to passe thorough the countries of the enemies, such as were occupied and commingled by a very strong army though dispersed into many seuerall places. The Prince of *Orange* who had aduertisement of this deuise, thought to go before with one part of the army, whereof he made his greatest assembly of the *Italian* footemen: and *Malatesta Baslon* with whom he had many secret and strait intelligences, hauing haply assured him in secret, that the *Florentins* suspected, least in his absence he would assaile the armie, went out to meete him; and finding him neare to *Cusimiano* in the Mountaine of *Pistoia*, a way which he tooke passing from *Pisa* towards *Lucquay*, in regard of confidence reposed in the Chauncellours faction well affected to the popular gouernement, he gaue him the skirmish with a very small company of men: at the first shooke the Prince, whose rashnesse was greater then his conduct, and in whom was lesse the humour of counsell and discretion then appertayned to the place he managed, was slaine, doing rather the office of a priuate souldier then of a Captaine or commaunder. Neuerthelesse his souldiers got the victorie, and made prisoners together with many others, *Iohn Paule de Cere*, and *Feruccio*, whom *Maramus* slue being prisoner, in reuenge as he confessed of a Trumpet, whom he had caused to be hanged, being sent to him at the siege of *Volterro* to declare a messlage.

Thus the *Florentins* seemed deliuered vp to a condition abandoned of all succours both diuine and humane, in whom also increased dayly afflictions of famine, without hope of further remedy

remedie or comfort : and yet albeit their extremities for their nature were no lesse heauie & grieu-
ous then their remedies desperate, yet the obstinacie of those that opposed against the accord
was nothing abated, but was augmented by the same degrees which multiplied their wants and
extremities. Those men being induced by a last dispaire not to pull on them their own ruine with-
out the destruction of the country, & standing now no more wilfully resolu'd to die for the safety
of the countrey, but that their common countrey and their liues should take end together, were
also followed of many, who flattered themselves with this impressiō, that the succors of the great
God of wonders would not appeare before things were reduced to such termes, as there remai-
ned no further expectation in humane helpe : and as the Magistrates and almost all such as mana-
ged any publike authoritie, were concurant in this obstinacie, and no place left to impugne it, for
that greater was the awe of the Magistrates and threats of armes, then the reasons or perswasions
of those that were of the contrarie opinion : so there had bene daunger that the warre wold haue
ended with the last destruction of that Citie, had it not bene for the industrie of *Malatesta*, who
seeing the aduersitie of the Citie & be without remedie, did as it were constraîne them to encline
to accord. Wherein haply he was caried by pitie and compassion, to see wholly perishe through
the rage of her citizens, a Citie so ancient & flourishing : and haply he was moued by the dishonor
and domage that might come to him to be present at so great a ruine : but the principall cause of
his induction was, that he hoped to obtaine of the Pope by the meane of that accord, sufferance
to returne to *Perouza*. So that whilest the Magistrates and such as were most furious and forward,
were consulting to make issue out of the Citie the soldiers to giue battel to the enemies, who both
exceeded them in numbers and aduantage and strength of place, & that he refused to go out with
them, they suffered their passion to carie them so farre, that they decaied him, and deposed him
from his charge of Capitaine, and sent certaine of the most disordered amongst them to denounce
against him a commaundement to go out of the towne with his companies ; a matter which both
for the suddennesse comming vnlooked for, & for the proprietie of iniurie being not deferred, did
so enflame and kindle him, that striking at one of them with his dagger, the assistants that were by
him had much a do to deliuer him with his life out of his handes. By which accident the present
company being astonish'd, and the whole Citie beginning to rise, those that were not so farre in-
censed with passion and furie, began in better temperance to reprehend the rashnesse of the *Gon-
falonier*, who though he went to arme himselfe, protesting sometimes that he would set vpon *Ma-
latega*, and sometimes that he would issue out to fight with the enemies, at last things were qua-
lified to this moderation, that the desperate obstinacie of many gaue place to the extreme neces-
sitie of the whole. Insomuch as in those moods they sent out foure Embassadors the ninth of Au-
gust to capitulate with *Don Ferrand Gonzalues*, who for the death of the Prince of *Orange* com-
maunded in the armie, the Marquis of *Gnast* being retired before with whom the day following
the conclusion was made, of which these were the principall articles : That the Citie within verie
few dayes should pay 80000 duckets for the withdrawing of the armie : That the Pope and the
Emperour should giue authoritie to the Emperour to declare within three moneths what should be the
state of the government, alwayes reseruing and sauing their libertie : That there was generally
pardoned all manner of iniuries done against the Pope, his friends, and his seruants : That till the
Iudgement and sentence of the Emperour were passed, *Malatesta Baillon* should remaine within
the Citie in garrison with 2000 footmen. As soone as this accord was made, and whilest the mo-
ney was collected for the armie, whereof there was need of a farre greater summe, for that in the
Pope was found litle readinesse to releue the Citie with money in so great a daunger, the Popes
Commisarie called *Bart. Valory* joyning with *Malatega*, who aspired altogether to returne to
Perouza, made a conuocation of the people in the publike place, according to the ancient customes
of that Citie to the which the Magistrates & multitudes agreed through feare : and in that Parlia-
ment they introduced a new forme of government, by the which was giuen authoritie to twelue
Citizens of the faction of the *Medices*, to dispose as they thought good of the pollicie of the Citie ;
who reduced it to that forme which it was wont to carrie before the yeare 1527. After this the
armie dislodged and brake vp, and hauing receiued mony for the orderly pay and satisfying of the
vniuersall hands, the Italian Captaines conuerting to their owne priuate vsage (to the great igno-
minie of their discipline) that which should haue run amongst the soldiers by share, retired into
Florence loden with the money which was appointed to pay the armie. They contented with a

The issue of
the warre of
Florence.

The estate of
the City of Flo-
rence after the
siege.

like the regiments of footmen, and dismissed them, who remaining without leaders or commanders went dispersed into diuerse places of the countrey: but for the Spaniards & Lances, being fully answered of all their payes, they went out of the townes and iurisdiction of *Florence*, and drew to the countrey of *Sienna* to reorder the gouernement of that City. And as *Malatesta Paulon*, whom the Pope suffered to returne to *Perugia*, without tarying for the declaration of the Emperour, left the city wholly to the arbitration and will of the Pope: so, after the souldiers were gone out of it, the persecutions and punishments of the Citizens began, the end of one calamity being the beginning of another: for, those into whose power and administration was diuolued the gouernement and authority, partly to assure better the state, and partly by malice conceiued against the authors of so many euils, & partly for memory of iniuries particularly receiued, but principally to satisfie the intention and ends of the Pope, though he made small manifestation thereof; those I say (observing haply the superfluous and outward declaration of the words, but wresting & perverting the inward sense) interpreted, that the chapter or article, by the which pardon was promised to such as had iniured the Pope and his friends, extended not to deface and wipe out the wrongs and crimes which by them were committed in matters that concerned the commonweale. In which inclination to reuenge the information, things being preferred vp to the Magistrates, six of the principals were beheaded, many imprisoned, and a great number bound ouer according to the traditions and statutes of the City: inasmuch as the City being so much the more made weake and feeble, by how much she was shaken in her pillars and chiefe foundations, and withall those that had pertaked in these reuenges and punishments being reduced into greater necessities and difficulties, the power of the *Medices* returned more free and more absolute, yea almost royally into that City, which had for so long & great a warre, remained much impouerished of money, made naked both within and without of many inhabitants, and spoiled both of dwellings and goods abroad, and lastly stood now more then euer deuided in it selfe; a calamity which yet was made so much the more great and heauy, by how much had bin more lamentable for many yeares their vniuersall necessity and difficulty to make prouision of victuals in forein countries for the generall scarcity and dearth which the whole countrey endured: for as for that yeare by reason of the afflictions and impediments of the war, they made neither seede time nor haruest, so it was so seuer a calamity continued to the yeares succeeding, that the City being raked and dreynd, had issued out more money to make prouision of corne from forreine regions and cattell without the limits of their owne dominions, then had bene defrayed for the expences of so great a warre, full of heauy burthens and charges.

*Ferdinand e.
lected king of
Romaine.*

In this meane while the Emperour assembling the diot at *Ausperge*, had caused to be elected king of *Romaine* *Ferdinand* his brother: and calling into question the cause of the *Lutherans*, both suspected touching the power of Princes, and for the multitude and ambition of their followers deuided into diuerse heresies, and euen the life and example of *Martin Luther* the originall author of that opinion, being now almost of no consideration, the Princes of *Germany* could deuise of no better remedy, then to assemble and celebrate a Councell: for, both the *Lutherans* seeking to couer their cause with the authority of religion, solicited vehemently to haue their cause disputed in a publike and free Councell: and on the other part it was beleueed, that the decrees which the Councell should set downe, would beare authority sufficient, if not to reduce & remove the minds of the heretikes from their errors, at least to retire and recover to a more sound opinion one part of the multitudes infected. But in *Germany* euen those that followed the factions and opinions of the Catholikes desired the conuocation of a Councell, to the end to reforme the excessive charges and abuses of the Court of *Rome*: where, what with the authority of indulgences, and with the profit of dispensations, and lastly with the annates or yearly fruits of benefices that were giuen, together with the allowances that in the expedition of them reuered to the offices infinitely multiplied in that Court, it seemed there was no other study or care then to exact by those corruptions a huge masse of treasure throughout all Christendome, without regarding the health and true comforting of soules, nor that matters Ecclesiastike were rightly administered and gouerned: for, both many benefices incompatible were transferred and heaped vpon one person, and also without respecting the merits & worthinesse of men, they were either bestowed by partiality and fauor, or at least such persons were introduced, who for their age were incapable, or for their doctrine insufficient, or (which worse is) for their life and example most slanderous.

The

The Emperour was very forward to satisfie this vniuersall instance and solicitation of the parts of the states of *Germany*, and held it also not out of purpose for his affaires, to appease in those prouinces the causes of the tumults and contumacie of the peoples. In which regards he vr-
ged the Pope by reducing to his memory the conference they had together at *Bologna*, to call a Councell, promising him (least he feared his authority & dignity should fall into danger) to be there in person to take particularly care of him. But for the Pope, albeit there was nothing in the world that could be offered more to his displeasing or discontentment then the assembly of a Councell, yet, to nourish the opinion that men had of his good intention, he dissembled that inclination or rather cause of feare: and yet in effect he had many deepe and settled feares: one was, least the Councell, to moderate the abuses of the Court and the indiscreete permissions of many Popes, would not too much diminish and restrain the power of the sea Apostolike: another was (which was no small impressio in him) that albeit when he was called to be Cardinal, he had proued by witnesses that he was borne in lawfull mariage, yet in truth he knew it was contrary, and albeit there could be found no law writtē that forbade any man (not lawfully borne) to ascend to the Papacy, yet there was entertaigned amongst them an ancient and common opinion, that no man, vpon whom could be proued illegitimation, could be capable of a Cardinals place: thirdly he reduced to remorse and conscience, that he was raised to the sea Apostolike not without some suspition of synony practised with the Cardinall *Colomo*: and lastly he feared least for the seuerities and rudenesse which he had vsed towards his naturall countrey, accompanied with so many tumults and aduersities of war, he should be made perpetually infamous in the generall Councell, the rather for that it had appeared vpon the effects that he was moued not to reduce that City to a good and moderate gouernement, but was induced with ambition and enuy, to put it estsoones vnder the yoke and seruitude of his house. In regard of these causes and feares, like as he abhorred the name of a Councell, and could not accompt the fidelity of the Emperour a sufficient surety to him: so, after he had communicated the whole matter with some Cardinals deputed to the discussion of a cause of so great waight, who also stood in feare to be corrected by the Councell: he answered that there were many reasons against the calling of a Councell in that time, both for that there was no assured stability of peace amongst the Princes of Christendome, and also the feare was no lesse that the Prince of *Turkes* would recontinue the warre, in which case it were not good that he found the regions of Christendome encombred with the disputations and contentions of the Councell. Neuerthelesse making shew to referre the resolution of it to the Emperour, he concluded, that he was contented that he should promise in the diot, the induction of the Councell with these obseruations: That it might be celebrated in *Italy*: That a reasonable time were assigned for the calling of it: That it be assigned with the person and presence of the Emperour: And that the *Lutherans* and other heretikes promising to referre themselves to the determination of the Councell, should in the meane while desist from the practise of their corruptions, and rendering to the sea Apostolike their due obedience, they should returne to their former conuersation of Christian Catholikes. This article made more hard the whole practise and negotiation of the Councell: for, the *Lutherans* were not onely not to desist from their opinions and ceremonies before the celebration of the Councell, but also it was beleueed, that they had no inclination of the Councell, where they could expect no other matter, then a reprobation of their doctrine, the rather for that their principall opinions had bene many times refuted as hereticall by the former Councells: yea it was thought they insisted vpon the conuocation of this Councell, for that knowing it was a matter fearefull to Popes to stand in presence of a Councell, they were of opinion that the Court of *Rome* would not accord to it, and so by that meane, they should support their cause with the nations of the world with a greater authoritie.

With these actions and intentions determined the yeare a thousand five hundred and thirty, and successiue followed the yeare 1531, wherein was wrought no great matter of emotion and stirre: for, notwithstanding it was comprehended by many signes, that the French king was not onely ill contented with the accords and contracts made with the Emperour, but also stood very desirous to innouate things to new tumults, with whom the king of *England* bare the same inclination, especially against the Emperour, for that standing in defence of the cause of the sister of his mother, he impugned the matter of his diuorce: yet the French king being both impo-

1531.
The French
king and king
of England ill
disposed to
the Emperour.

The French
king inciteth
the Turke
against the
Emperour.

uerished of money, and little leasure to respire from the trauels of so long wars, he ~~for~~ the time was not yet apt to kindle matters of innouation: neuerthelesse he omitted not in the meane while to conspire aswell in *Germany* with such Princes as bare minds estranged from the Emperour, in *Italy* with the Pope, to whom the better to assure his amity, he made an ouerture of mariage betweene his second sonne and the Popes Neece. In which practises and conspiracies he suffered himselfe to be so much ouercaried with malice and reuenge, that to the great offence of God, and perpetuall infamy to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, which alwayes made principall profession to defend Christian religion, and for those merits was honored with the title of *Christianissimus*, he entertayned practises with the Prince of *Turkes*, to stirre him vp against the Emperour, towards whom the *Turkes* were ordinarily ill disposed, no lesse for a naturall hatred they bare to the name of Christians, then for the matter of controuersies they had with his brother tending to questions, for the realme of *Hungary* with the *Vaynode* whom he had taken into his protection: the *Turkes* also began with much ieaiousie to suspect and enuy the greatnesse of the Emperour.

The Pope hol-
deth himselfe
offended with
the Emperour.

By this time the Imperial Captains leauied their forces from the territories of *Sienna*, to leade them to *Piemont*: but before they departed, to satisfie the Pope, they reestablished within *Sienna* the family of *Montenouo*, repossessing them of their countrey & goods, & yet altered not the forme of the gouernement: and to assure them in their estate, they left them a gard of 300 *Spaniards* depending vpon the Duke of *Malfy*, vnder whom, being not able to keepe his authority things so reuerted forthwith to their old disorders, that such as had bin reestablished and restored, left for feare the things they could not hold by force. Moreouer the Emperour pronounced the forme of gouernement for *Florence*, dissembling that part of the authority giuen to him, which limited their liberty sauied: for that according to the very instructions which the Pope had sent to him, he expressed that the City should be gouerned with the same Magistrate & in the same maner, it was wont in the times when the *Medices* ruled it: he declared also for chiefe of the gouernement *Alexander* the Popes nephew, and his son in law: and that in case of him & his issue extinct, there should succeed from hand to hand, the children, the descendants, and the next procreated of the same family: he restored to the city all the priuiledges agreed vnto before times by him & by his predecessors, but with this condition annexed, to be depofed from them as often as the city should attempt anie thing against the greatnesse of the family of *Medicis*, inserting through all the decree, words which shewed that he tooke not his ground & inducement only vpon the power that had bin giuen to him by the parties, but also vpon the authority & dignity Imperial. In which maner of dealing, where he haply satisfied the Pope more then was extended by the faculty giuen him by the writ of compromise, he offended him as much immediatly after in a matter which was no lesse grievous to him then the other was agreeable: for, after the Doctours especially assigned, had heard and examined the controuersie betweene the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*, before whom both the parties had produced many testimonies and inscriptions, with a long course of proceffe and pleading, he pronounced sentence according to their counsell and relation, that as *Modena* and *Reggia* attained of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*, so the Pope in receiuing of him an hundred thousand ducats, and reducing the tributes to the auncient maner, he should inuest him of new in the iurisdiction of *Ferrara*. Wherein the Emperour labored to insinuate into the Pope, that where contrary to his promise made in *Bolognia*, not to pronouce in case he found his cause not to be iust, he had giuen sentence, That he was not to complaine against him, but rather to blame the Bishop of *Vascona* his Nuncio, to whom he alwayes gaue signification that he would not pronounce sentence, for that he would not be constrained to passe iudgement against the Pope: but he perswading the contrary, and interpreting those significations for a discharge of the promise he had made to giue sentence, if the right were in him, had pressed so much the publication of the sentence, that he was halfe constrained to it for the regard of his honour; an excuse which the Pope would sooner haue admitted, if the sentence and iudgement had not bin in the same sort and maner, wherein the Emperour had many times assayed to reduce the matter by accord. But the point wherein the Pope was most offended, was, that the Emperour in pronouncing vpon the matters of *Modena* and *Reggia*, had followed a way and taken a course of a Iudge most rigorous, but in the action of *Ferrara* wherein the rigour was manifestly for him, he had done the office of a friendlie Arbitratour and Compromittour: therefore though he would neither ratifie the sentence

sentence pronounced, nor accept the payment of the money wherein the Duke was condemned, neither did he at the next feast of *S. Peter* accept the tribute which was publickly offered to him according to ancient custome: yet the Emperour forbore not for all that to consigne to the Duke of *Ferrara Modena*, which he had detayned in deputation till that day, leauing them to decide afterwards the differences betweene them. So that by reason of that dealing, there was not for manie moneths betweene the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*, neither an open war nor an assured peace, the Pope lying alwayes in watch to oppress him with conspiracies and surprize, or else to expect the occasion to heape against him an open war with the supportation of greater Princes.

This yeare of 1531 brought forth no other accidents, and the tranquillity also went on continuing for the yeare following; a yeare more dangerous for forreign wars, then for the emotions of *Italy*: for, the *Turke* being kindled with the ignominy of his repulse at *Vienna*, and no lesse vnderstanding how the Emperour was intangled in *Germany*, prepared a right huge and great army, wherein boasting insolently of his forces, he let not to publish, that his intention was to constrain the Emperour to come to battell with him. By the rumor & renoume of which preparations, both the Emperour put himselfe in as good order as he could, reuoking into *Germanie* the Marquis of *Guaft* with his Spanish regiments, and a great band of horsemen and footemen *Italians*: and the Pope promised to contribute to him a defraiment of forty thousand ducats for euery moneth, sending for the same expedition as Legate Apostolike, his nephew the Cardinall of *Medicis*: and lastly the Princes and free townes of *Germany*, prepared in fauor of the Emperour and for the common defence of *Germany*, a very huge and mighty army: but the effects answered nothing the renoume and the feare: for, *Soliman* who (for the greatnesse of his preparations, and difficulty and distance of the way) could not enter into *Hungary* but very late, did not draw directly with his armie where the Emperour was, but exhibiting onely a shew of warre, together with certaine bragging *Caualcadoes* and braueries of horsemen, he returned to *Constantinople*, leauing the enterprize vnperfect for want of valour, which he had induced and managed with so mighty preparations: neither did the Emperour shew any greater deuotion or readinesse, seeing that when he vnderstood the *Turkes* drew neare, much lesse that he made out to meete them, seeing vpon their retiring he omitted to pursue with all his forces the faire occasion that was offered him to reconquer *Hungary* for his brother: onely yeelding to his importunate desire to go into *Spaine*, he gaue order that certaine bands of Spanish footemen and some regiments of Launceknights should be conuerted to the enterprize of *Hungary*. But that order was immediatly disordered by the insolent behauiours of the *Italians*, who pushed on by certaine their Captaines, disdaining that the authority and conduct of the enterprize was giuen to others and not to them, so mutined, that hauing no reason to alleage for their tumult, and the presence of the Emperour who went thither to appease them, being not sufficient to continue them, they tooke resolutely and vniuersally their way into *Italy*, in which disorder they marched with great hast for feare to be followed, and in their way with minds malicious they burned many villages and houses, in reuenge as they sayd of the burnings and wasting committed in many places in *Italy* by the Lanceknights. The Emperour also returned by the way of *Italy*, and where he had set downe in what order and by what places should passe his Court and all his traine, the Cardinall *Medicis*, caried with humors and passions of youth, would not obey the order generally giuen to all the traine, but in his insolency respecting lesse the Emperours order then his owne ambitious will, he aduanced and got before together with *Peter Maria Rossa*, vpon whom chiefly was layed that fault of the sedition. This bred no litle indignation in the Emperour, either for that he imputed the beginning and discourse of the matter to the Cardinall, or else he feared least the Cardinall standing ill contented, that *Alexander* his cousin was preferred to the administration of the estate of *Florence*, would go after the bands of *Italians* to leade them to trouble the affaires of *Tuscane*. In which regard he caused to be apprehended by the way, the Cardinall and with him *Peter Maria Rossa*: but after he had better considered of the importance of the matter, he wrote letters for the redeliuery of the Cardinall, to whom as well as to the Pope he protested many excuses: only *Peter Maria* remained prisoner, though not long after he was released, working greatly for him with the Emperour, the iniury which it seemed he had done to the Cardinall.

The retyring of the *Turke* deliuered the regions of *Italy* of a great warre that threatned to fall vpon them: for, where the French king and king of *England* with minds full of emulation against

The *Turke* re-
turneth with
shame to *Con-
stantinople*.

Enterview of
the king of Eng-
land & French
king.

the Emperour, had an enteruiew and conference together betweene *Calice* and *Bulloigne*, where king their grounds that the *Turke* would abide that winter in *Hungary*, and hold intailed the forces of the Emperour, they consulted that the French king vnder that oportunity should inuade the Duchy of *Milhan*, and hauing a disposition to draw the Pope to their part by violence and astonishment, whom they could neuer allure by other meanes, they deuised to take from him the obedience of their kingdoms in case he would not consent to that which they desired of him, which was for the action of *Milhan* for the French king, and for the king of *England* to giue sentence on his side in the cause of diuorce: and to relate their intentions, they were determined to send to him with sharpe commissions, the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Tarbes*, both which bare no small authority with the French king. But the newes which they receiued of the retiring of the *Turke* before the time of their enteruiew was determined, did not only well moderate those deuises and their feuerities, but were also the cause that the king of *England* would not suffer to passe to *Calice* the Lady *Anne Bulleine*, to celebrate mariage with her publicly in that assembly, notwithstanding that both the cause was hanging in the Court of *Rome*, and also he was forbidden by writs Apostolike, vnder paine of very great iudgements, to innouate nothing to the preiudice of the first mariage. But so deepe did the French king dissemble, that albeit to confirme the mind of the king of *England* that he would be against the Pope, he imposed by his owne authority vpon the Clergie of his realme a taxe of tenths, and dispatched the two Cardinals to the Pope, yet not obseruing the fidelity of his word and promise, he sent them furnished with commissions farre differing from the resolution of the two kings in the beginning.

A second enteruiew of the Pope and Emperour at *Bologna*

The Emperour being come into *Italy* with a desire to speake with the Pope, the place of their meeting and enteruiew was estoones assigned at *Bologna*; a place which the Pope accepted willingly, the rather for that he would giue no occasion to the Emperour to go to the realme of *Naples*, and by that occasion to make a longer aboad in *Italy*; a matter whereunto albeit the Emperour was induced by the reasons and perswasions of many of his Court, yet it was entierly contrary to his principal intention, who desired to make hast into *Spaine* chiefly for the desire he had to haue sons, his wife remaining there: so that those two personages of that estate and greatnesse, met at the end of the yeare at *Bologna*, where were obserued betweene the same demonstrations of amity, and the same offices of familiarity, which they vsed before, but there was no more the same correspondency of wils which had bene expressed vpon their negotiations the other time: for the Emperour had a great desire to aduance the Coucell, the better to reduce to rest and contentment the regions & peoples of *Germany*; he offered to dissolue the army, liuing at a great charge both to him and others, but to the end he might do it with more surety, he insisted to haue renewed the last league made at *Bologna*, both to comprehend in it all the *Italians*, & to taxe the quantities & rates of mony which euery particular was to contribute, if the states of *Italy* were inuaded by the French: he desired also to haue *Katherine* the Popes Neece married to *Francis Sforce*, as well to presse the Pope by a greater necessity to looke to the preseruatiō of that state, as also to breake the practise of parētage that was solicited with the French king. Of all these matters not one was acceptable to the Pope, seeing the cōfederation was a motion cōtrary to the desire he had to stand anewter so much as he could between the Princes of Christendome: wherein both he doubted many dangers generally, & especially he feared least the French King, taking his example & instigation by the king of *England*, would depriue him of the obedience of his kingdom. Touching the conuocation of a Councell, it was no lesse grieuous to him then before, for the ancient causes and impressions: and for parentage with the Duke of *Milhan*, it pleased him nothing at all, for that he interpreted it to a meane to take an open hatred with the French king, with whose second son he had a vehement desire to conioyne his Neece. These matters were drawne into negociation and counsell, but principally was solicited the point of the cōfederation, in which actiō running many moneths, were deputed for the Emperour, *Cronos*, the great Commander of *Leo*, *Granuelle*, and *Prato* his chiefe Counsellors: and for the Pope were delegate the Cardinal *Medcis*, *Iames Saluatiō*, & *Gnecciardin*: who as they refused not to go through with the cōfederation, for that it was all one to yncouer the Popes intention, & to giue the Emperour cause to cōceiue iustly a great suspicion of him, so they made instance to haue the *Venetiāns* sounded & to be drawne to consent to it, alleaging that both without them the defence of *Italy* would be but weake, and that ioynly with them should be protected with more reputation the common affaires

Katherine de Medici

fares if the defence were continued vpon the renoume of the former confederation : where, if there were resolued another without them, it wold deliuer to the world an opiniõ, that betweene the Emperour, the Pope and *Venetians*, were apparant matter of discord. In this regard the *Venetians* were solicited to condescend to a new confederation for an vniuersall defence of all the regions of *Italy*, for that by the first League their obligation extēded no further thē for the affaires of *Millan* and *Naples*. The Emperour also wished with great desire, that they might be bound to the defence of *Genes*, where it was thought, that when the war was on foot, the Frenchmen wold be apt to recontinue their former inuasion; a matter which they might pretend to do lawfully, by reason of their rights & interests particular, without preiudicing the contracts of *Madriill* & *Cambray*. But the Senate of *Venice* refused absolutely to renew the confederation, or to amplifie the obligations contained in the same; a matter which brought no small discontentment to the Emperour, though they affirmed to obserue inuiolably that coniunction: but the Emperour was so much the more importunate, & so refuted all reasons that were alleaged to the contrarie, that the articles of the confederation began to be communed vpon. And for the more effectuall handling of things, there were summoned all the Potentates of *Italy*, who sent Embassadours to this negotiation: they were required to enter the League, and to contribute in case the war went on, euery one according to his power and possibility, wherein they made no difficulty or resistance, but laboured feuerally to ease the demaund of the contribution: only *Alfonso d'Este* reasoned with thē that it was not reasonable he should enter into a league to defend the states of others, if first he were not assured of his owne: he alleaged there could no accord be made to warrant him against the Pope, nor to enter league with him, neither could he promise to contribute with his treasure to the defence of *Millan* & *Genes*, if necessity compelled him to expend it continually to keepe bands of souldiers within *Modena* and *Reggia*, and also for the surety of *Ferrara*: vpon which reasons was deriued a new practise and labour to accord him with the Pope: who bearing a mind far estranged from that motion, and yet not willing to oppose himselfe so apparantly against the instance of the Emperour, he proponed conditions verie hard and impossible to be obserued, affirming that if he should leaue *Modena* and *Reggia* to *Alfonso*, who otherwayes would not come to accord, he would that *Alfonso* should reacknowledge and hold them in chiefe of the Sea Apostolike; a matter which for that it could not be done in such sort as to be iudicially available without the consent of the electors & Princes of the Empire, reduced the Emperour to a difficulty which had no issue. This brought the Emperour to intreat the Pope, that at least during the league he wold be bound not to vex the state which *Alfonso* held: insomuch as after many importunities & disputings, the Pope consented to assure him for xviii. moneths: & so at last was resolued the conclusion of the League, passed & contracted vpon *S. Mathewes* day; a day alwaies happy to the Emperour. This league & confederation contained an obligation of the Emperour, the king of *Romans* & all the other Potentates of *Italy*, except the *Venetians*, for the defence of *Italy*: only the *Florentines* were not otherwise named, thē in the same maner they were expressed in the league of *Cognac*, & that to the end not to trouble their entercourse & trades in the realme of *Fraunce*, it was set downe with what proportion of souldiers euery one shold be cōcurrant, & with what quantities of mony to contribute for euery moneth: the Emperours rate was xxx. thousand duckets, the Pope for him & the *Florentines* was taxed at twenty thousand, the Duke of *Millan* at xv. thousand, the Duke of *Ferrara* at ten thousand, the *Genowayes* at fixe thousand, the state of *Sienna* at ten thousand, and the Citie of *Lucqua* at a thousand: and to the end to be found prepared against all so- daine & vnlooked for inuasions, vntill defence might be made with the contributions asorenamed, it was agreed that immediatly should be leauied a loane of a summe of money, almost equall to the taxations, and that not to be expended, vnlesse the preparacions to inuade *Italy* were manifestly discerned. There was also set downe a small contribution yearely for the entertainment of those Captains that remained in *Italy*, and to defray certaine pensions to the *Swissers*, to stop that nation for giuing aide of men to the French king. Ouer this League was declared Capitaine generall by common consent *Ant. de Lena*, with ordinance that he should remaine in the Duchy of *Millan*. Touching the generall counsell there was nothing concluded to the liking of the Emperour, who still solicited the Pope to send out present summons for it: but he refused to accomplish the motion, alleaging that as in that ill disposition of the time and mens minds, there would be danger least the kings of *England* & *Fraunce* wold not appeare, so if the Council were celebrated

A League for the defence of Italy.

The Pope will not hearken to a Councell.

The Pope refused to give his Neece in mariage with the Duke of Milan.

without the, much lesse that there could be introduced either vnion or reformation of the Church, seeing it was to be feared least things wold diuolue to a manifest schisme: only he was content to send out Nuncios to all Princes to induce them to do holy a worke: but albeit the Emperour made a question to him what wold be the issue of things, if those two Princes did dissent from the without iust cause, and pressed him in that case to intimate the Councell, yet he could neuer dispose him to it: so that his Nuncios were assigned and sent out with a verie slender hope to bring backe any good conclusion. The Emperour was no better satisfied touching the negociation of the parentage, for that when the two Cardinals which the French king had sent, were come to *Bologna*, and had euen soones recontinued the negociation of the mariage with the second sonne of *Fraunce*, the Pope gaue answer to the offer made for the Duke of *Milan*, and exhibited by the Emperour: that whereas the French king had long time before made an ouerture of mariage for his sonne, and he had hearkened to the motion by the consent of the Emperour, declaring at that time his good consent and liking, he should now do too great a wrong to the French king, if during the negociation he should giue his Neece in mariage to one of his enemies: but he perswaded him, that that practise was artificially introduced by the French king to entertaine him, and not with intention to conclude it, seeing there was betweene the parties so great disagreement and inequality of degree and condition. Lastly, he assured him that he would not commit so great an offence to the king, if he saw not before the practise and solicitation altogether broken: and the Emperour for his part, being not to be perswaded that the French king would adioyne his sonne to a match so farre vnequall to him, encouraged and aduised the Pope, that for the better vncouering of the kings dissimulations, he would presse the Cardinals to send for a procurator to contract them, which accordingly was accomplished in few dayes, and exhibited in very ample forme: by which readinesse and resolute meaning, not onely was lost all hope of affinitie with *Frauncis Sforce*, but also the sollicitatiō with the French king was pursued with so much the more importunity, and to it was further added, according to the deuise betweene them long before, that the Pope and the French king should contract together at *Nice*, a Citie of the Duke of *Savoy*, standing vpon the riuer of *Var*, and separateth *Italy* from *Prouence*. These matters were not a litle discontenting to the Emperour, aswell for a suspicion he had, that betweene the Pope and French king were concluded a greater coniunction to his preiudice, as also for that he was ieaious, that in the Pope remayned some secret memorie and impressiōs of his imprisonment, of the sacke of *Rome*, of the mutation of *Florence*, and of other wrongs. To these he adioyned the passion of disdaine, wherein he iudged that the honour which the Pope had done to him in making two iourneyes to *Bologna* to speake with him, would stand derided and diminished, if he should make a voyage by sea so farre as *Nyce*, to meete with the French king. But in vaine were these suspicions and the causes of them, though he could not dissemble them, for that in the Popes mind was vehemently nourished and affected the desire of that affinity, being haply moued more with ambition and appetite of glorie, in that being of a house almost simple and private, he had obtained in recompence of a bastard Nephew of his, a bastard Daughter of so mighty an Emperour, and now in exchange of his Neece legitimate, he had honoured his house with the second sonne of *Fraunce*, lawfully borne and orderly assured. Then that he was induced, which many counselled him, that by the meane of that parentage he might giue colour of right (though more apparant then true) to the French king, to enter for his sonne and for his daughter in law vpon the estate of *Florence*. To these discontentments of the Emperour, may be added also as a full accomplishment of his disliking, that where he made instance to the Pope to create three Cardinals exhibited by him, he obtained onely (and that with difficulty) the calling of the Archbishop of *Bary*, the Pope making his excuses vpon the contradiction of the Colledge of Cardinals: the Emperour stood litle appeased in the readinesse which the Pope shewed to make a secret confederation with him, wherein he promised to proceed iudicially to pronounce iudgements and censures, and all other things that might be done by right against the king of *England*, and against the Lady *Anne Bolleyn*: & they were bound to make no new confederations or accords with Princes, without reciprocall consent one of another.

Thus the Emperour departed from *Bologna* the day after the conclusion of the confederatiō, being now no lesse assured in himselfe, that the said mariage would go on, together with the enteruiew betweene the Pope & the French king, then he had reason to doubt some greater coniunctiō: and

and being embarked at *Genes*, he passed into *Spain* with this resolute intention, that if the marriage of *Katherine de Medici* were celebrated with the second sonne of *Fraunce*, he would dissolve and breake the match made betweene his daughter and *Alexander de Medici*. Not many dayes after the Pope departed to go to *Rome*, being accompanied with the two French Cardinals, and nothing troubled with the new confederation: for that as he was excellent in simulations and practises, in which he was not surmounted with feare, so he had told them that vpon concluding the League the Spanish armie was to dissolve and decasse; a matter which wold turne more to the benefite of the French king, then the league or confederation could do him hurt, seeing that as well for the obligations it contained, as for the obseruancy and executions of the same, many difficulties might happen, and sundrie impediments arise.

Thus the solicitations and practises begun, were continued betweene them: and as the French king was desirous in regard of his honour, and for ambition more then for other needfull matter, that the person of the Pope might come to *Nice*, so to allure him the more, he promised not to require of him any confederation, nor to incense him to warre, and much lesse to draw him from termes of iustice in the cause of the king of *England*, nor to importune him to create new Cardinals: neuertheless he was somewhat pushed on by the incitation of the king of *England*, who had now solemnly married the Lady *Anne Bolckyne*, by whom hauing by due order of time procreated a daughter he had, to the preiudice of the daughter of his first wife, declared her Princess of the realme of *England*; a title which is transferred to such as are most nearest the Crowne: by reason of which action, the Pope notable to dissemble so geat a contempt against the Sea Apostolike, nor refuse to graunt iustice to the Emperour, had with the vowes and iustifications of the Consistorie, published that king guiltie of the crime of contempt; a matter which moued the king of *England* to desire with more importunitie both the parentage and enteruiew of the Pope with the French king, hoping much in that king to remedie his cause: and that if the Pope were induced to commune vpon new matters against the Emperour, he would desire to restore him, and to draw him to their coniunction, and so almost to constitute a Triumvirate to giue lawes to the things of *Italy*. At last his going was concluded, but not to *Nice*; for some difficultie interposed by the Duke of *Sauoy*, touching the consigning of the Castle to the Pope, hauing in likelihood no inclination to displease the Emperour: but the place was changed to *Marfeilles*, greatly to the pleasing and appetite of the French king, who interpreted it not a litle to his honour, to reduce the enteruiew into his kingdome, neither was it discontenting to the Pope, as one that desired to satisfie him more with demonstrations to please his ambition, then with effects according to true meaning. The Pope caused to be published a brute, that he went to this enteruiew, principally to sollicite an vniuersall peace: secondly, to perswade an enterprife against the infidels: thirdly, to reduce and call backe to good wayes the king of *England*: and lastly, and onely for common and generall interests, and to establish some good forme in the vniuersall affaires: but being indeed not able to dissemble the true cause of his iourney, before he departed he sent his Neece to *Nice* vpon the Galleyes which the French king sent to him, accompanied with the Duke of *Albania*, Vncle to the young Ladie: which Galleyes after they had deliuered the Lady to *Nice*, returned to the port *Pisan*, and tooke in the fourth of October the person of the Pope with a traine of manie Cardinals, whom with a happie nauigation they brought in few dayes to *Marfeilles*: there he made his sollemne entrie, and after him entred the French king, who had visited him before by night: they were lodged in one Pallace, and exercised reciprocally one vpon another right great offices and demonstrations of amity: and the king, who especially laboured to insinuate into his fauour and to win him, besought him to send for his Neece to come to *Marfeilles*, which being perfourmed with a willing readinesse in the Pope, who forbore to preuent the king in that motion, to shew that he would first debate of the common affaires. So soone as the Ladie was come, the contracts went on, which were immediatly confirmed and made perfect by the consummation of the mariage, to the incredible gladnesse of the Pope, who albeit with such arte solicited his affaires with the king, that the king reposed a wonderful confidence in his words, and honoured him with a singular affection: yet both contrarie to the opinion of all men, and especially against the expectation of the Emperour, no article or capitulation was passed betweene them: onely the Pope shewed himselfe alwaies well inclined and desirous, that the state of *Millean* might be conuerted to the Duke of *Orleanse* husband to his Neece; a matter

*Enterview of
the Pope and
French king at
Marfeilles.*

*Katherine de
Medici married
to the second
sonne of
Fraunce.*

also vehemently thirsted after by the king, for a hatred and despite he bare to the ~~Emperour~~ and his greatnesse and fortunes, but much more for that the Duke of *Orleans* hauing to his state a state of that appurance and greatnesse, he thought that thereby would be quenched the occasions of contentions betweene his children after his death, which other wise he feared might all amongst them for the title of the duchie of *Brittaine*; an estate which the king in the yeare before, contrarie to the couenants made by king *Lewis* with those people, had annexed and vnitd to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, wherunto he induced the subiects of that state to consent more by his kingly authority then of their proper inclination and will. Moreouer, in this enteruiew much lesse that the king could obtaine any fauour of the Pope in the cause of the king of *England*, seeing being discontented with the inciuilities of the Agents of that king, whom he found in the Popes chamber, protesting and appealing from him to the Councell: he told the Pope it should nothing offend him, if he pursued that king and his cause according to the rule of iustice: yea, he was so moderate in his demands and dealings, that in nothing did he offend the mind of the Pope, sauing that more to satisfie others of his Court and Councell, then to content himselfe, he solicited him to create three Cardinals, a matter not a litle discontenting to the Pope, not so much for the instance which the Emperours Embassadour made to the contrarie, as for that he interpreted it to an action of great consequence, both for the election of other Popes hereafter, and for the disobediences which might happen in his life, and after to adde so manie Cardinals to the French nation, being at that time sixe in number: neuerthelesse to preuent a greater euill with satisfying the lesser, he accomplished the kings demand, making to be concurant in the action of that creation, a brother of the Duke of *Albany*, to whom he had before promised the Cardinals cap. In all other regards they seemed to stand firme and assured in all sorts of fidelity and satisfaction, and in that good estate of inclination and amitie, the French king was not curious to communicate with him manie of his counsels, and especially his determination to stirre vp against the Emperour certaine Princes of *Germanie*, and chiefly the *Lantgrane van Hesse*, and the Duke of *Wittenberg*, who the summer following drew into commotion: and so with these actions and demonstrations of amitie and office, after they had passed a moneth at *Marseilles*, the Pope returned vpon the same Gallies that brought him: but being with great stormes and tempests of sea arriued at *Saona*, where reposing no more confidence neither in the prouisions of the Gallies, nor in the industrie and experience of those that gouerned them, he sent backe againe the same Gallies that had deliuered him out of his first perilles, and tooke his course to *Ciuitanecchia* in the Gallies of *Andrew Dore*, from whence being returned to *Rome*, with a right great reputation and wonderfull felicitie, especially to such as had seene him prisoner in the Castle of *Saint Angelo*, he reioyced, as it were at his will, in the full fauour of fortune, feeling notwithstanding in the secret apprehensions of his spirite and mind, the chaunge that was speedily to happen to him: in which impression he seemed to foresee and discerne his last end: for it is certaine, that alme t as soone as he was returned from his voyage to *Marseilles*, from whence he seemed to bring certaine predictions and comets of his death, he caused to make the Ring with all other habites accustomed to burie Popes, assuring his familiar with a mind well reposed and resoute, that his latest dayes could not be deferred for anie long time. Neuerthelesse nothing retiring for all those impressions from his cares and studies accustomed, he solicited, as he thought, for the greater loretie of his house, to build a verie strong Cittadell within *Florence*, not knowing how soone was to end the felicitie of his Nephewes, of whom being mortall enemies one to another, *Hippolito* the Cardinall died before the end of the yeare of the Popes death, not without suspicion of poison, and *Alexander* the other Nephew, who commanded at *Florence*, was (not without a great note of indiscretion) secretly slaine by night in *Florence* by the hands of *Lawrence* one of the same familie of *Medicis*.

The Pope knoweth his end.

The Pope sickened about the beginning of sommer, whose grieve in the first apprehension, was the paines of the stomacke, which drawing with them the passions of a feuer and other accidents, kept him long time vexed and tormented, sometimes seeming to be reduced to the point of death, & sometimes so eased and relieued, that he gaue to others, but not to himselfe a kind of hope of recovering. And during the time of his maladie, the Duke of *Wittenberg* by the ayde of the *Lantgrane Van Hesse* & other Princes, cōcurring also the mony of *Fraunce*, recouered the Duchy of *VVittenberg* which the king of *Romaines* possessed: by which occasion fearing a greater combustion

bustion, they came to composition with the king of *Romains* against the will of the French king, who well hoped that the Emperour, in regard of those emotions, would stand entangled with a long and tedious warre, and that haply their armies being victorious, would descend vpon the Duchy of *Millan*. In like sort about that time *Barbarossa Bassa*, and Captaine generall to *Solyman* of all his Nauies and armies by sea, passed to the conquest of the kingdome of *Thunis*: in his way thither he scoured along the shores of *Calabria*, and ran vp about *Catetta*, where setting on land certaine bands of his souldiers, he sacked *Fondy*, with such a feare and astonishment to the Court and peoples of *Rome*, that it was supposed that the citie of *Rome* had bin left abandoned, if in that course of victory they had passed on further. This accident was kept from the knowledge of the Pope, who being no longer able to make resistance against his maladie, exchanged this life for a better the xxv. of September, leauing behind him in the castle of *S. Angelo* many rich stones and jewels, more then was expected of him, and in the Chamber of the Sea Apostolike infinite offices, contrarie to custome and good order, but in the Treasurie a verie small store of money, wherein he beguiled the opinion of all men: he was raised from base degree to the place of the Popedome with a wonderfull felicity, but in managing the place, he proued a verie great variatio of fortune, wherein if both the properties of fortune be euently ballanced the one with the other, the worse fortune without all comparison was far more familiar with him then the better: for as there could happen to him no greater infelicity then the aduersity of his imprisonmēt, for that with his owne eyes he beheld, with so great a ruine and destruction the sacke of *Rome*; a desolation which his fortune suffered him to bewaile with pitee & cōpassion, but not to turne away or remedie the harme: so also by him moued the generall desolation of his naturall country, to the which by how much more he was bound by perpetuall obligatiōs, by so much greater was his aduersity to be a chiefe instrument in the ruine of the place where he had taken his first being: he died hated of all the Court, suspected to most Princes, and for the discourse of his life, he left behind him a renoume rather hatefull then acceptable: for he was accounted couetous, of litle fidelity, and naturally far off from doing pleasures to men: and in that humor, albeit during his time of Pope he created xxxj. Cardinals, yet vpon none of them did he impose that dignity to content himselfe, but was drawne as it were by the violent law of necessity, and to please others: yea he called to that dignity the Cardinall of *Medicis*, not of his proper and free election, but at the contemplation & perswasion of others, & at a time when being oppressed with a dangerous maladie, if he had died, he had left his friends and kindred in the state of beggers, and depriued of all aide: neuertheless he was in counsell verie graue, and in his actions much foreseeing: touching passions & affections, a conquerour of himselfe, and for the facultie of his mind and spirit, of great capacitie and power, if timetousnesse had not oftentimes corrupted his iudgement. Immediately after his death the Cardinals going the same night into the Conclauē, elected in his place with full voyce *Alexander*, of the familie of *Farnese*, a Romane by nation, and for his time the most ancient Cardinall of the Court: in which election their voyces seemed conformable to the iudgement and instance that *Clement* had made, the person elected being more worthie to be preferred before all the others to oueraigne a degree, for that he was both furnished with doctrine and good learning, and replenished with good apparances and customes: and for the Cardinals, they were so much the more forward to passe the election in his person, by how much for the greatnesse of his age, being already vpon the threescore and seuenth yeare, and supposed to beare a weake and vnfound complexion (which opinion he nourished with arte) they hoped he would not sit long in the seate. But touching his actions and operations, whether they answered the expectation conceiued of him, or whether they were worthy of the incredible gladnesse which the people of *Rome* tooke, to haue after the end of an hundred and three yeares, and after the successiō of thirteene Popes, a Pope of bloud and nation a Romane, and of language and education of one familiaritie with themselves, it standeth in the testimonie and relation of those

Barbarossa at Thunis.

Death of Pope Clement the viij.

Creation of Pope Paule the third.

who are to write of the accidents hapning in *Italy* since his election:

so is to be verified the sentence of the prouerbe, that

The office setteth out the dignitie of the person that manageth it.

The end of the twentieth and last Booke.



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